“Bal’ami’s Tabari”
An illustrated manuscript of Bal’ami’s *Tarjama-yi Tārikh-i Tabari*
in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington
(F59.16, 47.19 and 30.21)

Teresa Fitzherbert

Volume I
Text

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh

2001
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work.

[Signature]

[Teresa Fitzherbert (Miss)]

17.6.2001
For my sister

Mary Towneley

my cousin Mary Cochrane and brothers Anthony and Charlie

with me all the way

and in memory of good times shared in Iran
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ABSTRACT

“Bal'ami’s Tabari”. An illustrated manuscript of Bal'ami’s Tarjama-yi Tarikhi Tabari in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington (F59.16, 47.19 and 30.21)

This dissertation attempts to demonstrate that the Freer Gallery’s illustrated copy of Bal'ami’s tenth-century ‘translation’ of Tabari’s Ta'rikh al-masul wa'l-muluk (History of the prophets and the kings) was produced in Iraq or the Jazira under Ilkhanid rule c. 1300. It will be argued that although the quality of the paintings indicates provincial rather than metropolitan production, the heavily edited redaction of the text and choice of illustrations strongly suggest it was designed for teaching the young, or recent converts to Islam, destined for high government or military office. The manuscript as a whole may be seen as focusing on lessons and parallels of particular relevance to the nascent Mongol-Islamic state in the years immediately following the Ilkhan Ghazan’s official conversion in 694/1295.

If correct, the Freer Bal'ami broadens our understanding of fourteenth-century Persian painting in general, and offers insights into the still ill-defined history of the illustrated Persian book between the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258 and the reign of Uljaytu (r. 703-717/1304-1317). It extends the currency of the distinctive red and ochre palette, generally associated with painting in Fars under Injuid patronage in the 1330s-1350s, to include an Arab cultural metier some thirty years earlier. More significantly, it provides a provincial example of an extensively illustrated history in advance of the magnificent metropolitan productions of Rashid al-Din’s scriptorium at Tabriz in the second decade of the fourteenth century. It also shows how painting was already in the service of historiography, possibly for a particular governor of Mosul, at the turn of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.
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However, warmest thanks of all go to my family who have all been enduringly supportive, whatever the outcome, as my parents would have been had they been here. In particular, without Mary, Mary, Ant and Charlie I would never have made it to the line.
Preface

This study of the Freer Bal'ami developed out of a brief visit to the Freer and Sackler Galleries in November 1994, to look at their rich collections of fourteenth-century Persian painting. The Bal'ami manuscript took me completely by surprise and by storm. It was not only that it was heavily illustrated and largely unpublished, but its frontispiece, with unusual banner headline, sorely tempted further investigation. A plan to incorporate a survey of the manuscript into my dissertation proved to be one of the more unrealistic decisions of my career. I found that the questions raised by the text as well as the illustrations were far more wide-ranging than anticipated, and thus it became my thesis topic. The Freer Bal'ami has more to offer than I have been able to cover in the time and space available; however, I hope this study may show that it rewards attention and has new things to tell us about the development of the Persian illustrated book, and especially illustrated histories in the Ilkhanid period.

Transliteration

The system of transliteration followed is that of the International Journal of Middle East Studies, with the diphthongs “aw” and “ay”, and “w” representing both the Arabic “waw” and the Persian “waw”. Only italicised words in the text have been transliterated.

Persian or Arabic spellings of personal names which occur in Bal'ami's text are generally retained throughout—for example, Ibrahim rather than Abraham—unless the context benefits from the English version. Place names retain their Persian or Arabic spellings in paraphrases or translations but their English forms are generally used in discussion, for example, Adharbajjan/Azerbaijan, Mawsil/Mosul.

I have followed the Persian versions of Mongol and Turkish names, using the spelling adopted by Rawshan in his edition of Rashid al-Din's Jami' al-tawarikh, for example, Mingu for Möngke, Uljaytu for Öljeytü.
Illustrations

All illustrations are bound separately:

i. illustrations depicting the Freer manuscript are termed “Plates”;

ii. comparative images are termed “Figures”;

iii. alphabetisation of more than one image per page always reads from top to bottom for vertical format and left to right for horizontal format;

iv. line drawings are provided to clarify the frontispiece which is in very poor condition with many holes; holes in the painting which are particularly significant are marked by stippling.

Line spacing

A computer software fault at an advanced stage in the writing of this thesis corrupted the entire text including its multiple back-up copies. This corruption appears to have permanently damaged aspects of formatting and in particular the line spacing. Unavoidable inconsistencies in the line spacing are therefore likely to occur throughout the dissertation; for this I apologise most sincerely.

Cross references

Since the line spacing is insecure and page numbering varies with each print-out of the document, cross-references have been kept to a minimum and couched in general terms rather than precise page numbers which may be inaccurate. Again, I apologise for the inconvenience this may cause the reader.
Abbreviations:

Berlin, SPKO
Edinburgh, EUL
Christie's
Geneva, Aga Khan
ISC, Ashmolean Museum
Istanbul, AM
Istanbul, SL
Istanbul, TSM
Istanbul, TIEM
London, IOL
London, Khalili
London, BL
London, BM
London, V&A
New York, MMA
New York, PML
Oxford, Bod.
Paris, BN
Paris, MAD
Paris, ML
London, RAS
Vatican, BA
Venice, BM
Vienna, Nb
Washington, FGA
Washington, SGA
St Petersburg, OIAS
Sotheby's

Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
Edinburgh University Library
Christie's sale Catalogues, London
Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan
Islamic Slide Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Archaeology Museum, Istanbul
Sülemaniye Library, Istanbul
Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul
Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul
India Office Library, London
Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London
British Library, London
British Museum, London
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Bodleian Library, Oxford
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Royal Asiatic Society, London
Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican
Biblioteca Marciana, Venice
Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg
Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, London
Introduction

Why study the Freer Bal'ami?

"In the year 352/963, according to independent evidence and the author's own testimony, the Samanid ruler Mansûr b. Nuḥ sent an order via his major-domo and closest confidant, al-Fâ'iq al-Khaṣṣa, to his minister Abû 'Ali Bal'âmil commissioning the latter to prepare a translation into court Persian of the famous historical annals written in Arabic by Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Tabâri. Bal'âmi completed this task, producing a book whose popularity in many ways eclipsed that of the original text throughout the Persian-speaking world and beyond."

This dissertation will attempt to demonstrate that, contrary to current general opinion, the Freer Gallery of Art's illustrated copy of Bal'âmi's Tarjama-yi târîkh-i Tabâri was produced in the Jazira under Ilkhanid rule c. 1300, rather than in Fars c. 1330-1350 under Injuid patronage. Although the quality of the manuscript's illustrations indicates a provincial metier of production, the particular redaction of the text and the subject matter chosen for illustration strongly suggest it was designed for teaching the young, or recent converts to Islam, destined for high government or military office. The manuscript as a whole may be seen as focusing on lessons and parallels of particular relevance to the nascent Islamic state in the years immediately following the Ilkhan Ghazan's official conversion in 694/1295.

If correct, the Freer Bal'âmi broadens our understanding of fourteenth-century Persian painting in several significant ways. It provides insights into the still ill-defined history of the illustrated Persian book between the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 656/1258 and the reign of Uljaytu (r. 703-717/1304-1317); it strongly suggests that the

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2 Holter (1937), no. 38, p. 16 and Buchthal, Kurz et al. (1949), no. 38, p. 154. Prior to its purchase by the Freer Gallery of Art, Volume 2 of this manuscript was commonly referred to as the "Kevoqian Tabâri", and subsequently as the "Freer Tabâri". However, as Elton Daniel has pointed out, "Tarjama-yi târîkh-i Tabâri", "Translation of the History of Tabâri", is one of the most unfortunate titles ever given to a book, since it gives no credit to Bal'âmi for his substantial supplements and annotations to Tabâri's text, Daniel (1990), pp. 284–287. I shall therefore refer to this manuscript as the "Freer Bal'âmi". A comparison between Tabâri's and Bal'âmi's texts will be referred to where relevant to the illustrations; the nature of Bal'âmi's commission will be discussed in Chapter Three.
Introduction

distinctive red and ochre palette, currently closely associated with Injuid production in the 1330s–1350s, enjoyed a currency broader in time and place than Fars alone, including an Arab cultural metier some thirty years earlier. More importantly, however, it provides a provincial example of an extensively illustrated history in advance of the magnificent metropolitan productions of Rashid al-Din’s scriptorium at Tabriz in the second decade of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, this manuscript indicates that painting was already in the service of historiography by the turn of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.

To date, no comprehensive description of the Freer Bal’ami has been published, and only sixteen, from its total of thirty-eight paintings have been reproduced. Following the Persian introduction, the history of prophets and kings begins with Adam and the last folio of Volume 2 describes the death of the Caliph al-Muktafi (r. 289/902–295/908). As the final three lines of text have been cropped, it is not possible to say with certainty whether this manuscript continued or a colophon has been lost.  

Scholars have dated the Freer Bal’ami between the early thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries, with an overall bias towards c. 1300. If a date of c. 1300 is correct, this manuscript is not only among the earliest surviving copies of Bal’ami’s text, but also appears to be the only illustrated version surviving from the fourteenth century. Since pictures in historical texts may provide insights into how the past was presented to a contemporary audience, the Freer Bal’ami offers an additional source for the historiography of the Mongol period, in the select company of the frontispiece to the

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3 F47.19, fol. 368b (187b); continuous folio numbering will be followed by Freer Gallery folio numbers where appropriate.
4 In his Annotated Inventory of Bal’ami Manuscripts, Daniel has noted that those ending with al-Muktafi (r. 289/902–295/908 and/or al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–932) appear to form a group, Daniel (1990), p. 290. However, since the London Royal Asiatic Society’s manuscript dated 701/1302 (RAS, 22, Morley 9), generally considered to be the oldest complete text, continues to the death of al-Mustarshid (r. 513/1118–1134), it would be rash to assume that the Freer Bal’ami is virtually complete. (The Royal Asiatic Society manuscript will be referred to hereafter as RAS 22.)
5 Datings; for the manuscript will be listed below under “The manuscript in scholarship literature.” Daniel was unaware of its present location at the time of drawing up his annotated inventory of Bal’ami manuscripts in 1990. The relevant entry reads: “Unknown Kevorkian Manuscript. Date: 13th C. Comments: Another specimen of an illustrated manuscript of the work. See P.W. Schulz (1916), p. 74 (plate H-K); Storey, vol. 1/1, p. 63; Bregel, vol. 1, p. 284”, Daniel (1990), p. 321. In his forthcoming article Daniel notes that this manuscript is now in the Freer Gallery collection, Daniel (forthcoming).
6 As far as I am aware, the next illustrated copy is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, CBL, Persian 144 dated 874/1469–70, Arberry, Minovi et al. (1962), p. 79. This manuscript was probably produced at Tabriz for the Aq Qoyunlu ruler, Uzun Hasan, Robinson (1979), p. 441 and ill. 131. In 1998, another illustrated but undated copy, in a late-Timurid style, was sold in Paris, Drouot Richelieu (1998), pp. 73–79. This problem will be addressed in Chapter Five.

The Freer Bal‘ami is currently bound in two volumes. By 1939 the eight paintings from Volume 19 had been published with brief comments in surveys or exhibition catalogues.9 In the second half of the twentieth century only Milstein and Soucek discussed the manuscript in print: Milstein focusing on the Old Testament prophets,10 and Soucek on the cycle of eight paintings depicting the life of the Prophet Muhammad.11 In 1995 Shani used the images of ‘Ali in the Freer Bal‘ami as the basis for a paper entitled: “The Veneration of ‘Ali in Mongol Art and Architecture”.12 Of the ten paintings illustrating incidents in the history of pre-Islamic Iran, only one has received a brief reference,13 not one of the five concerning pre-Islamic Arabia has been published,14 and the full-page frontispiece has been neither reproduced nor discussed in print.

Although the Freer Bal‘ami may not have excited a great deal of attention, its idiosyncrasies have teased opinion sufficiently for its place of production to be shifted from post-Saljuq Iraq to mid fourteenth-century Fars.15 If it is possible to settle this ‘vagrant’, it may increase our understanding of the development of Ilkhanid book production, for which stylistic chronologies are still incomplete. A study of the Freer Bal‘ami is therefore justified on grounds of documenting a substantially illustrated fourteenth-century

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9 See below, “The manuscript in scholarly literature”.
12 This paper was delivered at “The Art of the Mongols. Its precursors, contemporary context and legacy”, held at the University of Edinburgh, 31 July–2 August, 1995. I would like to thank Raya Shani for her kindness in letting me read her paper at that time. However, since I am aware that it is now being substantially revised for publication, I have not addressed her 1995 paper in my discussions.
13 Schmitz refers to the crown worn by Ardashir in “Ardashir enthroned” (F57-16, fol. 109a, and illustrates the miniature, Schmitz (1995), p. 157 and ill. 159. Of these, “Dhu-Yazan pays homage to Nushirwan” (F57-16, fol. 132b), falls into both the pre-Islamic Iranian and Arabian groups, and “The encounter at Amarth during the Battle of Qadisiyya” (F47-19, fol. 61b) overlaps the pre-Islamic Iranian and early Muslim historical series.
14 In 1995 Shani suggested Baghdad as its probable place of production.
manuscript, and for what it may tell us of a problematic period in the history of Persian painting.

Chapters One and Two are in the form of a catalogue. Chapter One discusses the frontispiece and its quotation from the Qur'an, Sura 38, "Szâz", Verse 26; Chapter Two provides a paraphrase of the text associated with each of the thirty-seven paintings, and discusses their relationship to it. The first part of Chapter Three investigates the history of the text, and the second identifies the redaction followed by the Freer scribe and examines the section headings for clues to thematic emphasis and religious orientation. Chapter Four looks at themes identified by the location and subject matter of the paintings and considers them within the context of history writing and mirrors for princes literature. Chapter Five part 1 attempts to place the manuscript geographically in terms of style; part 2 presents, by way of a conclusion, a hypothesis for patronage, date and circumstances of production, drawing together discussions and suggestions in the previous chapters, and identifying ways in which the manuscript contributes to our understanding of the role of the illustrated book in Persian historiography.

This introduction continues with sections on the manuscript in scholarly literature, its provenance and codicology.

The manuscript in scholarly literature

The date

Anet was the first person to mention the Freer Bal'ami in print, when Volume 2, the "Kevorkian Tabari", was exhibited at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris in 1912. Subsequently, suggested dates have ranged from Anet's of c. 1200, to the mid-fourteenth century. When exhibited as part of the Kevorkian collection the manuscript was usually

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18 Anet appears to be the first scholar to refer to the Freer Bal'amî in print. He begins by suggesting that "The History of the Caliphs" by Tabari, belonging to M. Kevorkian ... is earlier by some twenty or thirty years" than the late thirteenth-century Pierpont Morgan Bestiary, the *Manâfî al-Haywan* (New York, PML, M. 500), for which the date has been clarified by Schmitz as either 694/1294-1295 or 699/1299-1300, Schmitz (1996), p. 11. Anet also associates the Kevorkian 'Tabari' with thirteenth-century Rayy ceramics, and captions his reproduction of "The Election of 'Uthman to the Caliphate" (F30.32) as c. 1200, Anet (1912), p. 15 and pl. 2(D).
dated to the first half of the thirteenth century. However, in 1940 it was catalogued as early-fourteenth century when loaned to an exhibition at the Iranian Institute, New York.

In *Miniatures Persanes*, published by Marteau and Vever in 1913, the illustrations selected from the 'Kevorkian Tabari' were captioned: "Perse, treizième-quatorzième siècle". In *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Schulz did not specify a date but captioned his examples: "Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts". Blochet mentions the Bal'ami as being "about 1230". Although the manuscript was not exhibited at the 1931 Burlington House exhibition, Gray mentioned the 'Kevorkian Tabari' as being "about the year thirteen hundred". Holter suggested the second half of the thirteenth century or c. 1306 and Kühlne, the Ilkhanid period, c. 1300. The two displaced folios from Volume 2, which include the illustration of the election of 'Uthman to the Caliphate, were displayed in a gallery exhibition at the Freer Gallery of Art in 1933 as "Persian, 13th-14th century."

In the Freer Gallery of Art's Register of Accessions for 1947, Ettinghausen says of Volume 2 that it is: "... usually placed about 1300 or in the early 14th century, an assumption which seems to be correct." Notes made in 1957, by an unnamed author, at the time of the purchase of Volume 1 read: "Mongol (Il-Khanid period) first half of the fourteenth century". Ettinghausen did not amend the dating for Volume 1 when entering additions to the record in 1959 and 1966. However, in 1974, when publishing a detail from "The Genealogy of the Prophet", he attributed it to the Inju School of Shiraz, "which flourished from about 1330 until 1343, if not earlier", and captioned the illustration, "second quarter of 14th century." In 1993 Atil captioned "Sulayman visited

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19 New York (1914), cat. no. 255 (no page no.); New York (1926), (no cat. or page number given).
20 New York (1940), Gallery IX, Case 3, C.
21 Marteau and Vever (1913), vol. 1, pls 47 and 48.
22 Schulz (1914), pp. 74-75 and captions to pls H, J and K.
23 Blochet (1926), pls 1-2 and Blochet (1929), p. 61.
24 Binyon, Wilkinson et al. (1933), p. 31.
26 Kühlne (1939), vol. 3, p. 1833 and vol. 5, pl. 816B.
27 F30.21.
28 Washington (1933), (no cat. or p. no.)
30 F57.16.
31 F57.16, fol. 157b (Pl. 26)
by Bilqis as "early fourteenth century". Milstein adheres to a general fourteenth-century dating in her publications. In 1985 Allen referred to the manuscript as being c. 1330. In 1988 Soucek favoured an earlier dating of "late thirteenth or early fourteenth century". In 1989 Gutmann mentioned it as a product of Injuid Shiraz; in 1995 Schmitz captioned "Ardashir enthroned" as "early fourteenth century".

Painting style and place of production

Up to the Second World War sources for the manuscript's painting style were sought among the schools of thirteenth-century Iraq and older Iranian traditions. This was perhaps best summed up by Schulz as the "old Persian-Arab School, buried in the debris of the destroyed Tigris metropolis", resuscitated following the Mongol invasions under Far Eastern influence.

In the second half of the twentieth century, brash painting with large figures on red or ochre backgrounds became increasingly associated with Fars in the period of Injuid patronage, 703-758/1303-1357. Schroeder, in the absence of definitive evidence to the contrary, refers to the Freer Bal'ami as "the oldest monument of the Inju style." Ettinghausen, in his notes on Volume 2 in the Freer Gallery's Register of Accessions, describes it, somewhat enigmatically, as displaying:

"... features which set it apart from the usual paintings of the Inju school and connect it with manuscripts which are otherwise different. But the red

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33 F57.16 fol. 79a, (Pl. ii).
35 Most recently, Milstein, Rührdanz et al. (1999).
38 F57.16, fol. 109a, (Pl. 15).
40 Schulz (1944), p. 74.
41 The earliest illuminated, but not illustrated, manuscript attributed to Fars under Injuid rule is dated 708/1308 (Paris, BN, persan 14), Wright (1998), p. 13. The earliest dated manuscript, with paintings in the style associated with the Injus, is the Shahnama dated 731/1330 (Istanbul, TSM, H. 1479). However, the first illustrated manuscript for a named patron, known to have been functioning in Fars in the Injuid period, is the dispersed Shahnama for the vizier Qawam al-Dawla wa'l-Din Hasan, and dated 741/1341. Also from the Ilkhanid period and using the red ground are the British Library's diminutive copy of Kalila wa Dimna (BL, Or. 13506), dated 707/1307-8, usually considered to be transitional between the Saljuq and Injui traditions, Waley and Titley (1975), pp. 43-58 and Titley (1977), pp. 6-7, no. 168, and the Topkapi Library's undated Kalila wa Dimna (TSM, H. 368), currently attributed to Mesopotamia or possibly Anatolia in the later thirteenth century, Çağman and Tanundi (1986), p. 50; Grube (1990-1991), p. 378.
42 Schroeder (1942), p. 31.
background, the earthy colors, the preference for ribbon composition put it in closest connection with the Inju school in Shiraz.”

In 1972 Atil also annotated the entry: “Inju school (Shiraz)”.

In 1978 Grube described the Freer Bal’ami as “almost certainly” belonging to the atelier of the ‘Small’ Shahnama manuscripts. These he identified, along with the dispersed copy of Mu’nis al-ahzar dated 741/1340–1, as differing fundamentally from the Inju School, favouring an association with the traditions of Saljuq Anatolia and Mosul in the early fourteenth century. In 1979 Simpson corroborated Grube’s views on the ‘Small’ Shahnama thereby locating them in Baghdad c. 1300, but adhered to the view that the “Tabari manuscript [is] now classified with the Inju school.”

In 1988, Soucek struck a note of caution:

“The style of its paintings links the manuscript with the city of Shiraz, but a detailed consideration of the whole manuscript would be needed before a more specific attribution could be made.”

In 1994 Milstein supported a Shiraz provenance but sought its antecedents in:

“... a long artistic tradition in Central Asia, which in earlier times derived ideas from Fars, where this manuscript seems to have been painted.”

**Codicology and Provenance**

Folios 260 and 265 (F30.21) from Volume 2 (F47.19), were purchased in 1930 by the Freer Gallery of Art from Hagop Kevorkian of New York. In 1947 the parent volume was also purchased from him. Volume 1 (F57.16) was purchased from K. Rabenou of New York in 1957.

At the time of purchase the bindings of the two volumes were very different. Volume 1 was bound in cardboard coated with a damaged mock-tortoiseshell varnish. Where this has now fallen away a paper lining of printed Arabic text is exposed (Pl. 40a).
Volume 1 was bound in a worn, plain red leather binding. During conservation in the 1990s both volumes were freshly bound in brown leather, in two volumes and minus the separated folios as before.

The Freer Bal'ami consists of 368 text folios. The text begins on folio 1b, preceded by the frontispiece on folio 1a. The paper is fine, pale cream-coloured, polished and of laid construction. The text is written in black naskh with the majority of the section headings in red. Some, but not all, of the passages quoted from the Qur'an, and some, but not all, of the quotations of Arabic poetry are also written in red. Small black circles, filled with red, mark the beginning and end of Qur'anic quotations. There are thirty-three lines of text per page; the average text block size is 270 x 170mm.

The manuscript was originally a single volume. When the text was divided, the choice of where to make the break appears to have been an arbitrary decision; it occurs between folios 193 and 194 shortly before the end of the section on the Battle of Uhud and in the middle of orders being delivered by ‘Ali to the Muslim forces.

No folios of text appear to be missing until the very end of the manuscript, and all are now in their correct order with the exception of folios 312 and 313 which are currently transposed.

remains to be done.

The Freer Gallery has numbered the pages of each volume separately, and included additional blank folios in the sequence for Volume 2; I shall therefore refer throughout to the continuous numbering of the reconstructed text with the Freer Gallery's pagination added in brackets where appropriate.

As will be discussed in Chapter Three, section headings from folio 2a–10a were originally in a green, copper-based pigment which has now largely rotted; headings on folios 10b–12b are in black; the red headings used through the rest of the manuscript also begin on folio 12b. These colour changes do not appear to adhere to a logical sequence and suggest experimentation in the early folios.

It has not been possible, so far, to carry out a systematic study of why some quotations are in red and others in black, since a black and white microfilm has been used and time with the manuscript itself has been limited.

Since other Ilkhanid period copies of the text are bound as single volumes—for example the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript (RAS 22), dated 701/1302 (347 text folios), the British Library copy (Add. 7622) dated 734/1334 (490 text folios), and the undated, but possibly late thirteenth-century copy in the Marciana Library in Venice Or. CXXVIII (77) (365 folios)—there is no reason why the Freer copy should not also have been a single volume. For RAS 22 see Morley (1854), pp. 17–20; BL, Add. 7622, see Rieu (1879–1883), vol. 1, pp. 68–70 and Marciana, Or. CXXVIII (77), see Piemontese (1984), pp. 334–335. When the text is planned as two volumes the break is usually made immediately before the section dealing with the genealogy of the Prophet; for example, Oxford, Bod., Ouseley 206–8, dated 894/1489. Although now bound in three volumes, this manuscript was originally planned as two, with the break occurring, and "Qim damavand" inscribed, at the start of the section on the Prophet's genealogy.
Volume 1 consists of folios 1-193, with the frontispiece on folio 1a, and an illuminated 'masah headimg the preface to the text on folio 1b. Twenty-eight other illustrations are irregularly placed throughout this volume, between folios 18b and 192b.

Volume 2 consists of folios 194-368, with nine illustrations including the two separated folios. In the reconstructed manuscript these folios are 260 (79), a text folio, and folio 265 (84) which includes on its "a" side the painting depicting "The Election of 'Uthman to the caliphate".

At a date yet to be determined the frontispiece and text folios were cropped back to the edge of the text block, with the loss of almost all the original catchwords. An ochre-coloured wash was roughly applied to the paper used for the new margins, perhaps to mask colour variations in a mixed bag of mounting paper. The depth of colour, however, is uneven and does not achieve over all harmony. Where elements in the paintings originally extended into the margins, care was taken to cut around them and paste them on to the new mounts. Fresh ruling lines were added to the new margins throughout the manuscript. The innermost, silver-coloured line has been analysed and found, unusually, to be tin.

Additional folios of the same paper as the new margins have been added at the beginning and end of each volume. These blank folios have been ruled in the same manner as the new margins, but with the empty text block left in situ. The reason for the inclusion of these additional folios is unclear, since there was no need to provide space for missing text before the very end of the manuscript. Twelve such folios occur at the beginning and eight folios at the end of Volume 2, and two at the beginning and one at the end of Volume 1. Small variations occur in the thickness of this paper, but since these inconsistencies occur in both volumes there seems no reason to believe that they were not remargined at the same time.

As Ettinghausen observed, but without further comment, the paper used for remargining Volume 2 bears a "watermark" consisting of a monogram in an oval wreath inscribed "IM". (Pl. 41b). Rather than being a watermark this is an owner's stamp, embossed to the touch, and has now also been read as "HA". This stamp occurs only

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56 I am most grateful to Martha Smith of the Freer Gallery Conservation Department for this information.
57 Here again, I am indebted to Martha Smith for her expertise on this matter.
59 I am very grateful to Martha Smith, Basil Robinson, Farhad Hakimzade, to
in Volume 2, but on many folios in that volume. An indistinct Russian stamp with Cyrillic script is visible in the margin of the first blank folio added to Volume 1 (Pl. 41a). Volume 1 also carries official Persian stamps, possibly customs stamps, on the bottom margins of folios 2a and 193b. Both these stamps bear the date of 1334, which would convert to 1915-16 in the hijra calendar. The words "taqsh va muriq 'a shad" (examined and inspected) together with the number 1231, probably a registration number, are written around their circumferences, with the letters ša and ba in the central field.

In its present state the manuscript provides no precise evidence of where, when or for whom it was produced or any secure details of ownership prior to Kevoorkian. A regular interlinear addition of "tawaf" throughout the manuscript, indicates that at some stage it was part of a religious endowment. Notes in a shikasta hand, probably nineteenth-century, have been added to the margins of some folios; these appear to flag certain passages in the text.

A now largely obliterated 'scribble' on the first blank folio inserted at the beginning of Volume 1 could possibly be read as "majlis", preceded by words including "kāfī", and with a number beneath the script which might be read "30?0" (Pl. 49). This is meagre evidence and requires further investigation. However, it raises the possibility that at the beginning of the twentieth century the Freer Bal'ami may have been in the library of the first constitutional government of Iran. The most likely period for this would have been between the granting of the Constitution in January 1907 and the looting and destruction of some government buildings and houses of sympathisers during the royalist coup d'état of June 1908. Volume 2 was clearly in Kevoorkian's possession by 1912,

Nicholas Poole-Wilson and Edward Gibbs of Bernard Quaritch Ltd, and to John Simmons of All Soul's College, Oxford for their guidance and opinions. Apparently the monogram does not read entirely convincingly in either the Roman or Cyrillic scripts, and therefore requires further investigation.

This has not yet been deciphered.

I am grateful to Julie Meisami for her opinion and to John Gurney for further discussion. The meaning of the ša' and ba' remains unclear at present.

See Pl. 40b for labels on the inside cover of Vol. 2.

A careful study of them as a group might provide further information.

Muzaffar al-Din Shah signed the document authorising the first constitutional government of Iran on 1st January 1907. After the first few months, the newly elected Majlis (Assembly) moved into the building in Tehran known as the Baharistan. On 23 June 1908 the Majlis was overthrown by a royalist coup d'état; the Baharistan and the houses of some sympathisers, including members of the royal family, were ransacked, looted and burned by Colonel V. Liakhov, the commander of the Russian Cossack Brigade; all the Majlis records were lost. According to E.G. Browne, the looting from private houses included precious manuscripts; see Browne (1910), p. 209. Browne does not mention that codices were also held in the Baharistan at that time; however, as Vernoit has observed, it was following this coup d'état that manuscripts increasingly found
when it was exhibited in Paris.\textsuperscript{8} If Volume 1 bears customs stamps with the \textit{hijýd} date of 1334/1915-16 it is conceivable that the volumes became separated in the political upheavals of the summer of 1908. It seems improbable that Kevorkian would have bought only Volume 2 if both volumes had been offered to him for purchase.\textsuperscript{44} Although Volume 1 may have left Iran in 1334/1915-16, I have not so far found further reference to it prior to its purchase by the Freer Gallery from Rabenou in 1957.
Chapter One

The Frontispiece

(F57.16, Vol. 1, fol. 1a (Pls 1a–o))

1. Introduction

I would like to suggest that the originality of the frontispiece to the Freer Bal’ami lies not in its form but in its message. Alone among its predecessors, contemporaries and successors it depicts a judgement scene. While its composition adheres to the time-honoured formula of the centrally enthroned ruler, flanked by supporters, backed by guards and overflown by angels, it is headed by a quotation from the Qur’an and footed, not by musicians, dancers and servants of the commissariat, but a scene of execution. I shall attempt to demonstrate that although the frontispiece is not novel in terms of its formal structure, on closer inspection the subject matter reflects cultural and political circumstances of particular relevance to the Ilkhanid state at the turn of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries.

The vertical sequencing of the iconography reads from the top as:

i) the opening to Sura 38:26, in which God empowers Dawud (David) as His deputy on earth and admonishes him to judge rightly between men;

“Ya Daud! Inna ja’alanaka khaliṣ Written in English: “Ya Daud! Lo! We have set thee as a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge aright between mankind...”

ii) an enthroned Mongol ruler surrounded by civilian and military supporters;

iii) the ultimate sanction of authority—the death sentence.

The frontispiece therefore declares that the Biblical–Qur’anic Creator has invested the Ilkhanid ruler as the rightful successor to Dawud with the ultimate sanction over life and death under the Divine mandate.

A centrally enthroned Mongol with a hawk on his right wrist sits at the apex of a hierarchy of advisors. To the right of the ruler a Muslim divine is seated with a text in his hands; to the left of the ruler a smaller, turbaned figure holds a circular or oval gold

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1 I have followed Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall’s edition of the Qur’an, in the London, 1976 edition published by Fine Books Ltd, and George Allen and Unwin (Publishers) Ltd, retaining his spelling in direct quotations, for example, “therefor”.

2 “Right” and “left” will refer to the viewer’s right and left unless stated otherwise.
object, perhaps a lion-headed ḍīyazā, a symbol of the highest grade of administrator in Mongol government service. Next to the putative ḍīyazā-bearer sits a figure with Mongol features holding an oblong tapered object with red markings; this is either a goblet of ‘Syrian’ design or an oblong ḍīyazā, of the type suspended from the neck by a chord.

Supporters to the rear of the throne display insignia of office. To the left the Turkic quiver bearer (qurcâ) is depicted in the act of drawing his bow; to the right, one of a pair of trident bearers is coiffed with Sasanian-style hair ribbons, while a second ‘pseudo-Sasanian’ is now only partially visible at the torn right hand edge of the painting. The depiction of Mongol, Turkic and anachronistic Sasanian figures suggest a configuration intended to express Ilkhanid rule in terms of historical chronology.

The Balʿami manuscript lacks any overt declaration of an intended audience, and no enthroned ruler frontispiece has survived from a historical prose text with which to compare it—even from the works of Rashid al-Din. This may be accident of survival; nonetheless, the manipulation of details within the standard format of the Balʿami frontispiece deserves investigation for light it may throw on an early, and still obscure, phase in the history of the illustrated Persian book.

In an attempt to analyse the Balʿami enthroned ruler image, I shall focus on its novel features and contrast them with other fourteenth-century examples in frontispieces and introductory texts. I shall also consider the significance of the quotation from the Qurʾān for the iconography of the painting and for the political and religious context.

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3 Some information on the proposed audience for the Jamiʿ al-tawdīkh, and other works of Rashid al-Din is provided by the endowment deed for the Rabʿi Rashidi in Tabriz. This expresses the planned, if not achieved, distribution of copies to cities of the Ilkhanid realm, Blair (1984), pp. 81–82; Blair (1995), pp. 114–115.

4 As will be discussed further in Chapter Three, according to Daniel’s “Annotated Inventory of Balʿami Manuscripts”, the earliest, if fragmentary, surviving copy of Balʿami’s text is dated 586/1190 (Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds 129 (7481). This is followed by ten more dated examples between 701/1302 and 754/1353–4. In addition, eleven undated copies, including the Freer text, are attributed to the late-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The relatively high survival rate of the text in the Ilkhanid period—at least twenty copies between 1302 and 1353—increases the chances of other illustrated versions having once existed.

5 I have suggested elsewhere that the iconography of the double frontispiece to the 689/1290 copy of Juwayni’s Tārikh-i jahān gushā (Paris, BN, Suppl. pers. 205, fols 1b–2a), may also carry wry comment on Ilkhanid rule, Fitzherbert (1996), pp. 69–75. In terms of style, Ettinghausen and Simpson both considered the Paris double frontispiece as an interesting exercise in combining established frontispiece formulae with new Far Eastern stylistic influences, Ettinghausen (1959), pp. 44–52 and Simpson (1982), 111–115. The unusual details included in the Balʿami frontispiece, however, are concerned with meaning and cannot be explained simply in terms of stylistic accretion.
within which it may have been produced. At the end of the chapter some preliminary conclusions will be offered as to the date and possible circumstances of the manuscript's production. These will then be reassessed and refined in the course of the succeeding chapters. Following this introduction, numbered as "1", the chapter will proceed as follows:

Schema of chapter

2. Overview of format and interpretation

3. Description of the frontispiece
   - Inscription
   - Scene and setting
   - Enthroned figure
   - Throne
   - Courtiers, attendants and the condemned

4. The Freer Bal'ami's frontispiece and its fourteenth-century contemporaries
   - Overview of comparable enthronements in frontispieces and introductory text
   - The David Collection textile (Copenhagen, David Coll. Inv. no. 30/1995)
   - A comparison between the frontispiece in the Freer Bal'ami and the Topkapi Sarayi Album folio (TSM. H. 2153, fol. 60b)

5. The quotation from the Qur'an
   - The significance of Sura 38:26 for the frontispiece
   - The significance of Sura 38 for Bal'ami's text

6. Ilkhanid political, religious and judicial contexts
   - An overview
   - Numismatic parallels
   - Ghazan's Syrian campaigns and the anti-Mongol fatwa of Ibn Taymiyya

7. Did the Freer Bal'ami have a double frontispiece?
   - Ῥaquš-i 'alam and messianism in the Ilkhanid period
   - Ghazan's reforms. A yarligh on land tenure
2. Overview of format and interpretation

The full-frontal image of a moon-faced figure, seated cross-legged on a throne and usually holding a goblet or napkin; symmetrically flanked by mortal supporters holding insignia of office and often overseen by angels or apsaras; was absorbed into the iconography of the central Islamic lands from eastern Turkic and Buddhist sources from at least the eleventh century onwards. It was subsequently reinforced by waves of military levies, slaves and invaders from north-east Iran and Transoxania, of which the Turco-Mongol hordes were the most recent.

In Iraq and the Jazira images of enthroned figures on ceramics, metalwork and in books had proliferated in the decades preceding the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258. However, despite its repetition in different media, the exact meaning of this image to the user or viewer is not always clear. Ubiquity might be expected to have diminished the authoritarian impact of the image; however, it continued to be used to proclaim the

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6 This subject has previously been summarised in Simpson (1982), pp. 106-108.
7 For the moon face, see Esin (1979), p. 454 and pls V-VII; and for the cup and enthroned ruler image see Esin (1969), pp. 224-261, especially figs 12C-14C and "La Coupe" in Roux (1982), pp. 83-108 and pls 1-13, and "L'Arc et les Flèches", pp. 59-82 and pl. 1. On the westward progress of Turkic culture, see Melikian Chirvani (1972), pp. 56-65 and fig. 14 and Melikian Chirvani (1974), pp. 110-119. Variations in head-dress and insignia may be seen in examples such as the Ghaznawid silver bowl in the St Petersburg Hermitage, in which a ruler wears a winged head-dress, probably the two-pointed type (kulâb-i dâd shâbî), while his supporters carry a flowering branch and a cup, in Frye (1975), ill. 7, the late tenth-century medallion in the name of the Buyid 'Izz al-Dawla and al-Ta'i (Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzesi), illustrated Ettinghausen and Grabar (1987), ill. 253, and the mid eleventh-century Iranian silver dish, formerly at the Musée de la Société pour l'Encouragement des Beaux-Arts in Leningrad, in which an enthroned and turbaned figure delicately holds a shallow cup between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand and a napkin in his left, Ibid. ill. 249.
8 This was true also of Iran, for example on luxury ceramics such as Kashan lustre, see particularly Hillenbrand, R. (1995), pp. 167-198 and Watson (1985), chs 5-7. For metalwork in Iraq and the Jazira see Ward (1993), pp. 80-93; Allan (1982), especially pp. 11-24, and for the art of the book, Ettinghausen (1962), pp. 58-142.
9 A representative metalwork example is the lid of the Vaso Vescovali in the British Museum, from Khurasan and dated c. 1200 (OA 1950.7-25.1), Ward (1993), ill. 10; a visual analysis of a ceramic example is provided for the Kashan lustre bowl, dated 607/1210, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Gift of Horace Havermayer, 41.119.1), Hillenbrand, R. (1995), particularly figs 2, 6, 7, 12 and 14.
10 On patronage in general see Hillenbrand, R. (1995), pp. 183-5, and on the possibility of a move from the enthroned ruler figure as one of temporal authority more akin to the spiritual guide on some elaborate Kashan lustre ceramic pieces, see idem p. 185. However, even the proliferation of literary inscriptions, often mystical or love poetry, usually appears to refer only obliquely to the subject matter depicted, Watson (1985), pp. 150-153. I understand a radical reassessment of the relationship of word and image in the Saljuq period has recently been carried out by Oya Pancaroğlu in her doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 2000. I have not yet had the pleasure of reading it.
authority of the caliphate in public demonstrations, such as the central figure above the Talisman Gate of Baghdad, built c. 1220 by the Caliph al-Nasir (r. 575/1180–622/1225) (Fig. 1). Here, the crowned, moon-faced figure sits cross-legged, with biceps flexed, holding at bay the gaping maws of two dragons with tongues silenced in his grip, perhaps representing the caliph warding off threats to Islam.1

The format of the Freer Bal‘ami’s frontispiece derives from late-classical prototypes for enthroned rulers and author portraits, adopted and adapted for introducing scientific and literary Arabic texts from at least the late-eleventh century onwards.2 The frontispiece to the Dioscorides De Materia Medica in Bologna, dated 642/1244 provides a good example (Fig. 2).3 Here, the master is seated beneath an arch with pendant drapes, rather than a billowing swag held by angels, but his seat is of the cushion-backed type and his full-frontal posture, with both legs tucked, is oriental. He is closer to the figure in the Bal‘ami version than, for example, figures on straight-backed thrones of Byzantine type such as the portraits of Dioscorides in the Süleymaniye Library’s undated thirteenth-century manuscript,4 and the three-quarter view in the copy dated 626/1229 in the Topkapı Saray Library.5

The range of personalities shown enthroned in full-frontal posture was expanded at this period to include the Prophet Muhammad, who is shown, for example, in the narrative context of ‘Ayyuqi’s Warga u Gulshāh (Fig. 3a), probably produced in Konya c. 1250.6 In the wake of the Mongol invasions the Prophet enthroned with the first four caliphs is included in the introductory folios to the Freer Gallery’s Small Shāhnāma.

1 Herfeld suggested that this image, dating from the period of al-Nasir’s reassertion of caliphal authority and Sunni orthodoxy, may represent the person of the ruler warding off the political threat from the east of the Khwarazmshahs, and the internal religious threat to orthodox Islam of the Isma‘īlis. However, by the 1220s the Isma‘īlis were no longer a threat, and the caliph’s concern was for Sunni, Shi‘i and the four madhabs to co-exist peacefully under his rule. For the waning of Isma‘īli power see, for example, Hodgson (1968), pp. 447–454.

2 For a comprehensive study of this subject with regard to manuscript illustration see Hoffman (1982), especially Part III, Chs 1–2, pp. 187–292; for the iconography of the enthroned ruler on thirteenth-century high-quality ceramics see Hillenbrand, R. (1995), pp. 167–198.

3 Bologna University Library, Codex arabe. 2954, fol. 141a, Brandenburg (1982), illus. 90.

4 SL, no. 3704, fol. 1b, Brandenburg (1982), illus. 33.


6 TSM, H. 841, fol. 69b, Tanudi (1984), Min. 1; hereafter “Warga u Gulshāh”.
Tig-3b), and also in Sa‘d al-Din Warawini’s Marzubân-nâma of 698/1299 (Fig. 4a).

Here the pose is modified by the Prophet’s ‘conversational’ inclination towards his right, a stance also adopted by the enthroned patron in royal guise on folio 7a of the same manuscript (Fig. 4b). This modification of the pose became increasingly popular for frontispieces and illustrations inserted into laudatory introductory text, usually to imply that the text was worthy of discussion.

A mildly subversive example is the double page frontispiece to the Maqâmât of al-Hariri, illustrated by al-Wasiti and dated 634/1237 (Fig. 7a-b). Each folio depicts an enthroned figure, one a Turkish prince or governor, and the other a turbaned Arab official; both wear exaggerated headgear and insignia and are surrounded by commoners rather than courtiers, some, in keeping with the satirical nature of the text, exhibiting scant respect for authority by turning their backs to the throne and gazing out of the picture.

Ettinghausen has shown that the depiction of the ruler set to one side of the composition in circumstances of increased informality was present in metalwork and frontispieces before the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258; for example, in the undated Jazîran Kitâb al-dârîyâq (Figs 21a-b), and that in the wake of the collapse of the ‘Abbasid caliphate the conversational author portrait seems to have blossomed, as in the double frontispiece.

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17 F57-16; this image will be discussed in Chapter Two, in connection with “The Genealogy of the Prophet” (F57-16) (Pl. 26).
18 Istanbul, AM, no. 216, fol. 2a; hereafter “Marzubân-nâma”.
20 Simpson (1982), pp. 103-105 and fig. 51. This enthroned official in the Marzubân-nâma manuscript appears to be holding a quiver, the insignia of the office of qurçî (qorçî) or ‘quiverbearer’ to Turkic culture. On the office of qurçî, see Manz (1989), p. 172. On quiverbearers being appointed to Chinggis Khan’s personal guard, see Secret History–Cleaves tr. (1982), p. 120. For pre-Mongol representations see the special guard, khâtâshâyê, in the arcades surrounding the throne niche from Sinjar, dated c. 1220-1230, in Hillenbrand, C. (1999), pl. 4.11 (Fig. 168a). On the iconography of the bow and arrow in Turko-Islamic culture, see “L’Arc et les Flèches” in Roux (1982), pp. 59-81 and pls 1-5.
21 Paris, BN, arabie 5847, fols 1b and 2a; hereafter, “al-Wasiti’s Maqâmât”.
22 Ettinghausen suggests that the frontality of the Turk’s pose represents worldly power, while the greater familiarity of the turbaned figure, reflects the bond between him and his audience; a contrast in degree of formality reflected in the stances of the eagle in the frames surrounding the paintings, Ettinghausen (1962), pp. 113-115; Grabar modifies this reading by suggesting that the prince and the judge represent the two worlds of many of the stories, Grabar (1984), pp. 22-23 and microfiche 1.A1 and 1.A2. The Bal’ami enthroned figure is acting both as prince and judge, and, as I shall argue below, the Qur’anic inscription acts as a remarkably comprehensive introduction to the Bal’ami-Tabârî text.
23 Vienna, Nb, AF. io, fol. 1a, Ettinghausen (1962), p.92 and ill. p. 91; hereafter “Vienna Kitâb al-dârîyâq”.

to the Kātib al-ikhzān al-Sajā of 686/1285 (Fig. 8a–b).\(^{24}\) However, the designer of the Bal'arni frontispiece appears to have spurned both these trends in favour of a strictly formal pose, closer to that of the Kātib al-aghānī enthronements of c. 1218–19\(^{5}\) (Figs 6a–b).

It is therefore perhaps in the re-definition of authority in the wake of the religious and political upheavals associated with the destruction of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate, followed by thirty-seven years of non-Muslim rule, that clues should be sought to adjustments worked into the ruler image in the Bal'arni frontispiece.

For at least forty years following 656/1258 the diverse religious and cultural traditions swept westwards by the Mongol invasions remained imperfectly reconciled within the Ilkhanid state.\(^{6}\) 694/1295 marked the official conversion of Ghazan Khan to Islam and the declaration of the patrimony of Hulagu as an Islamic state.\(^{7}\) Nonetheless, the Mongol belief in the Chingizid mandate to world rule\(^{8}\) remained sacrosanct, and the Chingizid legal system of the Šāda\(^{9}\) continued to be invoked in tandem with the Muslim Šari‘a into the second half of the fourteenth century, albeit increasingly for circumscribed tribal affairs.\(^{10}\)

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\(^{25}\) Istanbul, MK, Feyzullah Efendi, 1566, and Cairo, NL, Adab, no. 579; hereafter “Istanbul Kātib al-aghānī frontispiece” and “Cairo Kātib al-aghānī frontispiece”.


\(^{29}\) The exact nature of the Šāda is debated; however, the most comprehensive study to date remains Ayalon, ‘The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan. A Reexamination’, in Studia Islamica, (A) in 33, 1971, pp. 97–140; (B) in 34, 1971, pp. 151–180; (C1) in 36, 1972, pp. 138–158 and (C2) in 38, 1973, pp. 107–156, together with Morgan’s reappraisal, Morgan (1986), pp. 163–176.

\(^{30}\) Bayani (1962); Bayani notes that Muhammad ibn Hindushah Nakhjuwani’s treatise on contemporary chancellery protocol, Dastār al-kātib fi ta‘ā’in al-marātib, completed in 777/1375, (a work commissioned by Abu Sa‘īd but completed and dedicated to Sultan Uways Jalayir (r. 757/1356–776/1374), still includes the bakhtish as an official post in the Diwan-i ghādā. By this date the post had become hereditary but still required a royal firmdān, Bayani (1962), pp. 289–291, citing Ms. BN, pers. 463, fol. 136, 165 and 210. Bayani also quotes the foundation inscription of the Mirjan-iyya Madrasa in Baghdad, dated 758/1356, in which Sultan Uways is described as living by the laws of the Muslims and honouring the traditions of government established by Chingiz Khan, Bayani (1962), p. 297. Ilkhanid evidence for the Šāda will also be considered below under “The religious and judicial context.”
Since the frontispiece is in very poor condition, and some of its subtleties lie in the designer's interpretation of small-scale elements, a preliminary description of its constituent parts may be helpful.
3. Description of the frontispiece (Pls 1a–c)

Dimensions

- extant illuminated panel and ‘inwâh
- extant painting plus ‘inwâh and all ruled lines
- average text block area

Condition

The frontispiece is in extremely poor condition. It is on the same paper as the other folios of original text, with the preface to Ba’ami’s history commencing on its “b” side. The painting is sorely rubbed and much of the pigment has been lost. In addition, sections of the right-hand side of the folio are missing, and some areas have been roughly patched with plain paper. Through abrasions and holes in the painting scraps of text are visible. Where the surface of the paper has been ‘skinned’, the script on the “b” side is now visible from the “a”, appearing back-to-front. Holes in the folio have been strengthened with fine gauze through which scraps of the text on folio 2a are now visible.

3.1 Inscription (Pls 1d and 1f)

The frontispiece is headed with a panel of illumination. This consists of split palmettes in gold, with red infills on a plain ground hatched in red. Beneath the illumination is a narrower panel bearing a quotation in Arabic from the Qur’an, written in white naskh on a gold ground. As already noted in the Introduction, the opening words have now been torn away but the remaining text reads: “…nâka khatif’âlan fil’ ari fa’’ham bayn’â ‘li bi’l haqq” a quotation from the first half of Qur’an, Sura 38:26, “Sûd”. In its complete form it would read:

“Ya dâwûd inna ja’alnâka khatif’âlan fil’-arâhi fa’’ham bayn’â ‘li bi’l-‘haqq...”

“O David! Lo! We have set thee as a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge aright between mankind...”

The base of the folio has been cropped and is now badly skinned. It is difficult to be certain, but the second half of Verse 26 was probably not included in the original composition since the remains of the gold ruling line at the base of the painting is wider than on the other three sides. However, ideally the Qur’an is memorised and a quotation in part would evoke the whole and the absence of the second part would not

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31 In the section on Dawud in Ba’ami’s text (fol. 76a), only the first half of the verse is quoted; for comparative texts see [Ba’ami/Tabari-Bahár/Gunâbadi eds, 1314/1962-3 Z3878], p. 548 and [Bel’ami/Tabari-Zotenberg, 1980 Z3870], p. 352.
necessarily significantly impair the message. The second half reads:39

"... vea-la tattabi 'l-hayat fa-yuddilaha 'an sabili 'illahi inna 'lladaina yaddilluna 'an sabili 'allahi la-hum 'adhabun shaddan yamma 'l-hisab."

"... and follow not desire that it beguile thee from the way of Allah. Lo! those who wander from the way of Allah have an awful doom, for as much as they forgot the Day of Reckoning."

3.2 Scene and setting

Against a red background, an enthroned figure is seated alone upon his throne surrounded by courtiers and attendants. Some evidence of vegetation to the right of the throne indicates an outdoor scene, but since decapitated bodies roll in the dust it is clearly a scene of judgement rather than fête champêtre. All the figures, including the decapitated heads, are nimbed.

3.3 Enthroned figure (Pls g-i)

Although of slight build, the enthroned figure is larger than any other in the composition. He sits on a low throne with both legs crossed beneath him, and his left-hand black boot protruding. A large, pale-coloured hawk perches on his heavily gauntleted right wrist, while his left arm hangs limply behind his left knee. His face is circular, suggesting puffy cheeks and there is some evidence of meagre facial hair. Although badly bleached, the faint outlines of accentuated Turco-Mongol features are just visible. He wears a coat of gold brocade, fastening left to right.

The design of his head-dress is difficult to discern, but such evidence as remains suggests a feathered Mongol head-dress. A crown seems unlikely since even under high magnification there is no evidence whatsoever of gold, and no other crown among the many depicted in this cycle of illustrations has shed its gilding in such a way.39 Also, when a crown is worn, no more than a meagre hairline or the Mongol 'tuft' is visible on the brow,34 and here there is a band of black. Some upward curving lines are still visible under magnification; these probably indicate feathers (Pl. ii), and a narrow black band

39 The possibility that the extant first half of the Sura may have been balanced by a complimentary hadith at the head of a now missing right-hand folio will be considered towards the end of this chapter.

35 The enthroned figure in the 'Stephens' Shāhmāna dated 753/1352 wears a hat, perhaps felt, with an everted brim (Fig. 15) but there is no evidence of a hat of this type here. Notable exceptions to crowned enthroned figures are the turbaned ruler in the Diez Album, (SPKO, Diez A, fol. 71, p. 46) (Fig. 9), and the petal-capped ruler in the Topkapı Album frontispiece, (TSM, H. 2152, fol. 6ob) (Fig. 11).

34 For the Mongol 'tuft', see Spuler (1972), p. 95 and Cammann (1963), p. 161. For an example in the Bal'ami manuscript, see the detail of Iskandar's head from F57.16, folio 90b (Pl. 13b).
across the temples is in keeping with the Mongol head-dress surmounted by owl and eagle feathers, of the type worn in such frontispieces as the Tārīkh-i jahān-nāmah of 689/1290, and the Mu‘nis al-ahrār of 741/1340-1 (Fig. 16a-b). The likelihood of the Bal‘ami figure’s head-dress being feathered, is further suggested by the darker line rising from a small ornament or fixture on the crown of the head, suitable for securing the quill of a central, probably eagle, feather. In addition, there is the hint of a back-sloping neck flap typical of this headgear.

Loss of pigment has exposed a fine red line running down the centre of the composition. It runs vertically through face and torso of the enthroned figure, the parasol bearer standing immediately behind him and the predella of the throne beneath the enthroned figure’s tucked feet. This was probably to help the designer centre the composition. The problem is visible in the adjustments made to accommodate the central quill feather and the staff of the parasol (Pl. 1).

3.4 Throne

The throne is of a simple portable type. The base consists of a rectangular block, raised some inches off the ground and draped with a textile; the post to the seated figure’s left is visible; it is dark coloured, with a rather drunken gold finial. The throne’s back is upright, eased by a large square cushion covered with a gold textile of simple circle and dot design; an additional bolster at the small of his back protrudes...
slightly to his right.40

3.5 Courtiers, attendants and the condemned

On either side of the enthroned figure sit a pair court attendants.

3.5.1 The ālām (Pls 1 j–k)

To the enthroned figure's left (the viewer's right) sits a generously bearded and turbaned figure: despite considerable loss of colour his presence is arresting. His turban is wound round a black cap, the crown of which is visible at the turban's centre. The turban has the flowing ends of the jaylāsān used to identify a Muslim man of learning.41 His face shape and features, together with a substantial beard, suggest an Arab or Persian, rather than Turko-Mongol, origin. There is some small evidence of his garment having once been a misty blue with bold lotus pattern.42 A circular woven gold medallion on the breast, circular gold shoulder pieces and a gold band of decoration some inches above the hem of his robe are still clearly visible.43 Black boots protrude from beneath his skirts. He holds before him, balanced on his right hand, a narrow oblong object, which may be a scroll, loose folios or a book. With his left hand he may be holding a pen or, perhaps, pointing towards the ruler like the figure beside him. He is seated on some kind of chair, probably a camp stool similar to the type which is faintly visible beneath a figure on the far left of the painting, and common to court scenes of the Ilkhānid period.44

3.5.2 Figure to ālām's left (Pls j–k)

To the right of the ālām sits a figure looking across the court. Roughly a third of his form has been torn away. His face is in three-quarter view, but his features are

40 For a discussion of the Eastern Turkish origin and form of this throne see Otto-Dorn (1982), pp. 149–194.
41 Lane (1877), Book 1, part 6, p. 1867.
42 Simpson notes that the Prophet enthroned on folio 2a of the 698/1299 Marzubān-nāma, wears a "sky-blue robe (jubba)". A figure similar to the ālām is seated to the enthroned figure's left on folio 7a of the same manuscript (Fig. 4b) Simpson (1982), p. 99, and figs 49 and 51.
43 Similar epaulets and shoulder patches are worn by figures in the second rank on folio 7a of the Marzubān-nāma, (Fig. 4b). Simpson has suggested these costume details may be traced to the Khitan Tatars of the Liao dynasty, op. cit. p. 110.
44 These camp stools are clearly depicted on folio 7a of the Marzubān-nāma (Fig. 4b). For the heritage of Middle Eastern stools see Kurz (1972), pp. 302–303 and ill. 3a–b. The Mongols favoured the simplest, most portable "X" design, which become standard furniture in court scenes; see, for example, the scribe and courtier in "Tahmuras, the fully armed", illustrated in the Edinburgh portion of the Šams al-dawrākhi of 714/1314, Talbot Rice (1976), p. 47, no. 4.
bleached beyond legibility. He appears to be wearing a tightly wound globular turban\textsuperscript{45}, from which black hair straggles. His garment appears to have been of bold, floral design with some patterning in gold; there is some evidence of a woven medallion on his breast and a gold band of decoration above the hem of his garment is clearly visible, as are his neat black boots. With his left hand he points towards the ruler.

\textbf{3.5.3 Turbaned figure to enthroned figure's right (Pls 1-1m)}

In the front row, to the enthroned figure's right (viewer's left), and at a respectful distance from the menacing falcon on his gauntleted wrist, sits a figure in a gold brocade coat, fastening left to right, who peers either at the ruler or across the court at the \textit{alîm}. The hierarchic scaling depicts him as smaller than the \textit{alîm} and positioned at a slightly lower level. He has a circular face and wears a tightly wound, globular turban. His features and ethnic type are difficult to discern with certainty; his more almond-shaped eyes and black beard suggest he is not a Mongol, but some lighter brush strokes still visible around his chin suggest a less fulsome growth may have originally been intended. In his right hand clasps a circular, or oval gold object which he extends towards the enthroned figure. As Mongols swore on gold and Muslims on the Qur'an, a gold object would be in accordance with judicial proceedings\textsuperscript{46}. Since the turban suggests this figure is a Muslim, the gold object could be a pôyza, or Mongol patent of authority, which was not religiously specific (Fig. 194).\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{45} Tight turbans of this type appear in Iranian and Arab contexts, both before and during the Mongol period. For example, on pre-Mongol Kashan ceramics it is worn by the central figure on the lustre bowl, dated 607/1210 (New York, MMA, 41.119.1), illustrated in Watson (1985), p. 94, pl. 66; it is also worn by several of the scholars on folio 1b of the Vienna \textit{Kâšâb al-dîrâsâ}, probably from mid-thirteenth-century Jazira, illustrated in Paris (1996-1997), p. 40; it is also worn by the enthroned figure surrounded by his Mongol bodyguard in the Diez Album (Berlin, SPKO, Diez A, fol. 71, p. 46) (Fig. 9).

\textsuperscript{46} For Mongols swearing on gold see Spuler (1972), p. 145.

\textsuperscript{47} Juwayni cites occasions when his father was given a pôyza and \textit{yarlîgh} (the written document which accompanied a pôyza), for example, Juwayni-Boyle tr. (1958), vol. 2, p. 519. Marco Polo gives an account of the pôyza and its protocols, Polo–Yule/Cordier tr. & ed. (1993), vol. 1, pp. 350–351, and Yule provides a long discursive footnote, \textit{ulûm} pp. 351–354 n. 2. Juwayni and Rashid al-Din refer regularly to the pôyzas, graded from the golden lion, or perhaps tiger-headed pôyza, since the Persian word \textit{shir} was used indiscriminately for both big cats, through other precious metals down to wood, for example see Juwayni-Boyle tr. (1958), vol. 1, pp. 158 and 257 and n. 30, Juwayni-Qazwini ed. (1912–37), vol. 1, pp. 124 and 211 and Rashid al-Din–Rawshan/Musawi eds (1373/1995), vol. 1, pp. 662 and 1476. For examples of pôyzas see (Fig. 19a–b), after Rashid al-Din–Rawshan/Musawi eds (1373/1995) (unnumbered pages), and Carswell (1999–2000), pl. 3.
3.5.4 Seated Mongol to turbaned figure’s right (Pls tl-m)

To the turbaned figure’s right and closest to the left hand foreground of the composition a Mongol figure is seated on a camp stool. His exaggerated Far Eastern features and pouchet cheeks areconfigured like a netsuke. He sports a pencil-fine, drooping moustache and meagre goatee beard. His curious visage relates awkwardly to his torso. Due to damaged paper and loss of pigment, it is difficult to determine his head-dress with certainty. A few strokes issuing from a black brim and rising to a central point above his brow suggests the base for a feathered head-dress, similar to that worn by the enthroned figure. His coat retains some signs of having been a misty blue with a large gold medallion on the breast, similar to that worn by the 'alim sitting opposite. In his right hand he clasps a conical object to which some red pigment still adheres: perhaps a linear design. This is probably a conical glass beaker of Syrian type. However, a brown, or possibly oxidised silver, line appears to run from it towards the figure’s right shoulder. It is unlikely that a glass beaker would be hung round the neck and the line may be merely the result of careless painting. However, a thong or chain would be appropriate for suspending a fiyya, of the oblong type (Fig. 19b), and it is conceivable that some confusion on the part of the painter may have arisen here.

3.5.5 Second rank of attendants (Pls 1a-b and j-m)

Behind this phalanx of notables rise the heads and shoulders of four figures: two on either side of the throne. The two on the ruler’s right, to the left of the hawk, wear brocade coats and Mongol hats with up-turned brims; they may be holding small objects,

48 For brevity, I shall tag this configuration of facial features as the ‘netsuke’ look. It also appears in a gold statuette of a Qidan qešb (female spirit) of Liao dynasty date (907-1125), illustrated in Kessler (1993), p. 108, fig. 71, with detail opp. p. 7 (Fig. 20a). It was found in Naimai Banner, Zhelimu League, 11.2 cm high and with a back pin, and may have been a hat ornament. Comparable items of jewellery are likely to have been in the possession of the Mongol élite, particularly in the period of Buddhist ascendancy under Ghazan’s father, Arghun (r. 683-690/1284-1291), and may have provided models for this unusual convention. A somewhat crude variant occurs on an Ilkhanid period Kashan lustre tile, from the sarcophagus of Habib Musa in Kashan, (Fig. 20b), Watson (1985), pl. 114, and on a tile from Takht-i Sulayman, Ghouchani (1992), p. 43 no. 2 and fig. 2. The facial types in the Bal’ami are one of the features which set it apart from Injuid manuscript productions.

49 See, for example, the beaker in the hand of the enthroned figure in the mid-thirteenth-century frontispiece to the Vienna Kita‘ al-dryaq (Fig. 21b). Figures holding wine beakers are common in enthronement scenes. Here, however, the implication of wine-bibbing in the same frame as a quotation from the Qur’an, and under the eye of a senior Muslim cleric, strikes an unusual note unless it is intended to denote cultural or religious difference.

50 I shall suggest in Chapter Four that the preliminary drawing beneath the paint often appears to be more skillful than the quality of the painting, and suggests that at least two hands worked on the cycle of illustrations.
perhaps, pāryas, but otherwise bear no particular insignia of office. The two on his left
are largely blocked by the figure of the ‘ulan and his companion; one appears to be
wearing a felt hat and the other has loose hair strapped with ribbons, Sasanian-style,
similar to a trident bearer standing behind him and to his right, immediately to the rear
of the throne.

3.5.6 Parasol bearer (Pls 1 a–b and d–f)

Immediately behind the throne stand three figures. The central figure wears a
metal helmet with a central spike and holds a parasol,54 slightly to one side. The
pigment of the parasol’s covering has been lost, leaving only the outline of the covering
and the exposed ribs.

3.5.7 Trident carriers (Pls 1 a–b, e and l–m)

The figures on either side of the parasol bearer hold three-pronged lances.55 The
figure on the left of the picture wears a Mongol hat with up-turned brim.56 The figure

54 The umbrella or parasol of Middle Eastern royal panoply was used by both
Mongol rulers and their dignitaries and is attested in the sources: Juwayni refers to the
progress of “the royal parasol” as a metaphor for Great Khan Mungka (Möngke) (r.
Juwayni–Qazwini ed. (1912–37), vol. 2, p. 260; Marco Polo describes the “little golden
canopy, such as is called an umbrella given to commanders of 100,000 men, carried on a
spear over his head in token of his high command”, Marco Polo–Yule/Cordier tr. & ed.
describes the visit of the ambassador of the Ilkhan Ahmad Tiguder (Tegüder) to Sultan
Qalawun; on this occasion the envoy traveled with a great retinue and parasol, described
as “a dome of hide”, Holt (1986), p. 130, quoting from Al-fadl al-mu’taṣir min sirat al-malik al-
mas’ūd (Oxford, Bodleian, Marsh 424, without fol. no.) For a drawing of a Mongol
dignitary with parasol see Diez Album, (SPKO, fol. 71, p. 50) (Fig. 22), İpşiroğlu (1964), p.
21 and pl. 10, discussed by Rogers in Barthold and Rogers (1970), pp. 224–225 and ill. 3.
55 A similar three-pronged dart is to be found in the Mu’tas al-Aṣās dated 741/1341
(Princeton University Libraries, Manuscripts Division, Robert Garrett Collection, 94 G),
Swietochowski and Carboni (1994), p. 36–7, pl. 4 d-f. Rice also comments on “the very
rare representation of a trident as a ceremonial weapon” on the candlestick dated
622/1225, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, signed: “Abü Bakr Son of Hajji Jaldak
the ghulām of Ahmad Son of ‘Umar, Son of Kāmil, known as al-Dhakī the engraver of
Mosul in the year 622. Long life to its owner”, Rice (1949), p. 337 and fig. c (1). A
trident with more stunted prongs appears in the Edinburgh Jāmiʿ al-lavāʾīk (EUL, Arab
56 Schroeder has shown that this is one of the most common Mongol hat types,
appearing in both Ilkhanid and Injuid manuscript illustration throughout the first half of
the fourteenth century, Schroeder (1939), figs 1–2.
on the right is hatless, but ribbons encircle his black hair and are knotted at the back with the ends floating free, Sasanian style.

3.5.8 Archer on left and figure lost from right-hand of folio (Pls ia–b, e and l–m)

To right and left of the 'triumvirate' of spear and parasol bearers, and slightly to their rear, stand two figures. Much of the right-hand side of the folio has been torn away and only a scrap of nimbus survives from that figure. The figure on the left of the folio wears a Mongol hat with an up-turned brim and holds a fully-drawn bow with arrow. This figure, like the other terrestrial attendants, wears a brocade coat, fastening left to right.

3.5.9 Angels (Pls 1 d–f)

Above all the human figures and the parasol billows a drape, held aloft by two winged and airborne supporters. They have long black braids but no head-dresses, crowns or circlets round their brows. The manner of their dress is difficult to determine, but they appear to be clothed except for bare arms and feet. Their wings sprout on tendrils from their halos.

3.5.10 Decapitated bodies and flanking figures (Pl. 1c and n–o)

This section of the painting has been severely rubbed and text from the "b" side of the folio is visible through the abraded surface. A large triangular area at the right-hand corner is still covered by an old patch, although an even larger patch has now been removed from on top of it during conservation. Red pigment on the surface of this underlying patch strongly suggests that at one time it was face-to-face with another

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54 The trident carrier on the Boston Museum of Arts candlestick is also hatless, Rice (1949), fig. c (1).

55 For example the uncrowned figure on the silver-gilt plate in the Iran Bastan Museum (no. 1275), fourth century AD, illustrated in Harper (1978), p. 33, cat. no. 3. These ribbons are also worn by Hushang, on folio 18b (Pl. 2) and the two guards to right and left of the Bahram Gur on F57.16, folio 117b, (Pl. 17a and c), where the coiffure may be seen more clearly.

56 This idiosyncratic wing arrangement is known from Jaziran painting, such as the double page frontispieces to the Paris Kūth al-dryaq dated 595/1199, (BN, arabe 2964), (Fig. 23), illustrated in Farès (1953), pls 3–4; and the Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary of Gospels from the Monastery of Mar Matai, near Mosul (Vatican, BA, Siriac 559, fol. 48a) with a colophon, re-read by Fiey, as AD1260/1571 Seleucid Era (Fig. 140). Fiey has suggested that this manuscript reflects the protection afforded to the Christian communities by Hulagu (Hülegü) through his Karayat (Kereit) Nestorian Christian wife, Duquz (Doquz) Khatun, following the fall of Baghdad in 1258, Fiey (1975), pp. 59–61. This dating will be followed hereafter.
painting, probably the right-hand folio of a double frontispiece. It appears that several attempts have been made over time to restore or strengthen this area of the painting.

Centre stage, before the throne and the assembled company, at least two decapitated bodies roll in the dust. Their torsos are now missing apart from some hints of pinkish colouring, but two pairs of feet, pointing in different directions to the faces, are just visible at the base of the painting. The bodies were probably stripped to the waist, bare-footed and wearing white shalwar trousers, in the usual manner for depicting the condemned. Their facial features are also difficult to determine. The best preserved head with a pointed hat, is tumbled immediately below the throne with the point of his hat slightly overlapping the predella. It has a narrow, close-fitting headband of paler colour, perhaps a fur trim.

The identity of the victims remains speculative as pointed hats of this type appear in the common repertoire of thirteenth-century images, particularly on metalwork, for example the horseman on the thirteenth-century candlestick from Siirt in the Nuhad es-Said Collection. However, in the Ilkhanid context possible options might be the pointed hat, sometimes with a fur trim, worn by the Mongol shaman, as in the Diez Album folio (Fig. 22). In the religious and cultural configuration of the frontispiece a reference to Shamanism is otherwise absent. As will be discussed in connection with the Yezd, an instance is also recorded in which a political traitor was paraded in a pointed hat prior to execution. A tenuous connection may also be suggested between the pointed hats worn by the so-called Mazdakian heresiarchs of the period of Ghazan and Uljaytu (Öljeitu, and the pointed hats worn by guards observing the execution of Mazdak in the Great Mongol Shūmnāma, although they are not worn by the followers of Mazdak.

The decapitated bodies are flanked by two figures seated on the ground to the left, and probably two more to the right. Both the figures on the left are seated cross-legged on the ground and square to the viewer, but with their faces turned to gaze sideways and upwards either at the grisly mess of corpses or, more likely, at the ruler. The one nearest the left-hand margin is turbaned, with Arab features, a particularly large,

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57 The question of the Freer Bal'ami's double frontispiece will be addressed in the last section of this chapter.
58 See, for example, the execution of Afrasiyab (F57.16, fol. 83b) (Pl. 12).
59 Cat. No. 7 in Allan (1982), (reprinted 1999), p. 60.
almond-shaped eye and black beard. His hands appear to be folded over each other, and a line running diagonally across his torso could indicate either a rope, if his hands are bound, or perhaps a weapon temporarily balanced across his chest if he is a guard. The head of the second figure on the left appears to be uncovered and with a Mongol face. A narrow stick-like object, defined by fine black lines, protrudes from his mouth. In a normal court reception scene the obvious suggestion for it would be a flute, but on this occasion a musical instrument seems somewhat out of place. The 'finger of astonishment' pressed to his lips seems unlikely here, since the object has been outlined in black and red outlines are used for figure drawing in this manuscript. For the present, therefore, the activity of this figure remains uncertain.

Virtually nothing remains of the figure, or figures, on the right of the painting. They are seated or standing immediately beneath the figures of the ʿulām and his companion. The faint outlines of what may have been a turban or head-dress partially overlaps the ʿulām’s boots. The missing actor in this charade is an executioner, and he and a henchman are therefore the obvious contenders for these damaged images. The tip of a triangular object with a horizontal band across it is visible at the level of the ʿulām’s skirt, and may be the ‘tail’ of an axe, blade downwards, supported on the shoulder of the erased figure. A diagonal mark running across the torso of this putative figure may be the axe’s haft, but since it follows the edge of patch, now removed, it is difficult to be sure.

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65 A bearded axe with a similar pointed tail is held by the Meccan attacking the Prophet at the Battle of Hunayn (Pl. 32), and supports this conjecture.
4. The Freer Bal'ami's frontispiece and its fourteenth-century contemporaries

4.1 An overview of comparable enthronements in frontispieces and introductory text

The purpose of this overview is to try to place the Bal'ami frontispiece within the context of a representative sample of comparable frontispiece enthronement images from the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth century. The selection has been confined to centrally positioned figures seated alone upon their thrones. Enthroned rulers carousing with their spouses have not been included since the religious overtones of the Bal'ami image and its all male cast, apart from the angels, clearly set it apart from more convivial gatherings with both sexes present. Closely comparable images of the Prophet or a patron occurring in the introductory material to a text have also been included, as has the earliest surviving depiction of the Prophet in Persian manuscript illustration, although it occurs in the body of the text. Album folios closest to the Bal'ami image in terms of format and subject matter have also been included, although it is not possible to say if, and where, they may have originally appeared in a text.

These images fall into two main groups, chronologically and geographically: those associated with North-west Iran, Iraq, the Jazira and Eastern Anatolia between c. 1200 and 1300 and those usually associated with book production in Fars under Inju rule, possibly from as early as 1307, but with the most characteristic examples dating from the 1330s to 1350s. Within the strictures of the selection, these break down into twelve individual images attributed to the western and north-western provinces, and four attributable to Fars.

Group “A” attributed to the Jazira, Iraq, Eastern Anatolia and North-west Iran c. 1200–1300

i. Kādib al-aghānī: two single folio frontispieces from the twenty-volume set with text dates of 614/1217 (Volume 11) and 616/1219 (Volume 20):
   a. Volume 4 (Cairo, NL, adab 579) (Fig. 6a)
   b. Volume 17 (Istanbul, MK, Feyzullah Efendi, 1565) (Fig. 6b)

   a. folio 1b (Fig. 7b)
   b. folio 2a (Fig. 7a)
iii. Marzubān-nāma (Istanbul, AM, no. 216), dated Baghdad, 698/1299:

two single paintings in introductory text:

a. fol. 2a, depicting the Prophet enthroned with companions (Fig. 4a)

b. fol. 7a, single painting in running text, depicting an enthroned patron (Figs 4b);

iv. ‘Small’ Shāhānāma (ascribed to Baghdad c. 1300, Washington, FGA, Fzg, 26a:

single painting in introductory text, depicting the Prophet with Abu Bakr, ‘Umar,
‘Uthman and ‘Ali (Fig. 3b);

v. Wang-ay Kushtāh (TSM, H. 81), ascribed to Konya c. 1250:

fol. 69b, single painting in body of text, depicting the Prophet with companions
(Fig. 3a)

vi. Kalāla wa Dimna (TSM, H. 363), ascribed to Mesopotamia or Anatolia, later thirteenth
century:

fol. 6a, single painting in running text depicting the Ghaznavid Sultan Bahram
Shah (r. 522-547/1121-1152) (Fig 24);

vii. Diez Album (Berlin, SPKO, Diez A, fol. 71, p. 46), ascribed to Northern Iran c. 1300:

single folio, depicting turbaned Mongol (Fig. 9);

viii. Topkapi Album (TSM, H. 2152, fol. 97a), ascribed to Tabriz c. 1300:

single folio, depicting Sulayman enthroned with vizier and a div (Fig. 25);

ix. Topkapi Album (TSM, H. 2152, fol. 60b), ascribed to Tabriz c. 1300:

left hand folio of double frontispiece, depicting enthroned Mongol (left-hand folio
with two registers of tribute bearers) (Figs 10a-10b).
Group “B” attributed to Fars c. 1300–1350

i. *Kātīla wa Dinna* (London, BL, Or. 13506, fols 2b–3a), dated 707/1307-8, ascribed to Shiraz or South-west Iran:
   fol. 2b, left-hand folio of double frontispiece (right-hand folio in four registers of tribute bearers (Fig. 26a-b);

ii. *Shāhnāma* dated 731/1330 (Istanbul, TSM, H. 1479, fols 1a-2b), ascribed to Injuid Shiraz:
   fol. 2b, left-hand folio of double frontispiece (right hand folio in three registers of tribute bearers (Fig. 27a-b);

iii. *Shāhnāma* dated 733/1333 (St Petersburg, State Public Library, ex-Dorn 329, fols 1b-2a), ascribed to Injuid Shiraz:
   a. fol. 2a, left-hand folio of double frontispiece (right-hand folio in four registers of mounted hunters (Fig. 28a-b);

iv. *Shāhnāma* (Washington DC, Smithsonian Institution, Arthur M. Sackler Collection, S1986.112-113) (dispersed), dated 741/1341, in the name of the Injuid vizier, Qiwam al-Dawla wa'l-Din Hasan:
   left-hand folio of double frontispiece (right hand folio depicting hunters in mountains with two confronted horsemen standing in foreground (Fig. 29a-b).

4.2 Features in the Bal'ami frontispiece not found in Groups “A” and “B”:

1. quotation from the Qur’ān;
2. court of law and execution scene;
3. hawk on right wrist of enthroned ruler;
4. dominant figure of a Muslim cleric;
5. figure(s) holding flat, round or oval gold objects;
6. attendants holding tridents with lanceolate prongs;
7. two guards with Sasanian-style hair ribbons;
8. decapitated bodies, one head wearing a pointed hat.

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64 Unusually, the colophon to this manuscript is followed by a comparable enthronement scene depicting Mahmud Ghazna, fol. 369a, Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 388-421/998-1030).
Chapter 1

4.3 Features common to the Bal'ami and Groups "A" and "B"
1. red background occur in both groups;
2. angels supporting a floating drape above the ruler's head occur in both groups;
3. an attendant holding an insignia equivalent to a parasol over the ruler's head occurs in Group "A", in the Topkapi Album folio (TSM. H. 2152, fol. 6ob); in Group "B", it appears as an unattached 'floating' baldachin in the British Library's *Kātīla wa Dimma* (Or. 13506); the interior settings of the majority of Fars enthronement frontispieces make the parasol redundant in the examples cited in Group "B";
4. costumes with gold breast roundels and epaulettes are found in "A" and "B";
5. the low, portable throne occurs regularly in examples from Group "A"; but in Group "B" only in the British Library's *Kātīla wa Dimma* (Or. 13506), dated 1307/707-8;

4.4 Features found only in examples from Group "A":
1. enthronement set out of doors;
2. enthroned figure sitting in full frontal pose with fully crossed legs;
3. angels with wings issuing from their halos;
4. haloed human figures;
5. the 'netsuke' face.

4.5 Features found only in examples from Group "B":
1. extensive use of ochre pigment appears to be typical of Fars manuscripts.

4.6 Summary

This overview suggests that the Bal'ami shares some general features with examples from Groups "A" and "B", for example, the red background, angels supporting a floating drape, and costumes with gold breast roundels and epaulettes. However, it deviates in 'details' of iconography. The most notable variants are the Qur'anic heading, the setting of a court of law, the hawk upon the ruler's wrist while seated in majesty, and items of insignia and dress among his supporters, who include two pseudo-Sasanian figures.

The Bal'ami shares with Group "A" the use of an exterior setting, the ruler's pose, the taxonomy of the angels' wings and the universal use of the halo. With Group "B" it shares the extensive use of ochre and a more rough and ready painting style. This suggests a more residual association with Fars than with western and north-western Ilkhanid provinces.
In matters of general visual impact the Bal'ami appears closer to Jaziran frontispieces such as the portraits of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' in the dispersed *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Figs 6a and 6b), than to Baghdad oriented figures of authority, as in al-Wasiti's frontispiece (Fig. 7a–b), or the Marzubān-nāma (Fig. 4a–b).

In terms of the more unusual aspects of its iconography, however, the Bal'ami shares certain features with the David Collection textile (Fig. 30), and in particular with the Topkapi Album double page frontispiece (H. 2152, fol. 60b) (Figs 10a–13b). These two images therefore deserve further observation.

### 4.7 The David Collection textile (Copenhagen, David Coll. Inv. no. 30/1995)\(^6^5\)

The Bal'ami frontispiece shares the following features with the David Collection textile roundel: an outdoor setting, an enthroned Mongol sitting on a portable throne with both legs crossed beneath him, to his right a turbaned Muslim ‘ālm, to his left an epitome of the Mongol élite, to the rear of the throne two supporters, one holding a trident and the other a parasol.

This tapestry-woven roundel in silk and gold thread has been carbon-dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. Von Folsach has suggested that the juxtaposition of Mongol and “Persian/Arab” is a deliberate political manifesto of the later Ilkhanids, and symbolises the good relations between conquerors and conquered—an idealised version of the Pax Mongolica.\(^6^6\) The enthroned figure is crowned in a manner similar to the illustrations in the body of the Bal'ami text, but the poor condition of the textile has blurred whatever he may be holding. It is clear, however, that the hands of the Mongol and the Arab/Persian are empty of any object which might distinguish their rank or role. Compared with the Bal'ami, the *al fresco* surroundings have been up-graded to a paradisal garden with exotica, and the encircling inscription down-graded to a standard rigmarole of praise:

“Perpetual Glory, and Prosperity, and Perfect [sic], and Wealth, and Happiness, and Well-being, and Ease.”\(^6^7\)

The David textile provides evidence of the image of Mongol–Muslim dichotomy transposed into other media, and suggests it may have had a wider currency than an experimental frontispiece. A wider currency might also explain why, despite the prime quality of the textile, the iconography appears to have become vapid and platitudinous,

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\(^{6^5}\) Published in von Folsach (1996), pp. 81–87.

\(^{6^6}\) Ibid. pp. 85–86.

\(^{6^7}\) Ibid. p. 83.
debased through over-familiarity or perhaps distance from the circumstances which prompted its inception.

4.8 A comparison between the frontispiece in the Freer Bal'ami and the Topkapi Sarayi Album folio (TSM. H. 2152, fol. 60b)

The Freer Bal'ami shares with the Topkapi folio not only more individual features than with any of the other manuscripts of Groups “A” and “B”, but also, despite the marked disparity in their size and quality of production, a creative and innovative approach to standard iconography than their Injuid counterparts.

The two frontispieces share the more archaic stance of the enthroned figure, genus of angel, idiosyncratic facial type, and sharply contrasted figures to right and left of the throne. More importantly, however, treated together they mutually supplement information on sources being tapped for style and iconography in the art of the book, and the frontispiece in particular, during the Ilkhanid period.

The Topkapi folio was first published by Sarre and Martin, who dated it to Iran, c. 1300, and cited it as a predecessor to the frontispiece to the Vienna Nationalbibliothek’s Maqamat of al-Hariri, dated 734/1334 (AF. 9, fol. 1a). Subsequently, İpsiroğlu published it on two occasions, also dating it to c. 1300. İpsiroğlu suggested that its antecedents lay in the dual heritage of Mesopotamian and Central Asian painting, such as the Paris Kitab al-dirayq of 595/1199 (BN, arabe 2964), and the Kitab al-Aghani frontispieces, the latter copied for the Zangid Atabeg ruler of Mosul, Badr al-Din Lu’lu’, and bearing text dates of 614/1217 and 616/1219. The Topkapi folios are the only frontispiece surviving from the Mongol period to compare in quality with those painted for Badr al-Din Lu’lu’, and also stand on the cusp of stylistic change between the old and new orders.

68 The Topkapi folio also shares features with the David textile which it does not share with the Bal’ami, for example the style of floral background, the type of exotic long-tailed bird, and the commonly occurring feature of the pool at the foot of the composition.

69 Sarre and Martin (1912), pl. 8.
71 İpsiroğlu (1967), ill. 11; İpsiroğlu (1971), ill. 23.
72 İpsiroğlu (1967), pp. 51 and 54.
73 İpsiroğlu (1971), pp. 39-40; for the Kitab al-aghani images see Rice (1953), p. 129, especially figs 17 and 18 and for the dating, Stem (1957), p. 502. The date of 1219 also marked the launch of Chinggis Khan’s first onslaught against the Khwarazmshah, whose empire temporarily stretched from the borders of India to Mesopotamia and Anatolia, the attack which was to culminate in the fall of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate in 1258.
Esin is the only scholar to have discussed the Topkapi frontispiece in any detail. Taking a broad perspective, Esin has attributed unusual items of dress and regalia to Uighur artists at the Ilkhanid court, whose painting styles reflected still older Central Asian Buddhist and Manichaean traditions, for which isolated examples survive, mostly in wall painting, with upper dates from the eighth to eleventh centuries. By way of dating the frontispiece, Esin suggests it recorded the presentation of a relic of the Buddha’s bone to the Ilkhan Arghun, an ardent Buddhist, in 687/1288, as reported by Rashid al-Din.

### 4.8.1 Scene and setting

In the Topkapi image, the setting of the audience appears to be a tent lined with a blue textile decorated with lotus blossoms which also covers the floor, leaving only a

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74 Esin (1963), pp. 141-161, especially p. 156. As I shall use the Topkapi frontispiece primarily as a foil for clarifying the Bal’ami image and iconography, I have not included a critique of every aspect of Esin’s article.

75 Esin (1963), pp. 155-156, citing Rashid al-Din (1941), p. 67. However, I would suggest that Esin’s specific dating should be treated with caution. While the story of the gift of the relic to Arghun could explain the Indians in the procession, the head-dress on the figure seated to the ruler’s left, interpreted by Esin both as being reminiscent of the Manichaean Electi, and worn by a Buddhist priest, ibid. pp. 153 and 156, has been shown by more recent photography to be the boghâq, the head-dress on a birch-bark frame worn by Mongol ladies of rank, worn by the ruler’s khatun, or perhaps mother, and the adjacent lotus blossom is not in her left hand but on the textile background. Similarly, Esin’s flaming sâmi (jewel-like bone from the body of the Buddha, which resisted fire when incinerated), floating above the relic in the elephant’s howdah, (op. at. p. 156), may now be seen as the trailing tail feathers of the exotic bird under the arm of an Indian retainer. On balance, therefore, the Topkapi folios appear to be less incident-specific than extravagant in their imaginative content, and an approximate dating of 1300 for the folios seems preferable for the time being. The poor quality of the reproductions also misled Canby, Canby (1993), p. 299 and fig. 1, but she suggested a date of c. 1295 as the last likely date for such overtly Buddhist content.

76 On tented palaces and palaces with prospects over water in Anatolia and the Jazira immediately prior to and during the Mongol period, see “Royal residences of the thirteenth-century”, in Hillenbrand, R. (1994), pp. 415-421; for examples of tents see pp. 415-416. Palaces include that of the Rum Saljuq, Kaykubad, near Konya, built c. 621/1224, pp. 417-8, the Qara Saray of Badr al-Din Lut’u’ at Mosul, built in 631/1234, pp. 419-420 and the palace at Takht-i Sulayman, built in 1270s, at the summer pasturage (jaylag) of the Ilkhan Abaqa. Takht-i Sulayman was constructed at the site of the Sasanian fire temple of Shash; two octagons connected by a transverse hall may reflect a tent arrangement of two pavilions with an awning between them known from Eurasian nomads, ibid. pp. 421-423.

77 Both blue and red were used as background colours in the pre-Mongol book painting, although red appears to have been more usual; for example, blue in the Wanga u Gudshah of c. 1250 (TSM, H. 841), fol. 3b, illustrated in Işıroğlu (1971), ill. 15, and red in the frontispiece to the mid thirteenth-century Kitâb al-diryâq (Vienna, Nb, Codex AF. 10, fol 1a), illustrated in Ettinghausen (1962), p. 91. In the Topkapi frontispiece, the use of blue for the tent interior contrasts with the red used for the background to the right hand folio, which is an outdoor scene in two registers. However, blue and red do not appear to be specific to interior or exterior environments. Blue did hold important connotations
narrow strip of grass visible before a pool or river in the foreground. This is in contrast to the Bal'ami image, on its red ground, in which the small vestiges of growing plants, to the right of the throne, suggest an outdoor scene even though there is no attempt to depict water. Perhaps intended as part of the tent awning, both the Topkapi folios are pelmetted with a strip of illumination which includes small, crowned and haloed heads set alternately into the spaces otherwise filled with scrolling lanceolate leaves. The crowns are of the tripartite, winged type similar to those used throughout the Bal'ami illustrations.

4.8.2 Enthroned ruler

Although the use of hierarchic scaling is more accentuated in the Topkapi composition, in general pose and physique the figures are similar. They share the Turkic moon-face (māḥ-nū), although the delineation of the features in the Topkapi example is better preserved. In the Topkapi image, the hair has been caught up in skinny loops between ears and shoulders. He wears a bonnet, compared by Esin to a seventh

for the Mongols: it was associated by them with world rule, being the colour of the sky god Tingri, from whom Chinggis Khan claimed descent, Roux (1984), pp. 110-121, especially pp. 111 and 115; in recounting the origin of Chinggis Khan, The Secret History of the Mongols begins: “There was a bluish wolf which was born having [his] destiny from Heaven above...”, Secret History-Cleaves tr. (1982), p. 1; the “Blue Horde” occupied the central Mongolian homelands; the two official chronicles instituted by Chinggis Khan were the ‘Golden Book’ (altan debter), on the history of the Mongols, and the ‘Blue Book’ (kōtō debter), the official records of population distribution and judicial decisions Morgan, (1986), p. 165. However, since the enthroned figure in the Topkapi painting has been garbed in mauve and an attendant has been dressed in blue, aesthetics or a display of expensive pigment, rather than colour symbolism, may have been the motivation.

The idea of sandwiching scenes between the canopy of heaven and water, was widespread on Kashan ceramics of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, for example, see Watson (1985), “The Miniature Style”, pls 50, 51, and 52.

This form of decoration is close to the stucco bands of multiple arcades framing the throne niche from Gu'Kummet, Sinjar, Iraq, dated c. 1220-1230, although miniature seated figures holding the attributes of the bodyguard, rather than heads alone, have been inserted into alternate interstices, illustrated in Hillenbrand, C. (1999), pls 4.11 (Fig. 168a); these figures also correspond to the description of the frieze in the audience hall of the Qara Saray of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' dated c. 631/1234, in which they are nimbed as in the Topkapi painting, Hillenbrand, R. (1994), pp. 419-421 and ill. 287.

This crown is found in Jazir-an manuscripts, and will be discussed in Chapter Four, in connection with King Manuchihr, and its first appearance in the cycle.


This style of hairdressing common among the Mongols and widely depicted in the Ilkhanid period, as in both sections of the Edinburgh–London jami' al-tawd4A of 1314, (EUL, Arab 20, fol. 16b), illustrated in Talbot Rice (1976), p. 79, no. 20, and Blair (1995), p. 75, fig. 19. It also appears in the Bal'ami illustrations, for example the guards standing at the right hand of Ardashir enthroned, fol. 109a (Pl. 15). This style is also described by Mamluk envoys to the court of Birka (Berke) Khan of the Golden Horde, a description which carries other similarities to the Topkapi scene:
century AD wall painting at Qazif, however, despite its current lack of definition, there is no suggestion that the headgear of the Bal'amī figure was the same.

Both figures are nimbed, and with the outer edges of their halos defined by two concentric circles, with split palmette tendrils growing inwards from the rings. Similar, if less organic, forms of 'enfoliation' occur in the halos of figures lolling on the balconies in the frontispiece folios of the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā, dated 686/1287 (Fig. 8a–b).

Both figures are seated cross-legged, with their feet tucked beneath them, the Topkapi figure with right leg over left and both boots visible, while the Bal'amī figure sits with left over right and one boot showing. The waisted but unbelted design of the coats emphasises their narrow waists. The Topkapi figure also wears a short-sleeved, "The tent of audience would hold 100, or according to others 500 men. It was covered outside with white felt, and lined inside with rich silk hangings, decorated with pearls and precious stones. Bereke was seated on his throne with his legs propped up with cushions, as he had the gout. Beside him sat his chief wife Tagtagai Khatun. He had two other wives, Jijek Khatun and Kehar Khatun, but none of them had given him any children. He had but little beard, and his face was big and of yellow colour. His hair was plaited into tresses hanging beside his ears, from each one of which there hung a precious stone of great value. He was dressed in a robe of Chinese silk, with his head covered with a cap. His boots were made of red velvet. He did not wear a sword, but had a gold belt decorated with stones, from which hung a purse of green Bolghari leather. In his girdle or belt were inserted some black horns, bent and incrusted with gold. About him were fifty or sixty emirs sitting on seats. ... They had several audiences with Bereke, who asked them many questions about Egypt, about elephants and giraffes, and one day asked if the report was true that there was a giant's bone thrown across the Nile which served as a bridge." Howorth (1876-1888), pt. II, div. i, pp. 117–118, taken from Quatremère citing "Maqrizi, i. 214, 215", Quatremère (1836), (no page given). For the bridge being the backbone of the giant 'Uj bin 'Anaq, killed by Moses, see Chapter Two, folio 68b.

83 Esin (1963), p. 147, fig. 3; an exact parallel does not occur in Schroeder's analysis of hats, Schroeder (1939), figs 1–2.
84 Illustrated in Etttinghausen (1962), p. 98–99. As far as I am aware, this type of halo does not occur in paintings attributed to Injuid patronage in Fars, in the 1330s to 1350s.
85 An overview of the Ilkhanid period suggests that the choice of right over left or left over right was an arbitrary one.
86 The traditional importance of belts in Turkic culture is discussed in Roux (1982), ch. 1, "Le Bonnet et la Ceinture", pp. 9–26, especially pp. 9–10. For an example see the stucco enthroned figure from Kubadabad of c. 1220, now in the Ince Minareli Medrese Museum in Konya (Fig. 5). The importance of the belt in the Mongol period is well documented, for example, Rashid al-Din's account of Ghazan's bestowal of fifty jewelled belts and three hundred gold belts on his retainers, Allsen (1997), p. 18, Rashid al-Din–Kanmi ed. (1938–1959–60), vol. 2, p. 981. In the context of the Golden Horde, the belt worn by Birka Khan has been described above. The absence of belts in enthroned ruler images suggests depersonalisation. A deliberate intention to identify a specific
mauve surcoat, which falls in the intricate convoluted drapes familiar from thirteenth-century Arab and Saljuq painting. The surcoat is decorated at the neck with the elaborate gold cloud collar, introduced by the Mongols from Sino-Turkic Central Asia, and symbolic of cosmic power. The hem of the surcoat has a broad gold braid, which appears to be partially detached, suggesting it was added to enrich the drape of the garment when seated. Beneath the drapes of the semi-detached gold hem, his boots are black at the feet with a glimpse of scarlet shin. Although his long-sleeved under-coat is cloth of gold, the Bal'ami figure lacks a cloud collar, and neither does he appear to be wearing širāz arm bands, as might be expected when seated beneath a quotation from the Qur'an.

The Topkapi figure's right arm is flexed across his body, and he appears to be holding something between his thumb and forefinger, but the object is unclear as it has merged with the gold of the cloud collar (Fig. 11). Esin and Ipóroglu assume it is a cup. Although this is the most likely interpretation, some evidence of a flared and cusped upper rim also suggests the shape of a pāyza of the lion-headed type mentioned by Marco Polo. An example is illustrated by Rawshan and Musawi in their edition of the Jāmi' al-tawārīkh (Fig. 19a).

person could have included named širāz bands or illuminated corner pieces as with Badr al-Din Lu'lu in the Istanbul Kūšāb al-āqshāni frontispiece, (Fig. 6b). For example, Abu Zayd's garment in the Tenth Magāna of the Schefer Hariri (BN, arabe 5847, fol.26a), dated 634/1237, illustrated in Ettinghausen (1962), p. 114, and Badr al-Din Lu'lu's garment in the Kūšāb al-āqshāni frontispieces of c. 614/1217, of which the Istanbul example (Istanbul, MK, Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1a), is illustrated in Ettinghausen (1962), p. 65. This textile formula occurs on several occasions in the Bal'ami illustrations. In the Ilkhanid period, a variant, but by no means identical, formula appears in the Edinburgh al-Āhār al-bā'gīya of al-Biruni (EUL, Arab 161), possibly produced in Maragha and dated 707/1307. For the full cycle of paintings see Soucek (1975), pp. 103–168.

According to Cammann, the first literary reference to the cloud collar occurs in a history of the Chin dynasty (1115–1260), mentioning an edict forbidding it for other than Imperial use. It seems to have been the Mongols who introduced it to Iran, where the evidence of miniature painting suggests it continued in use for several centuries. Camman (1951), pp. 1–9.

There are no cloud collars in the Bal'ami manuscript. Instead, circular gold breast and shoulder medallions are sometimes used to signify superior rank. These medallions do not appear to be culturally, religiously or time-specific, as they are worn by historical figures, Mongols to the Bal'ami ruler's right and the Muslim 'ālam on his left. In the Edinburgh-London Jāmi' al-tawārīkh of 1314, neither cloud collars nor medallions appear, despite the Far Eastern inspiration of the majority of the costumes.

Esin (1963), pp. 151 and 153 and fig. 45; Ipóroglu (1967), p. 51

Marco Polo describes the lion-headed pāyza, weighing 300 saggī, with an inscription and the images of the sun and the moon, as being given to the commander of 100,000, who was also entitled to a golden parasol, and a silver chair; presumably a pāyza given to a ruler by the Qa'an would have been commensurately more elaborate. Yule
Allsen has demonstrated that the Mongols systematically equated gold (altan) with imperial authority and legitimacy, and the epithet 'golden' was applied to aspects of Mongol culture held to be of fundamental importance, including imperial clothing. These included the 'golden lineage' of the Chinggizid line, the 'golden era' and the 'Golden Book' (altan deker) which recorded their history. Similarly, Ghazan, on his accession, not only bedecked himself with a jewel-studded crown and matching belt, but also clothed himself in precious gold brocade.

The image in the Bal'ami manuscript dressed in gold brocade therefore suggests association with the Mongol élite, although without the celestial iconography afforded by the cloud collar, as in the Topkapi image. It is possible, however, that the imagery of divine ordination may be represented here by the large bird of prey on the outstretched and heavily gauntleted wrist (Pls 1g–i).

Examples of the hawk as a symbol of the mounted royal hunter, perched on the back of thrones, and particularly on the wrist of attendant royal falconers are commonplace in the Saljuq and Mongol periods. However, images of the ruler seated in formal audience with a hawk on his own wrist are rare. Is its appearance in the Bal'ami merely a designer's whim?

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91 Allsen (1997), pp. 60–64.
93 Among the most arresting is the frontispiece to the twentieth, and final, volume of Badr al-Din Lu’lu’s Kitāb al-aqāmānī, dated 610/1219 (Copenhagen, David Collection, Cod. Arab 168, fol. 1b), illustrated in Louisiana (1987), p. 22, cat. 99.
94 For an example see Irwin (1997), p. 112, ill. 88, a mūnāfī bowl with a Saljuq enthroned figure, two affronted hawks with back-turned heads on the throne back and two peacocks before it (New York, MMA, 67.119).
95 For example, in the frontispiece to the British Library’s Kitāba wa Dinna, dated 707/1307–8 (BL, Or. 13506, fol. 2b), illustrated in Świetochowski and Carboni (1994), p. 14, fig. 7.
96 So far, I have identified five examples, four from the thirteenth century and one from the tenth, and only the first in the following list is enthroned with panoply in a manner comparable to the Bal’ami:
1. figure sitting centrally, enthroned with supporters and an angel above, with hawk on left wrist, in a medallion on a candlestick in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated 622/1225, probably made under the patronage of the last Artuqid ruler of Diyarbakır (Boston, MFA) (Fig. 31a–b), published in Rice (1949), 339–340, especially p. 337, fig. c (VII) and Rice (1957), pp. 319–320, especially p. 318, fig. 40f.
For the Mongols, birds of prey represented the link with the all-powerful sky god Tingri (Tengri) (lit. the sky), and through their ability to soar to the heavens they also represented the flight of the spirit at the moment of death. Power of flight was an attribute of the Mongol shaman, and often signified by feathers attached to their shoulders.

2. a figure in three-quarter view, seated on a stool accompanied by a sword bearer, in a medallion on a thirteenth-century cup in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul (TIEM, no. 102), from the Tomb of Sayyid Battal Ghazi in western Anatolia, south-east of Eskişehir, published by Baer, Baer (1977), pp. 299–335 and fig. 1. (Fig. 32); a figure in three-quarter view, seated on a stool accompanied by a spear carrier, in a roundel on the British Museum’s brass tray, inlaid with silver and gold, probably made by Mosul craftsmen for the Ilkhanid court (OA 1878.12–30.706, Henderson Bequest) (Fig. 33a–b), Ward (1993), p. 87, no. 66.

3. a figure in three-quarter view, seated on a stool accompanied by a spear carrier, in a medallion on a thirteenth-century cup in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul (TIEM, no. 102), from the Tomb of Sayyid Battal Ghazi in western Anatolia, south-east of Eskişehir, published by Baer, Baer (1977), pp. 299–335 and fig. 1. (Fig. 32); a figure similarly seated on a stool, with his belt being held by a diminutive figure before him, probably signifying obedience, on a stone relief, now in the Museum of the Ince Minareli Medrese in Konya, (Fig. 34a); also published in Roux (1982), p. 25 and fig. 11.

4. a gold medallion, struck at the feast of Naw Ruz, 360/970–971 (Paris, BN), in the name of the Buyid Amir 'Izz al-Dawla, Ilisch (1985), P. 11, no. 39 (Fig. 34b), in which the full-frontal, cross-legged pose is used and another large bird fills the space to the left of the figure.

The position of the flexed right arm of the enthroned figure in the Kubadabad stucco (Fig. 5), is similar to that of the Bal'ami figure. The object originally in his hand has been destroyed but seems more likely to have been a goblet or a bunch of flowers than a hawk; an apple or pomegranate is held in the figure’s left hand.

Allen quotes al-Jahiz (d. 869 AD), in the Kitab al-ayawdn, as saying that Arabs were not to be seen carrying goshawks (the favoured hawk of the Turks) as that is the function of the baghar, but only sakers and peregrines, Allen (1980), p. 129, fn *. Falconery etiquette, therefore, may be a factor in the curious paucity of such images.

**99** According to Roux, “Tengri” is the oldest Turco-Mongol word known, and by the second century BC it had subsumed all other words for deities, Roux (1982), p. 110. In the Jam’a al-sunawrih, the form of words used by Mongols in swearing oaths is given as: “Oh Lord of the sky and the earth ...” (Ay khu&ýr’dsmdn Wa zamin), for example, Rashid al-Din (1373S/1995), vol. 1, p. 373. This tended, often conveniently, to blur distinction between the God of the People of the Book and that of the Mongols when imprecations were required.

**100** The metaphor for death: “He has become a falcon” continued in Mongol use after their conversion to Islam, Roux (1984), p. 253 and 258.

For a general discussion of magical flight see Eliade (1964), pp. 477–482; for hawks and flight in Mongol shamanism, see Eliade (1964), p. 481, and Roux (1984), especially pp. 62–63 and 103. Roux also cites Oslamark on the Mongol practice of attaching feathers to the Shaman’s shoulders, Oslamark (1939), pp. 211–212. An Ilkhanid-period winged figure, standing at an enthroned figure’s right but from whom he turns away towards the left, appears in one of the medallions of the so-called Miinan Tan (Konya, Tekke of Jalal al-Din Rumi), which bears an inscription to the last Ilkhan, Abu Sa'id (r. 716–736/1316–1335). This enthroned figure is turbaned with a saylan, and holds a staff on the top of which a pointed ovoid, somewhat like a bird’s head, has been placed horizontally as a knob, while the figure to his left, also turbaned, holds some kind of long-handled spade or reversed banner, illustrated in Baer (1973–4), p. 23 and fig. 28, medallion (e). The exact iconography of this group is at present unclear, however that
Chinggiz Khan claimed descent from Tingri. Juwayni quotes the shaman Tib-Tingri as pronouncing: ""God has spoken with me and has said: "I have given all the face of the earth to Temujin and his children and named him Chinggiz-Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion."" In the Secret History of the Mongols, Chinggiz Khan is associated with the gerfalcon. Day Sichin (Dei Secen), from whom Yasugay Bahadur (Yesügei Ba’atur), the father of TimuJin (Temüjin), was requesting a bride for his son recounted how:

"... I, this night, dreamed a dream, I. A white gerfalcon, holding both the sun and moon, flew hither and is lighted into my hand. When I spoke this my dream unto people saying, ‘[Hitherto,] when I have beheld the sun and the moon, they have [only] been seen. Now this gerfalcon, holding and bringing [them hither], is lighted into my hand. It is descended [all] white. What good thing showeth it?—Qudä Yesügei, I saw this my dream, at the moment when thou wast leading thy son hither. I dreamed a dream—a good [one]. What dream is it? A good omen of you Kiyad people is come and hath [fore)told [that thou wast coming hither’]."

Rashid al-Din quotes Chinggiz Khan’s lengthy rail against Ung-Khan (Ong-Khan), the powerful ruler of the Karayat (Kereit) tribe who supported the young TimuJin and then

the turbaned ruler should also claim jurisdiction over the traditional Mongol beliefs of his subjects seems plausible, and the winged figure to the ruler’s right and a turbaned one to his left is not unlike the configuration in the Ba’ami frontispiece.

Meaning “Most Heavenly”.


Chinggiz Khan’s birth name.

White was the colour of good omen for the Mongols, Secret History-Cleaves tr. (1982), p. 15, n. 45. The ‘white’ Altaic species, was particularly admired for its looks, size, courage and speed, Dementieff (1933), pp. 137–138 and 154. In the Nasbattu-Qulib, completed in 740/1339–40, Hamdullah Mustawfi Qazwini spells it shunqar, and says: “It attacks its prey with great fury, and is capable of being trained. In body it is larger than the hawk (båz), but resembles it in form. It lives in cold countries, and is plentiful in Europe. It circles round its prey in the air, and however many there are they never escapes”; al-Qazwini-Stephenson tr. (1928), p. 76, text p. 108. It was these qualities which presumably attracted the use of the pseudonyms ‘Aq Sunqur’ and ‘Qara Sunqur’ (White Falcon and Black Falcon) for Turkic military commanders. For example, in 712/1312, the Mamluk governor of Damascus, Qara Sunqur, defected to Ujaytu, who renamed him Aq Sunqur, apparently on account of his years, but the symbolism outlined above suggests that a dubious pun might also have been construed as a fulsome compliment. The governorship of Maragha was conferred upon him, Boyle (1968), p. 403; Rogers (1969), p. 385–386. Larger hawks on the wrists of falconers depicted in fourteenth-century miniatures are usually goshawks rather than gerfalcons, being the species generally favoured by Central Asian falconers for effective hunting; for example, it is goshawks which are depicted in the right hand folio of the Topkapi Album frontispiece, (TSM, H. 2152, fol. 6ob) (Fig. 10b). I am grateful to Mark Allen for identifications.

Secret History-Cleaves tr. (1982), p. 15, para 63. As I am unable to read Chinese, I have not been able to check original word translated by Cleaves as “gerfalcon”.

...
reneged on sworn oaths of friendship. In his complaint, Chinggis Khan likens himself to a gerfalcon:

"Furthermore, O Khan, my father! After that, I flew like a gerfalcon (sunqur)\(^{107}\) to Mount Chiqurqu, and crossed the Buir Nor, and caught for you the cranes with feet of blue and grey. If you say: "Who are they?" they are the tribes of the Dörben and Tatar. Again I became a blue-breasted gerfalcon and crossed the Kulun Nor, and caught the blue-footed cranes for you, and gave them to you. If you say "Who are they?" they are the tribes of the Qataghīn, Salji‘ut and Qonqiran. And now, it is these very people you are turning against me. My dues from you are more than this.\(^{108}\)

The Armenian monk-chronicler, Grigor of Akanc', recorded a tradition that the Chinggisid law code, the Ẓārā, was delivered by an eagle with the power of speech and golden feathers.\(^{109}\) It is not surprising, therefore to find hawks and falcons used as images of potent authority; for example, Marco Polo records how Qubilay Khan (r. 658–693/1260–1294) conferred authority through insignia carrying the image of a gerfalcon:

"To certain very great lords also there is given a tablet with gerfalcons on it; this is only to the very greatest of the Kaan's barons, and it confers on them his own full power and authority; so that if one of those chiefs wishes to send a messenger any wither, he can seize the horses of any man, be he even a king, and any other chattels at his pleasure.\(^{109}\)"

Budge notes that the Ilkhan Gaykhatu (r. 690–694/1291–1295) conferred a golden pōya of the sunqur (gerfalcon) class on the Nestorian Patriarch Mar Yahbh-Allaha, when he visited him at Maragha.\(^{110}\)

\(^{107}\) Rawshan and Musawi use two spellings in this passage: sunqûr and sunqûr.


\(^{110}\) Polo-Yule/Cordier tr. & ed. (1993), vol. 1, p. 351. On the dimensions and shape of pōya see Yule's Note 2, pp. 353–4; the falcon pōya appears to have been round rather than oblong, idem, Yule's Note 2, p. 354.

\(^{111}\) Budge (1928), p. 75. Budge does not provide a primary source for this information, and I have not been able to trace it in Bar Hebraeus's Chronography. The falcon appears on Gaykhatu's coinage but only on local copper issues of little significance; for an example see Fig. 37c. The hawk is not known on Ilkhanid gold coinage, and on silver only from the reign of Arghun (r. 683–690/1284–1291) (Fig. 37a–b). I am grateful to Stephen Album for information on this point. The possible significance of this for the Freer Bal‘ami will be discussed in Chapter Five.
If it is correct that hawks and falcons on the wrists of enthroned figures of authority were a known but not a hackneyed image in the Middle East prior to, and during, the Ilkhanid period, the cumulative associations of:

i. the gerfalcon with Chinggiz Khan and its use as an emblem of high authority on pāyzas;

ii. the association of the eagle as the celestial bearer of the Yāsā; and

iii. the falcon as a standard image of death;

the presence of a raptor on the wrist of the Bal'ami ruler, sitting beneath a Divine injunction to judge, with decapitated bodies at his feet, suggests that the inclusion of the hawk may be more than chance. If it represents the Mongol Divine authority of Tingri, it may be seen as equivalent to the Divine patent granted to Dawud and the People of the Book in Sura 38.26; if so, the Qur'an and the falcon (word and bird), Muslim and Mongol, may have been intentionally juxtaposed as symbolic of the Ilkhanid State.

4.2.3 Throne

Although the thrones in both paintings are of the low dais type, without side panels, a comparison repays attention.

The throne in the Bal'ami image is simpler, with its 'eared' back-cushion appearing to overlap the right hand vertical support, rather than being integrated into a solid, gilded throne back as suggested by the Topkapi image. The frame of the Bal'ami throne is black and the visible finial is gilded. This type of seating arrangement was very portable and particularly suited to the cross-legged pose of nomadic culture. In the thirteenth century it was ubiquitous in figural representations on ceramics and metalwork, but in Ilkhanid book illustration its appearance is sporadic.

Status was associated with

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The corner pieces on these back-support cushions suggest leather capping to support the ends of an interior rod for keeping the cushion rigid, or for attaching straps for transport or attaching to the wooden frame. A good example for comparison is Sulayman’s throne on folio 100b of the London Qazwini (BL, Or. 1440), argued by Carboni to have been produced probably in Mosul, c. 1305–1315, illustrated in Carboni (1989), pl. 6D. This article was submitted for publication before the completion of Carboni’s thesis. In his thesis Carboni suggests an earlier date of c. 1300, which currently the dating he prefers. I am grateful to Dr Stefano Carboni for his current views on this matter.

As already mentioned, Otto-Dorn has traced the origin of this throne type from Eastern prototypes, Otto-Dorn (1982), pp. 149–194.

Thrones will be discussed in Chapter Five. The use of simple cushioned thrones throughout the Bal’ami manuscript, with one exception which will be noted, associates the manuscript with the Western provinces rather than Fars. For examples of thirteenth-century metalwork see Figs 31 and 148. In fourteenth century book illustration, whereas
this throne more through its incumbent and his supporters than by the throne itself. This is in contrast to the Topkapi image, which speaks eloquently of majesty through its lavish use of gold, Far Eastern inspired dragon-headed finials and the elaborate, cusped and lotus decorated cresting. It belongs to the repertoire of elaborate thrones used to seat the gallery of rulers in the London-Edinburgh  

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The uprights of the back rest, cased in gold, carry a calligraphic inscription in white naskh, outlined in red. (Fig. 11) A cushion at the ruler’s back, decorated with scrolling whole and split palmettes is banded by an inscription in gold, reading: “al-’izz l... (glory to ...).”

In the Bal’ami illustrations, only Sulayman is awarded a band of honorifics across the back of his throne (Pl. 11a).
4.2.4 Figures to right and left of the enthroned figure

Supports to right and left flank both enthroned figures. However, in the Topkapi image they are reduced to one major figure on either side; to his right sits his khatun, or perhaps mother, wearing the buqtiq, the ceremonial head-dress of high born Mongol ladies. She is swathed in a gold brocade gown, decorated with large blossoms. A small fichu with mauve convolutes, similar to the enthroned figure’s surcoat, is visible at the revers of her coat. Her head and hair are covered by a veil, on which some blue pigment is visible among the gold; she shares the round moon-face of all the figures depicted on this folio. She is holding in her left hand a small circular object, and in her left she holds a handkerchief (manāl), which falls delicately between her index and second finger. Her fingers and thumb are of exaggerated length and flexibility, of a type familiar from other Ilkhanid depictions. The legs of the camp stool on which she is sitting are visible.

To the ruler’s right, a male Mongol is seated on a camp stool. His chest and upper arms appear to carry gold roundels. From the abdomen downwards, a sleeveless surcoat is visible, of a mottled brown fabric decorated with gold medallions and with a gold self-patterned hem. Appearing from beneath this surcoat is a long sleeved crimson under-garment and his black boots. He wears a white cap with a generous display of owl’s feathers, of a type familiar from court scenes in other manuscripts. He appears

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122 Boyle (1971), p. 185 and n. 30, in which he quotes Cammann: “The buqtiq was the head-dress of ladies of rank. It was “extremely tall” and “usually of dark silk, extended on a frame, sewn with pearls and precious stones, with a square top bearing a stone and/or small feathers.” Cammann (1963), pp. 161-162.
123 I do not know what this object is. It bears evidence of gold and some kind of pattern or calligraphy, suggesting a commemorative coin or medallion, but this is speculation. I have not, so far, found a reference to a symbol of authority given to women. A comparison may be made with the formidable matriarch depicted on the candlestick in the name of Abu Ishaq Inju (r. 743-754/1343-1353) (Fig. 14). If she is holding anything at all in her right hand it is very small, but the handkerchief may be seen in her left. As in the Topkapi image, participation in more than harem affairs is suggested; this time through the portfolio held by her lady-in-waiting. For further discussion of the candlestick see Louisiana (1987), p. 100, cat. no. 168, and Allan (1995), pp. 67-75.
124 For example the hands of the Quraysh on fol. 54a of the Edinburgh section of the Jami‘ al-tawārīkh, Talbot Rice (1976), p. 109, no. 35.
125 In the fourteenth-century the chief royal wife is often shown sharing the throne with her spouse and charging his beaker or cup, rather than sitting to one side of it, see (Figs 15, 16a, 17a-b and 18). This suggests that the circular object she is displaying in her right hand may be significant.
126 Among dated examples, the owl feather head-dress may be found among the supporters of the enthroned patron on fol. 7a of the Marzubān-nāma, dated 698/1299
to be holding in his right hand, between thumb and index finger, a flat object with rounded ends and a downward-pointing stem, probably a small stem cup\(^{119}\) (Fig. 35a), since food and drink are being dispensed from the foreground.\(^{118}\)

The depiction of a formal Mongol presence to the ruler’s right is shared by both manuscripts, however, the replacement of the 

\_khatūn by a member of the ṣulāmā in the Bal’ami, strikes a sober note: this sets it apart both from the Topkapi version and from the general corpus of Ilkhanid court levees.\(^{119}\)

4.2.5 Figures behind and before the throne

The image of the Tree of Life is ubiquitous in the art of Western Asia, and the flowering branch is known from Central Asian wallpainting, such as the mid seventh-century murals at Panjikent.\(^{109}\) An Ilkhanid example survives in the rock relief at Viar, near Zanjan, generally attributed to Arghun (r. 683–690/1284–1291), and possibly associated with a Buddhist monastery near the location intended for his burial.\(^{119}\) A flowering branch held centrally above the head of an Ilkhanid enthroned ruler is therefore

Simpson (1982), p. 104, fig. 51 (Fig. 4b) and on fol. 122a of the Edinburgh Žanāt al-tawârîkh of 714/1314, Talbot Rice (1976), p. 143, no. 59.

Kessler illustrates Mongol-period stem cups of gold and also porcelain, Kessler, 1993 23846 figs. 92 and 107; a stem cup of diminutive size is held by an enthroned figure on an early thirteenth-century minâr bowl in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (Inv. no. 938), illustrated in Irwin (1997), p. 112, ill. 88.

The position of thumb and forefinger may be a convention; it is also used by the diminutive figure at the foot of the painting who is not holding an object. It also occurs in the figure at bottom left of the Istanbul Ki rates al-aghâni frontispiece (Millet Kutûphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1a) (Fig. 6b). As for the object itself, although a drinking vessel is the obvious choice, the manner in which the object is held, and its narrow head, suggest it is solid. A seal similar in design to the one in the name of “Khudabanda Muhammad” from a silk factory at Abarquh. (Sotheby’s, 16 October, 1997, Lot 7, p. 22 (Fig. 35b), may be also be a possibility. Seals carried high prestige at the Ilkhanid court, for example, the great golden seal in the Turkic-Uighur language and Arabic script [misleadingly referred to by Hamilton as ‘Syriac’ in the title of his article], first given to the Nestorian Patriarch Yahb-Allaha III by Mungka, on his election in 1281. A facsimile of this seal was given by Ghazan to Yahbhalla’s successor, in 1298, after the original had been lost in the Muslim attack on the Patriarchal residence in Maragha in 1207. Imprints of this seal survive on documents from the Patriarch to the Pope, dated 1294 and 1304, now in the Vatican Archives, (A.A. Arm. I–XVIII, 1800, 1–2), Hamilton (1972), p. 155–156, 170 and figs 1–IV. Juwayni refers to the imperial ḫorḡhe which was issued with the ḫarqūn conferring the rank of šahāb-i dawān on his father as being sealed with the royal ṭamgu (imperial seal), Juwayni–Boyle tr. (1958), vol. 2, p. 488 and Juwayni–Qazwini ed. (1912–37), p. 223.

The configuration of Mongol ruler flanked by Muslim ṣulām and Mongol advisor on the David Collection textile roundel (Copenhagen, David Collection, 42.2) (Fig. 30), is the closest parallel I have located so far, and will be discussed below.

Talbot Rice (1965), ill. 91.

not out of place. However, the inclusion of a nurse and child in the station usually held by a male retainer, often the official quiver bearer, as in the Bal'ami, suggests a more elaborate reference to the creation myth commonly held by the peoples of Central Asia, including the Mongols. The myth describes how the First Man issued from the roots of a tree on the Cosmic Mountain, and was nourished by the feminine spirit. This would accord with the flowering branch at the centre of the composition and the reference to lactation provided by the nurse and child. Such imagery would dovetail comfortably with that of rebirth at the Persian Naw Ruz.

In the Bal'ami, the traditional arborial iconography of Mongol mythology has been replaced by the more practical, if equally ancient, insignia of the umbrella. The umbrella or parasol, as part of the panoply of Middle Eastern monarchs, had been adopted by the Mongol rulers and their dignitaries at least as early as the 1250s as attested in the sources and contemporary depictions. For example, Juwayni refers to the progress of “the royal parasol” as a metaphor for the Great Khan Mungka (Möngke) (r. 649–658/1251–1260) marching into China; Marco Polo describes the “... little golden canopy, such as is called an umbrella, carried on a spear over his head in token of his high command”, given to the commanders of 100,000 men. The Mamluk historian Shafi‘ ibn ‘Ali (649–730/1252–1330), describes the ambassador of the Ilkhan Ahmad Tiguder (Tegüder), while on a mission to the Mamluk Sultan Qalawun, as travelling with a great retinue and a parasol described as “a dome of hide”. A drawing of a Mongol dignitary with parasol bearer is preserved in the Diez Album, (SPKO, Fol. 71, p. 50) (Fig.

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134 This story tended to become associated with particular communal ancestors, for example Ughuz (Oghuz), DeWeese (1994), pp. 49–50; the extensive literature on this subject has been summarised for the Mongols in Roux (1984), particularly pp. 168–174, and DeWeese (1994), pp. 43–50. The pervasive nature of this myth is suggested by a tradition cited in Rashid al-Din’s “History of India”, in the Jami‘ al-tawarikh, probably on the authority of the Buddhist monk, Kamalashri, telling how the Mongols were descended from the kings of India, through a royal queen, who, as a refugee from the court, gave birth to children in the hollow of a tree, who then referred to themselves as “children of the tree”, Jahn (1965), pp. lxxx–lxxxi. This, and other primordial Central Asian myths, may lie behind the iconography of such images as “Gayumarth in the Mountains”, in the Topkapı Album folio (TSM, H. 2153, fol.55b), illustrated in Işıroğlu (1967), , ill. 12.

135 For a summary of the history of the parasol in it Middle Eastern setting see Sims (1973), p. 298–301, n. 54.


and has been discussed by Rogers.\(^1\) In graphic terms, the branches of the Tree of Life and the spokes of the umbrella or parasol are easily substituted for one another.

Although the ruler, his khaṭṭān and the Mongol dignitary in the Topkapi painting are formally posed, and the iconography carefully orchestrated, decorum is clearly under strain in the back row, where the younger generation have become restive; the nurse tickles the baby under its chin, the youth holding the leafy branch shifts his weight to rest a hand on his hip, while his counterpart slings his ceremonial bow and tests the alignment of an arrow by peering down its length—as if the photographer had been too long in pressing the shutter. A child also appears to have wandered off to join the servants and musicians before the throne, and a little dog is yapping at the heels of a gyrating dancer.\(^1\)

Minions at an enthronement are regularly grouped at the foot of a throne, but here formality has been leavened by the introduction of random activity, as in al-Wasiti’s double frontispiece (Fig. 7a-b). In the Bal’ami the pendulum has swung the other way, perhaps not wholly unrelated to the incipient rigor mortis in the proscenium.

Compared with the Topkapi’s relaxed vignettes, the supporters to the rear of the Bal’ami throne appear aggressively earnest. The bow and arrow as part of Saljuq and Mongol regalia has been discussed by Roux,\(^2\) and is well attested in figural imagery across various media, in the hand of both ruler and official quiver-bearer qurčī (qorchi).\(^1\) For example, it is held by Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ in the Istanbul Kūbī al-aghānī frontispiece (Fig. 6b) and slung about the person to the ruler’s left on the British Museum’s late thirteenth-century brass tray probably made in Mosul for the Ilkhanid court (Fig. 33a).\(^1\) However, the figure at the far left of the Bal’ami composition is striking a menacing stance, straining on a fully-drawn bow, perhaps reflecting the presence of death.

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\(^1\) İpsiroğlu (1964), p. 21 and pl. 10.
\(^2\) Barthold and Rogers (1970), pp. 224-225 and ill. 3.
\(^3\) Skinny little curs of this type are familiar in Yuan book block illustrations, for example, a novel “San-kuo Chi” dated 1321-1323, (Fig. 36b), Saito (1967), pt. 2, p. 64, fig. 3, and appear occasionally in Ilkhanid paintings such as Diez A, Fol. 70, p. 22, İpsiroğlu (1964), p. 22 and pl. 7 (Fig. 36a). This may account for the unusual sight of a little dog putting its nose round the door on fol. 323a of the Istanbul Jāmī’ al-sawāikh (TSM, H. 1653), dated 714/1314, with paintings probably c. 1320-30 (unpublished).
\(^5\) Chingiz Khan defined the duties of the qurčī as among the most trusted of his personal bodyguard, Secret History—Cleaves tr. (1982), para 225, p. 163, and para 229, p. 166; the Genoese merchant, Buscarello Ghisolfi, employed by Arghun as an emissary to the European heads of state, was given the title of qurčī, Petech (1962), p. 593.
Figures behind the throne in the Topkapi image include two on the far left, one holding a small hawk, with versions of the 'netsuke' face; this is similar to the figure in the forefront of the Bal'am frontispiece and to Afrasiyab in the cycle of paintings. The falconer with his goshawk in the centre of the lower register of the right-hand Topkapi folio also shares this facial type.

Behind the throne, but in front of the nurse, stands a spear-carrier with a handsome weapon, but it is not a trident as in the Bal'am. I have found no equivalent for this object in frontispiece iconography. Similarly, the figures of the pseudo-Sasanians attending the ruler appear to be without precedent or successors.

4.2.6 Angels

The angels in both the Topkapi and Bal'am paintings, on the other hand, are very alike in the manner of their flight, gold shirts, long braids, visible feet and, more particularly, in the way their wings issue from their halos. As previously mentioned, this characteristic is shared with Jaziran painting: for example the double page frontispieces to the Paris Kā'īb al-dīrīq dated 595/1199 (Fig. 23), and the Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary dated 1260 from the Monastery of Mar Matai near Mosul (Fig. 140). It also features in the Diez Album image from c. 1300 (Fig. 9). This wing formation is not found in paintings attributed to Fars.

4.2.7 The right-hand folio of the Topkapi frontispiece

A procession in registers of tribute bearers and courtiers is one of the standard options for the right hand folio of fourteenth-century double frontispieces. However, in quality of production and imagination the Topkapi folio stands apart. Although there is insufficient evidence to suggest that a specific incident is being recorded, at this period truth could be at least as strange as fiction. In 1262, Birka (Berke), ruler of the Golden Horde (r. 655–665/1257–1267), sent an embassy to the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 658–676/1260–1277). Baybars assigned two ambassadors to return with Birka's envoys and a caravan of gifts, which included:

"... a copy of the Koran, traditionally said to have been written by the Caliph Othman. It was contained in a case of red silk embroidered with gold, and this in another of leather; a throne decorated with carved ivory and ebony ..."
Chapter 1

eunuchs, young girls skilled in cookery, parakeets of gorgeous plumage, Arab horses, dromedaries, swift and active mules, wild asses, monkeys, saddles for the dromedaries, bits and bridles, woollen saddlecloths for the mules, silk dresses for the monkeys, and several giraffes with painted saddlecloths and bridles. Among the presents there was also a turban which had been to Mecca, for Bibars had commissioned one of his officers to perform the pilgrimage to that town in Bereke's name. 148

The embassy was delayed in Constantinople by the Byzantines. It took some two years to arrive, and most of the animals died before reaching their destination, 149 but the existence of such cavalcades justifies the vision revealed in the Topkapi folio, and suggests that artists were reflecting contemporary types of events within the traditional format of the frontispiece.

The Bal'ami no longer has a second frontispiece for comparison, but some aspects of the style and content of this remarkable circus are worth noting. In terms of style the Topkapi folio shares the red background with the Bal'ami paintings and, more importantly, a particular skill in animal drawing. Certainly one of the most personable unicorns (karkadann) in the history of Islamic painting is seen emerging at the right of the upper register. 150 Although the Bal'ami animals lack something of the bold assurance of the Topkapi menagerie, and do not boast a unicorn, the elephant having his trunk pulled by Bahram Gur (F57.16, fol. 118b) (Pl. 18) and many of the Bal'ami horses suggest kindred genealogies to those in the Topkapi folio. 151 The idiosyncratic 'netsuke' face appears on the falconer at the centre of the lower register. In addition, the fabulous pelican in the arms of the Indian to the right of the upper register provides a tangential association via the David Collection textile (Fig. 30), which, as has been shown, shares important features with the Bal'ami frontispiece.

148 Howorth (1876–1888), pt.2 div. 1, p.119, citing D'Ohsson, Quatremère and Maqrizi. In 1265, Baybars sent one of his chamberlains to Birka, and on that occasion the gifts included three pictures representing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to Mecca, drawn on gilded paper which the Sultan had had made at Birka's request, ibid., p. 121. This is of interest for the Bal'ami, in that a partial ground plan of the Ka'bah is included in "The miraculous rescue of the Ka'bah" on folio 131a of Vol. 1 (Pl. 21a–b).

149 Howorth (1876–1888), pt. 2 div. 1, pp.120–121.

150 Ettinghausen describes it, without illustration, as the earliest depiction known to him of the "tamed" karkadann, Ettinghausen (1950), p. 47. An elephant pursued by a predatory unicorn, sometimes with a feline body, is common in thirteenth-century animal friezes on metalwork, tiles and also stone, for example Ettinghausen (1950) pp. 26–27 and figs 18–19, and the fragment now in the Ince Minareli Museum in Konya (Fig. 154). Their appearance in the frontispiece similarly juxtaposed but with the unicorn 'tamed', suggests the artist borrowed from a repertoire available in other media. Its unusually mild demeanour on this occasion may owe more to limitations of space than good manners.

151 Suggested kindred genealogies will be discussed in Chapter Four.
4.2.8 Summary

Consideration of the Bal'ami and Topkapi frontispieces suggests that although differing in quality, they share an active approach to the adaptation of standard forms to express Ilkhanid messages. A similar engagement with the present is hard to find in Injuid frontispieces of the 1330s–50s: a fact which distances them both from Fars production. However, whereas the Topkapi image is a jolly celebration of Mongol rule in Persian guise, the Bal'ami is a sober statement of Mongol and Muslim claims to be God's elect, chosen to rule the earth.
5. The quotation from the Qur'an

5.1 The significance of Sura 38:26 for the frontispiece

A Qur'anic verse as a banner above an enthroned ruler is rare at any period, and, as far as I am aware, is unique among currently identified fourteenth-century Persian manuscripts. In the Bal'ami image, the archetypal image of the enthroned ruler has been adapted to the ruler as judge, and the recipient of God's injunction to Dawud to "judge aright between mankind”. The Mongol ruler is therefore cast in direct succession to Dawud—the founder of God's Kingdom on earth for the People of the Book—and associates the portentous title of “khalifa” with Ilkhanid rule. Compared with Sulayman's wisdom and his mastery over the spirit world, Dawud provides examples of practical government and the direct relationship of ruler to subject.

There is a striking similarity in phraseology between God's call to Dawud to just rule and Juwayni's record of the Mongol Shaman Kuchuku (Kökchü), who proclaimed and interpreted the will of the sky god, Tinkri:

"God has spoken with me and said: 'I have given all the face of the earth to Temijjin and his children and named him Chingiz-Khan. Bid him administer justice in such and such a fashion.' " They called this person Teb-Tengri, and whatever he said Chingiz Khan used implicitly to follow.

This parallel is also suggested by the 'ulam on the ruler's left and the Mongol quorum to his right, celestial protection hovering over all, and the decapitated corpses miming the grim reality. However, although Verse 26 may open with God's call to just rule, it ends with a muscular reminder that power corrupts, and, at the last, even kings will be judged.

The combination of inscription and image in the Bal'ami frontispiece may therefore be seen as expressing the justification of Ilkhanid rule, for which, in time-honoured tradition, the Bal'ami–Tabari text of the Tarikh al-rusul wa'l-muluk would be used

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53 According to Amitai-Preiss, the title "Ilkhan" also carries the meaning of "viceroy" with royal connotations, Amitai-Preiss and Amitai-Preiss (1988–89), p. 121.

54 Paret (1965), pp. 182. This injunction accompanies David’s judgement between the two brothers over the custody of a sheep; an episode illustrated in the Edinburgh University Library’s portion of the Jami’ al-tawarikh, (EUL, Arab 20, fol.19a), illustrated in Talbot Rice (1976), p. 81, no. 21.


as a source of political, legal and moral precedent. The Mosuli historian, Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233), implies how the text was used, by the remonstrance he puts into the mouth of Mahmud of Ghazna on the occasion of his seizing Rayy from the Buyid prince Majd al-Dawla Abu Talib Rustam (r. 387-420/997-1020). Mahmud says to Majd al-Dawla:

"Hast thou not read the Shāhnāma and the History of Tabari?"
"Yes," answered Majd al-Dawla.
"Thy conduct," continued Mahmud, "is not as of one who has read them."[57]

I hope to demonstrate, that the painting cycle accompanying the Freer Gallery's text, reads as a tutorial on statecraft and ethics suited to the period of re-establishment of Islamic rule under Ghazan Khan between 694-703/1295-1304.

5.2 The significance of Sura 38 for Bal'ami's text

In the same way that Verse 26 may be read as relating directly to the iconography of the frontispiece, Sura 38 as a whole may be seen as prefiguring many of the personalities and much of the subject matter in Bal'ami's text and its illustrations.

5.2.1 Injunctions against apostasing communities

The primary message of the Sura 38:2-6[58] is a warning to the converted against reverting from Islam to gods worshipped before conversion.[59] This admonition would have been of immediate relevance following Ghazan's conversion in 694/1295, to those still in the process of Islamisation among the Mongol entourage, ruling classes and tribal elements, who had entered Iran with the Mongols or in their wake. It begins:

"Nay, but those who disbelieve are in false pride and schism. (2) How many a generation We destroyed before them, and they cried out when it was no longer the time for escape!

The Sura continues by naming prophets, peoples and rulers associated with apostasising communities:

Qur'an 38:12-16[60]

"The folk of Noah before them denied (their messenger) and (so did the tribe of) A'ad, and Pharaoh firmly planted, (12) And (the tribe of) Thamud, and folk of Lot, and the dwellers in the wood: these were the factions. (13) Not one of them but did deny the messengers, therefor My doom was justified, (14) These wait for but one Shout, there will be no second thereto. (15) They say: Our Lord! Hasten on for us our fate before the Day of Reckoning. (16)."

[58] This was the reaction of the Meccan leaders to the doctrine of One God, Bell (1991), vol. 2, pp. 165-6. The verse numbers cited in Bell are two in arrears of Pickthall's numbering.
[60] In verse 41, Job is also mentioned.
Chapter i

5-2-2 Kings

Sura 38: 17-21 contains substantial references to the kings Dawud and Sulayman (Solomon), including the story associated with the quotation in the frontispiece:

"Bear with what they say, and remember Our bondsman David, lord of might. Lo! he was ever turning in repentance (towards Allah). (17) Lo! We subdued the hills to hymn the praises (of their Lord) with him at nightfall and sunrise. (18) And the birds assembled; all were turning unto Him (19) We made his kingdom strong and gave him wisdom and decisive speech. (20) And hast the story of the litigants come unto thee? How they climbed the wall into the royal chamber; (21) How they burst in upon David, and he was afraid of them. They said: Be not afraid! (We are) two litigants, one of whom hath wronged the other, therefor judge aright between us; be not unjust; and show us the fair way. (22) Lo! this my brother hath ninety and nine ewes while I had one ewe; and he said: entrust it to me, and he conquered me in speech. (23) (David) said: He hath wronged thee in demanding thine ewe in addition to his ewes, and lo! many partners oppress one another, save such as believe and do good works, and they are few. And David guessed that We had tried him, and sought forgiveness of his Lord, and he bowed himself and fell down prostrate and repented. (24) So We forgave him that; and lo! he had access to Our presence and a happy journey's end. (25) (And it was said unto him): O David! Lo! We have set thee as a viceroy in the earth; therefor judge aright between mankind, and follow not desire that it beguile thee from the way of Allah. Lo! those who wander from the way of Allah have an awful doom, forasmuch as they forgot the Day of Reckoning. (26)"

66 As Roux has said, there has probably never been a Turco-Mongol people without a sacred mountain, the most obvious example being the Tien Shan (Heavenly Mountains), Roux (1984), p. 150. For the Chinggizid Mongols, it was Mount Burkan Qaldun, where the young Timujin had sought refuge from Mirkid pursuers. In the The Secret History of the Mongols he is quoted thus:

"I went up to [Mount] Qaldun. By [Mount] Qaidun Burqan,
As to my life [which is only] so much as a grasshopper,
I was shielded.
I was caused to be sore afraid. Every morning I shall sacrifice unto [Mount] Burqan. Every day I shall pray unto [it]. Let the seed of my seed observe [this]," over against the sun he hanged his girdle on his neck, hanged his hat in his hand, struck his hand into his breast, and, kneeling nine times towards the sun, offered a sprinkling [of mare's milk] and a prayer." Secret History—Cleaves tr. (1982), pp. 36–7, para. 103. On the Inner Asian mythic complex of the World Mountain and World Tree, (usually combined with a Cave that serves as the birthplace of the First Man, who is succoured by a feminine spirit), and patterns of Islamisation, see DeWeese (1994), especially pp. 44–59.

66 This would have accorded with Turco-Mongol celestial imagery of the soul as a bird, and the shaman power of flight, Roux (1984), pp. 253–254 and 258; Eliade (1964), pp. 481 and 493. At a more mundane level, Rashid al-Din records how Chinggiz Khan asked his companions what they considered to be man's highest bliss, and they answered it was riding out in the spring on a sturdy gelding, falcon on wrist and loosing it at prey. Chinggiz disagreed, and advocated, with elaboration, conquest, pillage and rapine, Ratchnevsky (1991), p. 153, citing Rashid al-Din—Smirnova ed. (1952), p. 265.
Qur'an 38:30-41 speaks of Sulayman, his repentance, his love of horses, his command of the wind and veiled references to his control over the spirit world. Verse 30 begins:

"We bestowed on David, Solomon. How excellent a slave! Lo! he was ever turning in repentance (towards Allah). (30) When there were shown to him at eventide light-footed coursers (31) And he said: Lo! I have preferred the good things (of the world) to the remembrance of my Lord; till they were taken out of sight behind the curtain. (32)"

Dawud and Sulayman were not only archetypes of kingship but also paradigms of conversion, in that both had sinned, repented and then been granted rulership temporal and spiritual. Ghazan's conversion to Islam coincided not only with an official shedding of his Shamanist-Buddhist past, but also with his marriage to his father's widow, Bulughun Khatun, of whom he was also enamoured. This was in accordance with Mongol custom but contrary to the Shari'a, a situation which, according to al-Safadi, would have led to Ghazan's apostasy had casuistry not resolved the situation. A context such as this may have encouraged a likeness to Dawud. Similarly, at a simplistic level of similes, metaphors and incidents in the Sura, Dawud played to Mongol culture by arbitrating over sheep and exerting authority over mountains and birds. Similarly, Sulayman's equine passion would have been immediately appealing, and his powers over the supernatural appeared as equivalent to the Shaman's. Sulayman, in the guise of an enthroned Mongol ruler, is preserved in the Topkapi Album, H. 2152 (Fig. 25).

5.2.3 Prophets

The prophets recalled in Sura 38 are: Ayyub (Job), (vv. 41-44); Ibrahim (Abraham), Ishaq (Isaac) and Ya'qub (Jacob), (vv. 45-47); Isma'il (Ishmael), Alisa' (Elisha) and Dhu']-Kifl, (v. 48). Of these, Ibrahim and Ya'qub appear in the illustrations.

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65 Prior to his conversion, Ghazan had patronised the building of Buddhist temples in Khurasan, Boyle (1968), p. 378.
64 Salah al-Din Khalif b. Ayeg al-Safadi (d. 764/1363), author of two biographical dictionaries, : al-Wafi bi'l-waqeydî and A'zân al-'asr wa'a'zân al-nasr.
67 The gubchetn, a one per cent levy on flocks and herds, was the most common Mongol tax paid by nomads to the ruler, Morgan (1986), p. 100.
69 TSM, H. 2152, fol. 97a, Farès (1959), pp. 154–156 and fig. 2.
70 A prophet of the Arabs whose story is resembles that of Ezekiel (Pickthall (1976), p. 601, n. 1.
5.2.4 Divine judgement

Verses 27–29 introduce the description of heaven and hell, which continues with the reward for believers as described in Verses 50–56. Perdition is painted thus:

"And lo! for the transgressors there will be an evil journey's end, (55) Hell, where they will burn, an evil resting-place. (56) Here is a boiling and an ice-cold draught, so let them taste it, (57) And other (torment) of the kind in pairs (the two extremes)! (58) Here is an army rushing blindly with you. (Those who are already in the Fire say): No word of welcome for them. Lo! they will roast at the Fire. (59) They say: Nay, but you (misleaders), for you there is no word of welcome. Ye prepared this for us (by your misleading). Now hapless is the plight." (60)

Verses 66–71 repeat the unity, omnipotence and forgiveness of God.

5.2.5 The Creation and the Fall

Verses 72–84 describe the creation of man from clay, and the submission of the angels to man, Iblis's rebellion and promise to spend the rest of time tempting man to perdition, and the Sura ends:

Qur'an 38:86–89.

"Say (O Muhammad, unto mankind): I ask of you no fee for this, and I am no impostor. (86) Lo! it is naught else than a reminder for all peoples (87) And he will come in time to know the truth thereof." (88)

In summary, therefore, Sura 38 describes how God establishes His Kingdom on earth, through the mediation of prophets and kings, with a repeated emphasis on the need for vigilance against apostasy; it includes the story of the Creation, prostration of the angels, arrogance of Iblis, the Fall, messianic visions of heaven, hell and the Day of Judgement. A quotation from Sura 38 is, therefore, an excellent introduction to Bal'ami's text; including it in a frontispiece, however, is a novel departure. For example, with regard to tiles during the Ilkhanid period Watson notes:

"Orthodox disapproval of figural representation was felt sufficiently strongly by the potters and their clients to ensure that no tile was decorated with human figures and Quranic verse; tiles with animal decoration and Quranic verse, on the other hand, are common." 71

Even though angelic supporters may have previously implied Divine support, the inclusion of God's word significantly alters the hierarchy of the iconography, and gives the enthroned ruler second billing. In effect, the quotation in the frontispiece turns a

71 "All people" would of course include the Mongols.
religious and judicial statement into one of legitimation, in much the same manner as protocols on coins.
6. Ilkhanid political, religious and judicial contexts

6.1 An overview

By the Ilkhanid period, it was received Mongol wisdom that:

"... the right to rule over the whole world had been conferred by Eternal Heaven (rMhke Mrgn) on Chingiz Khan and his successors, who were considered in this system as the counterpart of Heaven on earth. The khans of the imperial line ruled as universal sovereigns on the strength of their "good fortune" and by the very power of Heaven."

In his study of the major changes in Mongol self-justification for their rule over Western Asia, Allsen has divided the numismatic evidence into three periods in order to define the relationship of the Ilkhan to the Great Khans of the Yuan dynasty. Allsen's three periods are:

1) The domination by the Great Khans, 1220s-1259:

In the first period, Allsen suggests that the ideology of the steppe was "reactive", with formulas of legitimation expanding in response to the rivalry developing between the Chinggizid lines following the death of Ugaday (Ogedei) in 624/1227. These were packaged largely for the Turkic-Mongol followers rather than the indigenous population. An example of this is "Qa'an the Just", in its simplest form, on the coins of Chinggiz Khan and Ugaday, whose succession was not disputed, to "Qa'an the Supreme the Just" in the reign of Mönke (r. 60-65/1251-1259). However, from the reign of Mingu (Mönke) also comes a Tbilisi issue of 1252 on which the formulation is elaborated to: "bi-qawwad-i khudâ/bâ [or bi] iqâl pâshâhâ-yi/jâhan Münkâ Qâ'ân" (By the power of God/through the good fortune of the world rulership of Münkâ Qâ'ân), thus...
incorporating God into the hierarchy of the ruler’s protocols.

2) The emergence of the Ilkhans

The major ideological change of the second period, the emergence of the Ilkhans, dates from the arrival in the West of Minglu’s brother, Hulagu, and the fall of Baghdad in 1258. According to Rashid al-Din, in 1262 envoys from Qubilay formally invested Hulagu as ruler (pādshāh) of the lands from the waters of the Amu Darya to the farthest reaches of Egypt and Syria,77 and his subordination to the Great Khan was advertised through his adoption of the new title “il-khān”.78 Similar patents continued to be requested, and were usually received. This continued up to and including the reign of Ghazan’s father Arghun (r. 683-690/1284-1291), whose patent was issued by Qubilay, in January 1286. It was dispatched together with a delegation including Qubilay’s trusted civil servant and confidant Bolad Ch’eng-Hsiang, who was thereafter to epitomise the Yuan-Ilkhanid political and cultural interface until his death in 1313.79

3) The era of the Sultans, 1294-1340s:

The third period, 1294-1350s, begins with Ghazan’s official conversion to Islam from Buddhist-Shamanist beliefs, shortly before he seized power in 1295.80 Ghazan proclaimed Ilkhanid independence by omitting the name of the Great Khan from the majority of his coinage and reverted to a strong, centralised authority more in keeping with traditional Iranian rulership. It was aimed at curbing the effects of two generations of nomadic values, and a fiscal system unregulated by a more sophisticated religious or commercial code. This had resulted in the destruction of both the traditional mercantile

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79 Allsen (1991), p. 229 and Allsen (1996), pp. 7–22. In addition to holding various high ranking offices such as ba‘ranch (head of the court cuisine) and Vice-Commissioner for Military Affairs, Bolad was employed on sensitive legal business, such as the tribunal formed to interrogate Qubilai’s rival for the throne, Ariq Böke, and investigations into the corruption of Ahmad, a notorious Muslim minister at the Yuan court. Although officially a Yuan representative until his death, he also held office at the Ilkhanid court, remaining a confidante and advisor even after Ghazan’s ideological shift to titular independence of the Great Khan. In addition, he functioned as Rashid al-Din’s main source for the sections of the Jāmi‘ al-tawdīh on the Turkish and Mongolian tribes and the history of Chinggis Khan. It is tempting to think that a figure such as Bolad may have been the model for the Mongol on the ruler’s right, in the Topkapai folio previously discussed.
80 Bausani (1968), pp. 540–543.
and agricultural economies of Ilkhanid domains. However, Allsen is clear that although a fundamental shift was underway, the ideological break with the Yuan court and the person of the Great Khan was “neither abrupt nor systematic”, and it was not until the reign of Uljaytu than the formulas on coins became entirely Muslim.

This suggests that the implementation of the new ideology was a slow process carried on throughout Ghazan’s reign—a period of some eight years, with overt political and religious statements being made on a reactive basis, as and when required. Melville has argued that Ghazan’s conversion was necessary to secure his position. Islam had already been widely accepted in the Mongol ranks, and there was a need for the ruler to define himself against the rival Christian–Shamanist claimant, Baydu. However, it was the political sagacity of the Muslim Mongol general, Nawruz, that forged the link between the religion of the Persian people and the interests of the ruler, and declared on Ghazan’s conversion: “Padshâh-i Islam Ghâzân ast”.

At the cultural level, Amitai-Preiss has noted that it is in the nature of communal conversion for folkloric rituals associated with cultural identity (shamanist in the case of the Mongols) to be retained. In the case of the Ilkhans it is clear that native religious responses persisted at ruler level into the reign of Uljaytu. An occasion is reported on which the Ilkhan clearly hedged his bets by calling in shamans, referred to as bakıshas, to intercede with Tingri, the Mongol sky god, to still a violent thunderstorm following an acrimonious dispute between Hanafi and Shafi‘i theologians. This dispute is recorded by Qashani, who relates the regret expressed by the Mongols present for their lack of adherence to the Yasa:

“Qutlug-Shah Noyan said to the other noyans: ‘What is this that we have done, abandoning the new yasaq and yasîm of Chingiz Khân, and taking up the ancient religion of the Arabs, which is divided into seventy-odd parts? The choice of either of these two rites (madhhab) would be a disgrace and a dishonourable act, since in the one, marriage with a daughter is permitted, and in the other, relations with one’s mother or sister. We seek refuge in God from both of

The word also used for Buddhist monks.
Boyle (1968), pp. 401–402. Boyle points out that this type of superstition long outlasted the conversion of Mongols to Islam.
Chapter 1

them! Let us return to the yāṣāq and yāṣān of Chingiz Khan."

Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) vituperated against the syncretistic Islam practised by the Mongols.

In the area of law, Amitai-Preiss, using the evidence of the biographical dictionary of the Mamluk historian Salah al-Din Khalil ibn Aybeg al-Safadi (d. 764/1364), has examined the legal anomalies faced by Ghazan following his conversion. For example, according to al-Safadi:

"...[Ghazan] spoke Mongolian and Turkish (al-müghalýya wa-turkiyya), and he knew Persian, but he did not speak it except with Khwāja Rashid [al-Din] and his like from among the close associates of his court (akhsāṣa ḥaḍratuhu) ...He understood most of what was said before him in Arabic, but he did not let it be known that he understood it, out of pride in the deeply-rooted Chinggiz Khānī and pure Mongol Yasa (al-azāman al-dāl yāṣāq al-jināz khāniyya al-muˈtaqqa wa-müghalīyya al-khālis). When he became king, he took up leadership [in] the way of Chinggiz Khan and established the Mongol Yasa [al-yāṣā al-müghalīyya] [sic]. He appointed judges (al-arğāyya) to carry out the tribunals (al-arghd). He obligated all to keep their rank and not to exceed it. The aghā (older brother, i.e. senior prince) was to be an aghā, and the inā (younger, i.e. junior prince) was [to stay] an inā."

Rashid al-Din records that after his conversion, Ghazan continued to invoke both the Yāṣā and the Shari'a when distributing iqtaʾs (land grants), in which the yarāğhs (imperial commands) would open with praises of Chinggiz Khan’s Yāṣā.

According to al-Safadi, after the death of Ghazan, the Yāṣā of the Mongols passed away. However, Al-Ahri records that Arpa Khan, on briefly succeeding Abu Saʿid in

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189 The Quranic phraseology probably reflects the author’s rather than the speaker’s words.


191 Amitai-Preiss (1996), p. 9; (Raff, 1973), pp. 45–46. Ibn Taymiyya’s fatawa against the Mongols, in the opening years of the fourteenth century, will be mentioned at greater length below.


193 Ibid. pp. 3–4, quoting al-Safadi, al-Wafta biʾt-waṣaytāt (Oxford, BL, Arch. Seld. A. 28, fol. 6ta). Amitai-Preiss cites, in particular, the problems surrounding Ghazan’s insistence on marrying his father’s wife, Bulughun Khātun, according to Mongol custom but in contravention to Islamic law; a problem which was overcome by the casuistic argument of a member of the ‘ulama. According to al-Safadi, without this, Ghazan would have apostatised, Amitai-Preiss (1996), p. 3, quoting al-Safadi, op. cit., fols 62b–63a.


195 Amitai-Preiss (1996), p. 5 and n. 31, citing al-Safadi, al-Wafta biʾt-waṣaytāt (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. Seld. A. 28, fol.62b). Al-Safadi is citing al-ʿUmarī who, in turn, is citing the Mamluk emir Sayf al-Dīn Ayṭamish al-Nasīrī, noted as the most knowledgeable person of his time regarding the affairs of the Mongols; and served several times as envoy to Abu Saʿid.
... freed the emirs whom the august sultân (Abû Sa'id) had imprisoned in the fortresses.... He used the Mongol code (jassâq) and administration (ṣijjâṣâq) and did not pay attention to the yarfigh [sic.] of Sulṭân Khudâbadah and Abû Sa'id which was presented to him. He used to say [gap in text]. And (when) the yarfigh [sic.] of Sulṭân Ghaçân was presented to him, he used to say [gap in text] and he acted in conformity with that." 196

Al-Ahri and Rashid al-Din both imply that Ghazan adopted a policy of pragmatism, invoking the Mongol or Muslim codes as he saw fit. Morgan suspects that a steady erosion of the Yâsâ was taking place behind an intentional smoke screen aimed at masking the process. Ratchnevsky suggests that from the early days, some Shârî'û rulings were crudely stamped with a Chingizid imprimitur, as, for example, Hulagû's edict at the siege of Baghdad in 1258 which exempted from taxes the descendants of 'Ali, fâkirs, lawyers, the muezzin and those who washed corpses." 197 Morgan also suggests what had become referred to as the Yâsâ by the end of the Ilkhanid period, was probably the decrees of the yârghû laid down as a canon of justice; these were for use solely in cases of dispute between Mongols, and to be regarded as a system equivalent to the Shârî'. 198 Morgan also mentions the presence of ad hoc Mongol courts, yârghûs, one of which included the presence of qâdîs, though this appears not to have been usual. 199 However, although the exact relationship of the two legal systems may remain obscure, there seems little doubt that the Yâsâ was a judicial reality through the Ilkhanid period.

An example of 'case law' may possibly provide an alternative explanation for the pointed hat worn by the decapitate nearest the throne in the frontispiece (Fig. Pl.m-o). As already suggested, conical hats were worn by shamans. However, following the revolt of the emirs against Abu Sa'id in 1319, the rebels were handed over to the Amir Chupan for punishment according to the Yâsâ. Qurumishi's sentence included his head being shaved and being paraded in a red conical hat (turfar). 200 In the Bal'ami painting the hat

199 This court is recorded as being in Kirman, during the reign of Awaqa (r. 663–680/1265–1282), Ibid. p. 174.
200 Melville (1997), p. 109, and n. 116, citûng Wassaf, Waṣṣaf–Iṣfahâni (1269/1852), p. 645 and al-Muqri, Nââr al-jumâh (Dublin, CBL, Pers. 4113, fol. 124a). Schroeder, in his survey of hats in Ilkhanid manuscripts, records tall, pointed hats, one as the centrepiece to a turban, on three observers of "The death of Mani" in the Great Mongol Shâhânuma (Iran, now Tehran, Rida-yi 'Abassî), illustrated in Grabar and Blair (1980), p. 149. Grabar and Blair consider these 'turbans' may not be part of the original painting, but they are worn by bystanders not Manichaeans. MazdaJdan (Manichaean) conspiracies were said to be active in the reign of Ghazan, associated with his rival for the throne, Prince Ala-Firang, the elder son of Ghazan's predecessor, Gaykhatu (Geikhatu). An insurrection attributed
has been coloured gold, and there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the image is other than generic. A conical hat as an emblem of humiliation prior to execution, particularly if denoting treachery to the state, would fit conveniently with the iconography of two legal writs acting in concert under Mongol rule and the Divine *imprimatur* of Sura 38:26. However, any possible significance of the hats must remain speculative at present.

The need for culturally inclusive images, particularly at the period of Ghazan’s conversion, is exemplified by the numismatics of the period.

6.2 Numismatic parallels

Uighur inscriptions continued to appear regularly on Ilkhanid coinage until the year 712/1312. Mongol shamanistic invocations appeared in tandem with the Muslim *kālama* from the period of Chinggis Khan only to the beginning of the reign of Uljaytu (r. 704–716/1305–1316). It was Uljaytu who finally abandoned the practice in favour of extended Muslim religious titulature.

The Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi Coin Collection includes the following examples of religious syncretism in inscriptions from the reigns of Chinggis Khan, Arghun and Ghazan:

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201 Akut’s translations have been followed for coins from the Yapi ve Kredi Bankasi Coin Collection.

202 Albums ([forthcoming]), I am most grateful to Stephen Album for his advice and for allowing me to quote from his forthcoming publication.

203 "al-sūlān al-ʿazīz/ghiyath al-dunya wa-l-dīn/ Uljaytū sultān/khallaṣā allāh mulkahu" (The great ruler/perpetuator of earth and heaven/Uljaytu Sultan/May God perpetuate his kingdom), Kolbas (1992), pp. 562–565. I am very much aware that, as Album says in his forthcoming publication: "The [Ilkhanid] series of coinage is immense, with perhaps as many as 20,000 or more distinct types and variants in all, one of the most extensive and varied coinages of all history [lest we forget, the Ilkhan series lasted only about one century]", Album ([forthcoming]), [no p. no. on proof]. I am therefore at risk of over-simplifying complex material. I would like to thank both Stephen Album and Luke Treadwell for guiding my novice steps, and the mistakes I may make are all my own.

204 to the Mazdakites occurred in 1303. Mazdakite beliefs were considered socially subversive, and included in their beliefs, apparitions of angels, prophets and saints, Bausani (1968), p. 548–9. A vision of such heresiarchs being beheaded in the frontispiece to a history of the prophets would be appropriate; but should remain a tentative hypothesis for the present.

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Chapter i

i. (Inv. no. 10249), silver dirham, mint illegible, in the name of Chinggiz Khan (r. 603-26/1206-1229):

obverse: (centre, in Arabic)

“The helper/of the religion of Allah/Commander of the Faithful”

reverse: (centre, in Arabic)

“The Just/The Greatest/Chinggiz Khan”

ii. (Inv. no. 10405), silver dirham minted in the Jazira in the reign of Ghazan’s father, the ardent Buddhist Arghun (r. 683-690/1284-1291), the reverse of which also bears an image of an eagle or falcon with wings outspread (Fig. 37a):

obverse: (centre, in Arabic)

“There is no God/but Allah Muhammad/is the messenger of Allah

(margin, in Arabic)

“Struck at Jaziray/[in the] year six hundred ninety one”

reverse: (centre, in Mongolian)

“Argun had a coin struck at Jazira/in the name of the Khagan”

iii. (Inv. no. 10735) silver coin struck in Tbilisi in the reign of Ghazan (r. 694-703/1295-1304), before his fiscal reforms. Date illegible, but c. 696/1296:

obverse: (centre, in Arabic)

“In the name of the Father and the/Son and the Holy Ghost, one God”

reverse: (centre, in Arabic)

“Great Kaan Sultan Mahmud/Ghazan Khan/may God perpetuate his kingdom”

As Album has noted, three attempts were made during the early Ilkhanid period to introduce a uniform coinage; the first under Abaqa in 674/1275-6 and 678/1279-80; the second under Arghun in 684, and finally, the great reform of Ghazan, in two parts, in 696/1296-7 and 697/1297-8. Ghazan’s reforms finally succeeded in suppressing all local coinage and establishing uniform currency—a process which took three years to complete. As was traditional, the reforms affected gold and silver currencies only.

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The coins with hawks on them form a particular sequence from the reign of Arghun, and will be referred to again in Chapter Five.

The exact wording is “bi’-l-Jazira”.


See also Blair (1983), pp. 296–297.
Apart from an exceptional period in the reign of Ghazan’s father Arghun, copper remained a local and provincial production, although “royal” in the sense that it bore the name of the Ilkhan.\(^\text{10}\)

Kolbas has monitored both the introduction of Ghazan’s use of the Persian protocols *padishàh-i jahân* and *shahanshâh-i a’zam* (Padishah of the World and Great King of Kings),\(^\text{11}\) and the fact that Mongol invocations reappear on his coins within a year of his accession. Kolbas gives an example from the Yâpi ve Kredi Bankası Coin Collection, (Inv. no. 10478), dated Baghdad, 696H; here the names of Allah, Tingri, Muhammad and Ghazan appear.\(^\text{12}\) Akut illustrates another from the same collection with similar titulature struck at Arzan, in the year 701H (Inv. no. 10528), which indicates that this continued to occur throughout the major part of his reign:

obverse: (centre, in Arabic)  
“God/there is no God but Allah/Muhammad/is the Messenger of God”

(sides, in Arabic)   “May God commend him”

(margin, in Arabic) “Struck at Arzan in the year seven hundred and one”

reverse: (centre, in Mongolian)  
“God is Great (*Tingrin/küçündür*), Ghazan Mahmud had a coin struck”

(above, in Arabic)  “All power is in God before and after”

(left side, in Arabic): “Year seven hundred and one”\(^\text{13}\)

These examples provide some evidence that Mongol imprecations were still considered appropriate six years after Ghazan’s conversion and accession, and make the apparently abrupt and total removal of them following Uljaytu’s accession all the more marked. The name of Tingri vanishes entirely and forever from Iranian coinage after Ghazan’s death in 703/1304, to be replaced by sectarian professions of faith, first Sunni and ultimately Shi‘i.\(^\text{14}\) If I am correct in reading the Bal'ami frontispiece as being if not heterodox at least a reflection of cross-cultural consolidation, then the numismatic evidence would suggest it is closer in spirit to Ghazan’s reign than thereafter.

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\(^{10}\) Album (forthcoming), [no page no. on proof]. For an example of copper coinage see Fig. 37c from the reign of Gaykhatu, Akut (1992), inv. no. 10453, p. 134 and illus. p. 20.

\(^{11}\) Kolbas (1992), p. 494, Akut (1992), p. 73, inv. no. 10739, silver coin, minted at Tabriz in 694H.


\(^{13}\) Akut (1992), p. 75.

\(^{14}\) Akut (1992), pp. 83 and 85, Inv. nos. 10798 dated 710 and Inv. no. 10875, dated 713 respectively.
Ghazan’s sporadic use of the protocols of Iranian kingship on his coinage accords with a wish to don the deepest purple of Iranian kingship. Whether this was from the enduring belief in the Mongol God-given mission, or a ploy to encourage such a belief among the conquered peoples makes little difference. In this he was doing no more than follow his predecessors’ architectural programmes at Takht-i Sulayman in the 1260s–70s, of which the pseudo-Sasanians in the frontispiece may be a popular expression.

A reflection of the religious, cultural and political syncretism of Ghazan’s rule is provided by the trenchant criticisms of Mongol Islam levelled by Ibn Taymiyya in the wake of the Ilkhanid invasions of Syria between 1299 and 1303.

6.3 Ghazan’s Syrian campaigns and the anti-Mongol fatwa of Ibn Taymiyya

In the spring of 699/1299 a group of Mamluk amirs defected to the Ilkhanid court and assured Ghazan that an invasion of Syria would meet with success. Between 1299 and the spring of 1303 Ghazan mounted three Syrian campaigns; the first was crowned with some success, the second was abandoned because of bad weather and the third resulted in a comprehensive Mongol defeat.

In the summer of 1299 the Mamluks invaded Ilkhanid territory, capturing Mardin and desecrating the mosques of Ra’s al-‘Ain during the month of Ramadan. For this, Ghazan obtained a fatwa for a war of retaliation and on 16 October set out for Syria; he had reached Aleppo by 12 December. He did not attack the town but outflanked the Mamluk forces gathered near Hims, and, with Ghazan himself taking part in the battle, inflicted a crushing defeat upon them at Majma‘ al-Muruj. The city of Hims surrendered; Ghazan took possession not only of the city but also, reputedly, of a bag containing the title deeds to the kingdom of Egypt and the muster roll of its army—if true, a propaganda coup of no mean proportions. By 31 December he was in possession of Damascus, and in early January 1300 received the homage of the populace outside the city, on the meadows of Marj Rahit; the following Friday the khutba was read in his name. By 8 March 1300 Ghazan himself had returned to Mosul, leaving behind in Syria a garrison of occupation. If there was a time for Ilkhanid triumphalism subsequent to the fall of Baghdad in 1258, this was surely it! He had shone in the role of ghāṣ and pādshāh-i Islām as well as proving himself the best qualified member of the house of

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16 Raff (1973) p. 1; Raff’s article is available only in typescript but is widely circulated and cited. I am most grateful to Reuven Amitai-Preiss for providing me with a copy.
Chingiz and Hulagu to rule a horde that was still configured for war.

Ghazan returned to Syria in the autumn of 1300 with the intention of consolidating his conquest of the previous winter, but bad weather caused both forces to withdraw, and on 2 February 1301 Ghazan turned for home, visiting en route the graves of the martyrs of the Battle of Siffin. That year he summere at Ujan in Azerbaijan during which time a conspiracy against his vizier Sa’d al-Din was suppressed. In connection with this affair Rashid al-Din reported the Ilkhan’s comment: “It is more difficult for me to kill an innocent gnat than a guilty human being; for to allow a mischievous man to live only leads to disorders, especially in affairs of state.”

In the spring of 1303 a third Syrian campaign was mounted, this time led by the Mongol general Qutugh-Shah. Ghazan himself crossed the Euphrates only briefly, returning to the area of Sinjar and Mosul to await events. On this occasion he ordered the removal from office and execution of the governor of Mosul, Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa, and on 19th April he conferred the sultanate of Northern Mesopotamia upon the Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Najm al-Din II; the same day, Qutugh-Shah reached Damascus and on 20 April the Mongol forces were comprehensively routed; the news reaching the Ilkhan on 7 May. The Syrian successes had been short-lived and were not repeated.

As Raff and Laoust have pointed out, the Hanbalite theologian Ahmad ibn Taymiyya (661–728/1263–1328) vastly enhanced his prestige by assuming the role of verbal antagonist to the Mongols during the period of the three campaigns. On the occasion of the first invasion he was selected to negotiate over the release of prisoners, and took advantage of the opportunity to assess the sincerity and depth of their newly professed Islamic faith. He received a poor impression. He proclaimed the undignified Mongol withdrawal from the second campaign, ostensibly due to bad weather, as a victory for righteous Islam. The third invasion, however, prompted a diatribe in the form of a closely argued fatwa, dated by Raff to 702/1302, detailing the heterodox nature of Mongol beliefs. He defined them as “warriors against God and His messenger” and

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Boyle (1968), pp. 386–90.
For whom, in the late winter and spring of 701/1302, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa had written the Kitab al-Fakhri, a mirror for princes-cum-history of the caliphate. The possible significance of this event for the date and patronage of the Freer Bahami will be discussed in Chapter Five.
Boyle (1968), pp. 90–94.
exhorted the Mamluk troops to treat the campaign as *jihād*.223

In his account of the same year, the historian Ibn Kathir also reports:

"These Tatars belong to the category of the Kharijites who revolted against 'Ali and Mu'awiya and they deem they are more entitled to authority than the two. And these (Tartars) declare that they are more entitled to uphold justice than the Muslims and denounce the Muslims for the sins and iniquity which they flagrantly commit, whereas they (themselves) are flagrant committers of that which is a hundredfold graver."

As Raff points out, this appearance of a consolidated response comes only after a propaganda exercise in which falsified letters from the Mamluk Sultan Nasir al-Din to Ghazan were circulated. In these the Sultan justified the Mamluk defeat at Majma‘ al-Muruj on the grounds of the moral dilemma faced by the Mamluk soldiery who found themselves, unusually, waging war against fellow Muslims; according to the Sultan, the Ilkhan’s conversion was no more than a sham.225

That the Syrian campaigns should elicit anti-Mongol propaganda is not surprising, and had Ibn Taymiyya not been willing, a *fatwa* would, no doubt, have been obtained from some other source. However, Ibn Taymiyya’s diatribe provides a useful foil for Ilkhanid aspirations. Both Ghazan’s wish for the Ilkhanid state to be accepted into the Muslim fold, with himself as a warrior for the faith, and his attempt to synchonise Chinggisid ideology with Islam, are reflected in Ibn Taymiyya’s polemic. The well-known religious tolerance of the Mongols prior to conversion will have done little to support the credibility of Ghazan’s newly adopted image, but Ibn Taymiyya’s attack is tellingly specific:

"... And the judgement concerning controversial points among their grandees rests on the authority of paganism, not on the authority of God and His Messenger. In like manner, the grandees, such as their viziers and others, put the religion of Islam on a par with the religion of the Jews and Christians and consider all these as paths to God, equal in rank with the four orthodox rites in Muslim eyes ..."

"In short, there is no hypocrisy, irreligion and arch-heresy (existent) but that it enters into the wake of the Tatars, for they are among the most ignorant creatures, the least knowledgeable concerning religion ..."

Ibn Taymiyya elaborates his point with a quotation from the prophetic tradition, recorded

223 Raff (1973), pp. 4-5.
by Bukhari, concerning the war with the Kharajites:

"At the end of time there will emerge a people both tender of tooth and wild of dream, who will utter the most pious of words while their (true) faith sticks in their throats and they swerve from religion like the stray arrow swerves from the target. So wherever you meet them, slay them, for in the murder of them lies a reward on the Day of Resurrection for their slayer."

He stops short, however, of proclaiming them apostates on the grounds that their ignorance may save them."

With regard to the Chinggizid legacy and Islam, Raff notes how Ibn Taymiyya turns the ideological weapons of the Mongols against themselves. He declares that the greatest of their chieftains, meaning Ghazan, on arriving in Syria declared: "We are Muslims. Both are mighty signs which came from God: Muhammad and Chingis Khan," and by so doing equated the Prophet with "an infidel and polytheistic prince, one of the most unbelieving, corrupt and aggressive polytheists, one of the ilk of Nebuchadnezzar and the likes of him ... it was known that Musailima the liar was less harmful to the Muslims than this man..." He goes on to liken Chinggiz Khan to Namrud and Fir'awn (Pharaoh), and cites the Mongol belief that:

"Chingis Khan is mighty; for they believe that he is the son of God, analogous to what the Christians believe in Christ, and they declare that the sun got his mother pregnant, that she was in a tent and the sun then descended through the tent's hole and thus entered her till she conceived. But it is known to everyone who has a religion that this is a lie ..."

This is ruthless scrutiny of carefully papered-over cracks. However, perhaps the most telling jibe of all was levelled by the Mamluk Sultan Nasir al-Din in the wake of the final Mongol debacle at Muruj al-Suffar on 20 April, 1303. The Sultan advised Ghazan to cede Iraq to the pseudo-caliph who was under the Sultan's protection, and agree to observe it as neutral territory. All in all, the view from the Sultanate appears to parody the message of legitimate rule and bona fide Islam expressed in the Bal'ami frontispiece. If so, this suggests that the iconography may mirror not only matters of

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288 Raff (1973), p. 42. Inviting comparison between the converted Mongols and Kharajites, who split with the forces of 'Ali at the Battle of Siffin 37/657 is interesting in that Ghazan is known to have visited the battlefield of Siffin on his way back from the first Syrian campaign. The Battle of Siffin is one of the scenes chosen for illustration in the Freer text.

289 Raff (1973), p. 44.


291 Raff (1973), p. 49. The stories of both Namrud and Pharaoh are illustrated in the Freer cycle.


internal concern within the Ilkhanid state but also reflect sensitivity to Mamluk propaganda.
7. Did the Freer Bal'ami have a double frontispiece?

As already briefly mentioned, red pigment adhering to the triangular patch clumsily added to the lower right-hand corner of the frontispiece bears evidence of it having been face-to-face with another painting. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the Freer manuscript originally opened with a double-folio frontispiece. As Ettinghausen has noted:

"It is very likely from the general character of the iconography and the content of this inscription that there was originally also a right half of a double frontispiece which showed either further attendants, horsemen, animals or tribute bearers, or scenes of hunting or polo-playing, in either case, possibly two registers. The recto of this lost folio would then have carried a decorative roundel more like [sic] incorporating the name of the ruler who had this manuscript commissioned."\(^{934}\)

Ettinghausen clearly intended a general comment and this is, of course, particularly true of double frontispieces attributed to Injuid Shiraz. Ettinghausen has shown that by the mid-thirteenth century frontispieces from Iraq and the Jazira were also drawing upon the rich heritage of Byzantine images of scholarly and political authority, and displaying a capacity for synthesis and innovation.\(^{935}\) This line of transmission might offer a more appropriate option to flank a court of law. Such a scene might be of teaching or studying, similar to fol.\(^{18}\) of the probably late thirteenth-century frontispiece to the Topkapi Kâûla wa Dimna (Fig. 38). In this case, the Bal'ami might have shown the need to study the law prior to enforcing it, as in the extant execution scene.\(^{936}\)

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\(^{935}\) Ettinghausen (1962), pp. 61–101. It also included the introduction of a new informality drawn from scenes of everyday life in contemporary genre painting, as in the kebab-cooking winter scene in the frontispiece to the Vienna Kûlû al-dîrîyâq (Figs 21a and b).\(^{936}\)

It is also worth noting that an early, but undated, copy of Bal'ami's Târikh is known to have had additional introductory text; the 'Târikh-i Tabari' in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice Or. CXXXVIII (17). This manuscript has been described and discussed in Piemontese (1977), pp. 463–474 and Piemontese (1989), no. 380, pp. 334–335. Piemontese suggests a late thirteenth-century date on the grounds of its calligraphy, orthography and illumination, Piemontese (1977), pp. 463–47. Bal'ami's text begins on folio 4b. It is preceded by folio 1, a replacement folio. Folio 2a depicts a cosmography describing the seven climes as a sectioned circle inscribed with the names of the major regions, mountains, rivers and cities, Piemontese (1977), pl. 1 (Fig. 39). This cosmography is topped and tailed by inscription panels which together read: jur'dî-i tabariš-i tabaqat wa aqsâm al-anbâ' al-salam wa khulajîn al-anbî 'alayhim wa salâtîn ridâ ʻal-ayhîm jîma'ayn (a table of the periods of history, groups of the prophets, peace be upon them, caliphs and sultans, may God be pleased with them.) Folio 2b is headed by an illuminated muraqqa bearing the Persian form of the bismillâh: "bi nâmâ-ji izad ..."; 2b–3b are a now incomplete set of dynastic tables from the Pishdadian to the Saljuq dynasties, each with a prose
Another possible prototype might be a double enthronement, as, for example, in the double frontispiece to al-Wasiti’s *Maqāmāt* of 634/1237 (Fig. 7a–b). Here, the figure in the left-hand folio wears a particularly large version of the fur hat (*tarbūsh*) of Turkish amirs, while the figure in the right-hand folio wears the turban of religious authority. Since the figure in the surviving Balʿarni frontispiece wears the Mongol feathered headdress, the figure in the lost right-hand scene may have been turbaned and shown presiding over a religious law court.

However, as I have already attempted to show, the iconography of the Balʿarni image was fine-tuned to particular themes associated with legitimate rule and righteous judgement in both Ilkhanid and Islamic modes. This suggests that its companion folio may also have received similarly sober treatment, rather than repeat a standard Iranian or Turkic reception or hunt. For compositional balance it is likely that the right-hand folio also carried an inscription panel.

7.2 Other possibilities: *Rūgār-i ʿālam* and messianism in the Ilkhanid period

According to Daniel, following Griaznevich and Boldyrev:

“... manuscripts which begin with the Persian doxology usually insert a section, explicitly stated not to be part of ʿṬabarī’s original text, on “the duration of the earth” (*bāz namādan-i muddat-i rūgār-i ʿālam*)”

This is true of the Freer Balʿami. The interpolated passage contains a discussion of the length of days from Adam to the apocalypse, and includes a creation horoscope based on the exaltation points of the planets. It states that its purpose is to demonstrate that no one but God knows when the Last Day will be, and concludes with an anecdote concerning the prophet Dawūd, reported by Ibn Munabhī. The story runs that the Jews pressed Dawūd for information on when the world would end; Dawūd replied that God had created a town twelve thousand *jarsangs* across, in which stood twelve thousand palaces. Each palace had twelve thousand rooms and each room was filled with mustard

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introduction giving the names of the individual monarchs on alternating diagonals across seven vertical columns, *idān* pl. 2. Folio 4a carries a *shamsa* with a blank gold centre, surrounded by simple floral scrolls in gold, blue and white. Balʿami’s text begins on folio 4b headed by an illuminated *ʿawān* with the *bismillāh* in kufic script. Although the text on folios 2 and 3 does not run on to folio 4, the paper, calligraphy and illumination all suggest that the cosmography and dynastic tables were included in the original manuscript. Since the Freer copy had a double painted frontispiece, it seems unlikely, but not impossible, that it once included additional dynastic tables and/or a cosmography.

237 Quoted in Balʿami/Tabari-Bahar/Gunābdī eds (1314/1962-3), vol. 1, pp. 2–18

238 Daniel (1990), p. 290. The *Rūgār-i ʿālam* will be considered more fully in Chapter Three.
seed, all for the nourishment of a single bird. When no seed remains, then will be the end of Time. 239

The interpolation of the Rügâr-i ʿilâm not only echoes the reference to Dawud in the frontispiece inscription, but also raises the spectre of the Last Judgement, as the second half of Sura 38.26 would have done, had it been at the foot of the frontispiece. 240 A memento mori in the form of a diagrammatic creation horoscope would not have been out of place here; however, as far as I am aware, no thirteenth or fourteenth-century figural frontispiece paired with diagrammatic material is currently known.

In terms of contemporary propaganda, Ghazan would have been foolish not to take advantage of the messianic urgency of the times in order to enhance his claim to the throne. 241 Melville suggests that Ghazan’s adoption of black banners, like those raised by Abu Muslim in Khurasan on behalf of the ‘Abbasids in 1291/747, may be read at two levels: first, the millenarian sense of the revival of Islam, and the prospect of the fulfilment of eschatological expectations; and second, a political awareness on Ghazan’s part that a void had been left in the leadership of Islam. This may also be seen in his adoption of the title Padshâh ʿIlâm, which attempted to bridge both the Iranian and the Islamic lines of Divine rulership. 242 The contemporary situation is succinctly captured in Bunakati’s account of Ghazan’s conversion.

Bunakati 243

On the 25 Shawwal 717/31 December 1317, the poet and historian Abu Sulayman Dawud ibn Abi’l-Faḍl Muhammad, known as Bunakati, (d. 730/1329-30), completed his general history from Adam to the beginning of the reign of the Ilkhan Abu Saʿīd. As Barthold and Jackson have noted, this work is largely an abridgement of Rashid al-Din’s Jamiʿ al-tawārîkh but the ninth qism contains original material on the reigns of Ghazan and

239 In the Freer text this story falls on the last two lines of folio 2a and the first four of folio 2b in the Freer text.
240 “... and follow not desire that it beguile thee from the way of Allah.
Lot! Those who wander from the way of Allah have an awful doom, for as much as they forgot the Day of Reckoning.”
Uljaytu. In the chapter on the conversion of Ghazan to Islam, Bunakati recounts how the king-maker, the Amir Nawruz, fell on his knees before the prince at the time when he was engaged in wrestling power from the rival claimant to the Ilkhanate, Baydu (r. 694/1295). Nawruz beseeched him to take power. He said that the 'ulama and astrologers predicted the return of a great king around the year 690 who would revivify and renew Islam which had worn thin (mundari). This king would rule for many years and Nawruz was convinced that Ghazan was that man.45

Also of interest is al-Jazari's account of Ghazan's conversion based on the eyewitness account of Shaykh Sadr al-Din and others; these have been translated and analysed by Melville.46 Included is the report from some merchants that Ghazan adopted messianic black banners like those of the 'Abbasid caliphs.47

7.3 Ghazan's reforms. A parâghi on land tenure

In the Saljuq period:

"One of the important duties of the gâdis was to act as a public notary. Title deeds and documents for the sale and transfer of land were drawn up in his court and registered, but the actual deeds were retained by those for whom they were drawn up. There was no procedure for the abrogation or alteration of old deeds, which remained in the hands of their owners."48

The Mongol invasions resulted in extensive devastation and depopulation of the conquered lands, with much left vacant following massacres and the removal and (or) flight of populations.49 Initially, all existing land rights were abrogated and the conquered territories became yurt, or grazing grounds for the Mongol khans and their followers. Gradually, the usurped lands and their ownership began to fall broadly into five categories: yurt, inija (crown lands allotted to members of the ruling family), diwâni (state lands) awqâf (religious endowments) and mlkî (private property).50

"During the Ilkhân period there was an attempt—relatively successful for a time—to subordinate the tribal influence to settled government and, with the

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44 Barthold Massé ), (1960), p. 1011, where he also notes that Banakati is noteworthy for his spirit of tolerance towards non-Muslim peoples; Jackson ), p. 669.
49 For an overview see Petrushevsky (1968), pp. 483-494.
50 Lambton (1994), pp. 77-78.
conversion of the dynasty under Ghāzān to Islām, an attempt to subordinate Mongol tradition to some extent to Islamic theory.\textsuperscript{251}

At the time of Ghazan's accession and conversion in 694/1295 financial disorder and corruption were extreme; he set in train a series of fundamental reforms of the taxation system and a rationalisation of land tenure upon which many of the levies were based.\textsuperscript{252} According to Lambton, under the new dispensation the role of the ḍādi was upheld, but they were made financially dependent on the government. All remuneration from plaintiffs or for drawing up documents was forbidden under pain of severe punishment. In addition, the degree of government intervention in sharī‘ī affairs appears to have exceeded that which was permitted according to sharī‘ theory.\textsuperscript{253}

Among Ghazan's reforms are two yarlīghs quoted \textit{in extenso} by Rashid al-Din in his \textit{Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī}. The first, dated at Kushaf in the region of Mosul, 3 Rajab 699/26 March 1300,\textsuperscript{254} was issued soon after Ghazan's victorious return from his first Syrian campaign. The second is undated but refers directly to the 699 document and reads as a continuation, rather than a modification, of it.\textsuperscript{255} The text of this second yarlīgh opens as follows:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

"Know, then, as [is] enjoined in the Qur'an\textsuperscript{256}: 'O David! Lo! We have set thee as a viceroy in the earth; therefore judge aright between mankind,' and in the command of Mustafa, may the blessings of the Merciful One be upon him: 'The justice of an hour is better than forty years of prayer.'"

Here, perhaps, we have a possible source of inspiration for placing a scriptural quotation above a secular enthroned ruler at the start of a Muslim history, and a clue to the heading of the missing right-hand folio—a succinct hadīth which draws attention to the ultimate judgement in store for the judges; a message so close in meaning to that of the second half of Sura 38:26 as to make the latter unnecessary.

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{251} Lambton (1991), p. 77.
\bibitem{252} Lambton (1991), particularly pp. 80-87.
\bibitem{253} Lambton (1988), pp. 91-92.
\bibitem{255} D’Ohsson has translated parts of both yarlīghs in d'Ohsson (1834-35), vol. IX, pp. 445-462.
\bibitem{256} For 'nās' as meaning 'Qur'an' see Steingass (1892), p. 1405.
\end{thebibliography}
The subject matter of the *yatīgh* itself also repays further investigation. The ‘Dawud’ *yatīgh* is addressed to: "bāsqāq wa muṣālīk wa ḍhabā ṣa wa navaṣāb wa maṣyāmīn al-millā al-muḥammadiyya" (revenue officials, rulers, judges, provincial civil officials and leaders (lit. right-hand men) of the Muslim community). This implies a wide circulation of the document throughout the domains and administrative system. Lambton has treated the two documents together and summarised their contents as follows:

"According to the Yāsā of Chingiz Khan claims to land lapsed after thirty years if they were not preferred during that period. ... Ghāzān ... sought to give religious validity to this regulation and induced the qāḍī Fakhr ud-Dīn Harātī to write a decree to the effect that land claims would lapse after thirty years. Any qāḍīs disobeying it were threatened with dismissal. A *yatīgh* to this effect was issued in Rajab 699/1300."

According to Lambton, a *mushirIf* (overseer) was to be on the staff of every qāḍī’s office (dār al-qāḍā) to enter all sales and purchases of land in a day book (rūznāma-yi hān).

Rationalisation of land ownership was a matter of the highest priority in Ghazan’s process of State consolidation and solvency. Although the document itself is undated, it was clearly intended as a continuation of the first edict issued on 3 Rajab 699/26 March 1300, and it seems reasonable to assume that the two documents were in circulation at much the same. The success of these reforms is not the issue here, rather, that there appears good reason to believe that the ‘Dawud’ *yatīgh* was widely disseminated throughout the Ilkhanid administrative system during Ghazan’s reign. If the designer of the Bal‘ami frontispiece was familiar with this *yatīgh*, then the inclusion of Sura 38.26 above an image reflecting a Mongol-Muslim court of law becomes less surprising.

As suggested earlier in this chapter, a quotation from Sura 38 is, in its own right, a highly pertinent choice with which to open Bal‘ami’s text; the association of Verse 26

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157 A title given in the Seljuq period to minor members of the ruling house in contradistinction to Sultan which was the title of the ruling khān. In the Ilkhān and Safavid periods the title was debased and used also for amīrs and governors”, Lambton (1991), p. 456.

158 Rashid al-Dīn–Jahn ed. (1941), p. 225. The first *yatīgh* is addressed only to judges and officials of the Muslim community, idem, p. 221.

159 That this document was intended for those required to implement the law on a day-to-day basis is suggested by the absence from the list of recipients of members of the ruling house and military commanders. This was despite the fact that all types of land, including those in the royal patrimony and granted as military fiefs, had been detailed in the legislation.


162 Lambton considers the degree of their efficacy should be treated with reserve, Lambton (1988), p. 144.
with the *yarligh* would simply add a topical gloss to a classical choice. Nonetheless, it cogently raises the question of the subject matter of the now missing folio.

If the *ḥadīth* quoted in tandem with Sura 38.26 at the opening of the 'Dawud' *yarligh* was used to head the missing right-hand folio, then a satisfactory counterpoint to the extant scene of execution is not difficult to envisage. For example, in the manner of al-Wasiti's double frontispiece to the *Maqamat* of 634/1237, a second ruler, or *qādī*, might be depicted seated in judgement. In this case, however, the ruler-judge and petitioner(s) would be surrounded by officials and impedimenta associated with the legal process of acquittal and the abrogation of a document. These could include the *ṭārīʿ *aadī for immersing faulty documents in water to remove the ink, the *mushrif* recording the proceedings in the *rażmāna-yi ḥal*, and even angels monitoring the judge's progress through this world towards the next.

Clearly, in the absence of the original painting the subject matter of the right-hand folio must remain a fancy, but such a notional dramatis personae would neatly balance the surviving Bal'arni frontispiece with its hierarchy of:

God

‘King David’

Mongol ruler

*pējza*-holder(?) & Muslim *ʿālim* (qādī)

Mongol & Muslim officials

corpses

This surviving line-up may now be seen to provide a rare insight into the 'the stuff of life' (or death) during the years of Ilkhanid integration into the *Dār al-İslām*. While adhering to the traditional layout of an enthroned ruler image, the vertical sequencing of authority in the frontispiece nonetheless succeeds in conveying a cogent and contemporary message.

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263 Paris, BN, arabe 5847, fols 1a-2b.
265 Such an image brings to mind the frontispiece to the Vienna *Maqamat* dated 1334 (Nb, AF. 9, fol 1a), in which a back-bending acrobat is balanced on the rim of a great basin before an enthroned ruler, illustrated in Ettinghausen (1961), p. 148. There is no evidence, however, that a court of law is depicted on that occasion.
266 The absence of any overt reference to the Prophet in this scheme could have been mitigated by the putative use of the *ḥadīth* heading the right-hand folio. However, the concept of the ruler appointed directly by God, with no intermediary, was well established. Lambton notes that this view was held by al-Ghazali in the Saljuq period and by Nasir al-Din Tusi in the Mongol, at which time it appears to have been the
In terms of Islamic religious theory, an authority stemming from God and 'King David' may be understood as encompassing all members of the Ahl al-Kiāb—Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In their terms, this is the line of authority from which all righteous authorities must stem in order to lead, ultimately, to the eschatological destiny of man. In the Bal'ami frontispiece a Mongol ruler has been placed at the heart of this salvatic vision.

Although the destruction of the caliphate presented a unique set of religious and political circumstances, irregularities in the position of the caliph as a secular ruling dynasty had already been addressed by jurists and philosophers in the pre-Mongol period. The practical implications of a fluctuating situation in regard to religious and worldly rule were often addressed in compilations of advice for rulers and the official classes, most notably in mirrors for princes literature. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, mirrors for princes varied in their ethical and practical content. However, the role of the just ruler was a crucial and common theme, in support of which the well-known hadith, "The justice of an hour is better than the acts of worship of forty years", was also cited.

It may be proposed, therefore, that although the painting(s) prefaced an annalistic history, their choice may also have been guided by familiarity with other forms of didactic literature. Does the subject matter selected for illustration in the body of the text support such a conjecture?

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accepted theory, Lambton (1954), p. 49 and n. 3. On another occasion Lambton quotes Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) as follows: "The caliph or imam, the representative of God, the supreme legislator, is the temporal and spiritual head of the Muslim world and he concentrates in his person all the power needed for the direction of the world. All officials ... act in virtue of a power delegated to them by the caliph or imam ... and others by indirect delegation according to the degrees of the hierarchy", Lambton (1988), p. 95.


For example, the hadith is cited in both the Nāṣīḥat al-mulûk and Kāmyā al-saʿādat of pseudo-Ghazâlî (450–505/1058[9]–1111), quoted in Lambton (1954), p. 48, and also in the Bahr al-fawā'id, Anon.–Meisami ed. and tr. (1991), p. 297. It seems likely that Sura 38.26 may also have been cited in similar contexts, but I have not yet traced an example.
Chapter Two

The cycle of illustrations and their texts

The catalogue entry for each painting will include a summary and/or paraphrase of relevant text, with paraphrasing indented. A space followed by "[Painting]" will mark when the line immediately above the painting has been reached. Discussion will be confined to the contents of the painting and its relationship to the text it accompanies. Bal'ami's additions to or divergences from Tabari's text will be noted only where relevant to the image. A brief identification of the lessons that may be learnt from the text adjacent to the image will be given at the end of each catalogue entry; the overall question of themes will be addressed in Chapter Four. Matters of style and iconography will be mentioned where important for understanding a specific depiction; general questions of style will be treated in Chapter Five.

Missing or damaged areas of text have been placed in square brackets and replaced from the printed Persian edition cited as a comparative text. Words added to clarify meaning have also been placed in square brackets.

Arabic passages in the text are almost always followed by a Persian translation; these have been translated into English only once. Spellings of names follow those used by the calligrapher, including the presence or absence of the Arabic definite article and the use of "bin" rather than "ibn" for patronyms.
Illuminated ʿImrān

Unpublished

Dimensions

- Folio: 422 x 287mm
- Text block: 280 x 163mm extant; section missing from right hand side
- ʿImrān: 42 x 163mm

Condition

Areas missing on the left hand side of the text block match those missing from the frontispiece on the ‘a’ side of the folio. These gaps, having been strengthened with gauze during conservation and appear as blanks against the plain folio which now faces the frontispiece. The area of distressed calligraphy in the lower section matches that now visible in reverse on folio 1a below the enthroned ruler and the decapitated bodies. Some poorly written replacement calligraphy has been written over a repair at the top left-hand side of the text block. A similar repair to the bottom left hand-corner of folio 2b (Pl. 46) carries calligraphy which overlays the fresh margin rulings, suggesting that both repairs were probably carried out when the text was cropped and remargined.

Description

The ʿImrān cartouche is in the form of a tabula ansata; it has “X”-shaped endpieces flanked by narrow strapwork bands. It carries an inscription in white thuluth outlined by a gold cloud on a dark plum-red ground; the ground is decorated with scrolling vegetal decoration of lobed palmettes and lanceolate plant forms. The left-hand end of the illumination is now missing, and the remainder has suffered some smudging.

The surviving legible text reads:

“bi nāma-yi izād bakhshāyanda wa bakhshāyashgār
in the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate”

The work opens with the Persian introduction to Bā'ami's text:

1.1 “bismillāh al-rahman al-rahīm [next section missing] . . .”
“In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate . . .”

2 “ṣippās wa ẓājīn mar khudā-yi kāmnān wa kāmhār . . .”
“Thanks and praise to God the Almighty, the Omnipotent . . .”

1 The alternative introductions to Bā'ami's text will be discussed in Chapter Three.
2 Illumination style will be discussed in Chapter Five.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 18b, (Pl. 2)

Hushang fights the *druṣis*.

Unpublished

Dimensions

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<table>
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<tr>
<td>folio:</td>
<td>422 x 287mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>text block:</td>
<td>280 x 170mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painting:</td>
<td>110 x 170mm</td>
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</tbody>
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Condition

Some text missing from upper and lower sections of folio; areas missing from the painting replaced with buff tinted paper at top left and lower right, with crude replacement drawing at lower right; faces of *druṣis* rubbed; some general pigment loss.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 14a, "The *khvāsa* of Kayumarth"

In Bal'ami's text the stories of Kayumarth, the first king of the world according to Iranian tradition, his son Siyamak and his grandson Hushang follow the chapters on Adam, his son Shith (Seth) and the prophet Idris. Tabari's entries on Kayumarth and his immediate successors are considerably shorter and dispersed within the discussion of Adam, with whom Kayumarth was equated by some authorities. Bal'ami's account is not only a discrete section but is of considerably greater length, running from line 4 of folio 12b to line 17 on folio 15a. The story unfolds in a logical sequence rich in anecdotes, such as the story of the cock and Hushang's killing of the lion as a child, which are absent both from Tabari's original and from Zotenbergs's translation.

fol. 14a, l.31

... and while Siyamak was still a child he used to leave home and [one day] *druṣis* and *paris* saw him on the road and [attacked him] he fought and routed them, and returned home wounded and groaning. When Kayumarth became aware of

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4 For comparative texts see Bal'ami/Tabari-Mashkūr ed. (1337/1959), pp. 7-19, especially pp. 17-19; Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenbergs tr. (1984(a)), p. 96.
5 As explained in the Introduction under Codicology, although this folio is now bound in the correct position—namely, as folio "14"—for some reference purposes it still carries the number "18", from an earlier sequencing.
7 The absence from Zotenbergs's translation is probably due to the 'late' redactions used by him as his main sources, Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenbergs tr. (1984(a)), p. 96.
this, [he went to him], and on seeing him in this condition became extremely distressed and said: “Disaster has come upon me because of your youth; unless you are not human there is no cure for death”. [Siyamak opened his eyes and saw his father crying and he also cried. Then he said: “Oh father, take care of my children for I entrust them to you. Protect them from enemies and revenge my death”. Kayumarth said: “Do you not know that all hearts are created in the same way? The children’s sorrow is as mine, and mine as theirs, and this distress and weakness is part of life.” And it was not long until Siyamak died, and Kayumarth took him to the mountain of Balkh, and put him in that suburb which they call Marvi, where there was a sandabs (a grotto or place cooled by water), and he too stayed in that place, surveying several directions, until that group of enemies [had been defeated.] They came because they had heard of his [Siyamak’s] defeat and knew about his body and they came to carry his body off and to do evil. Kayumarth had gathered an army and Hushang had been apprised of how they had killed his father, and with ingenuity and wisdom had brought forth iron from the mountain, and with that same skill had made weapons of dreadful bludgeons and broad arrow heads and a kind of knife, and all through God’s inspiration, and not from seeing and hearing [how it was done]. When that army saw him on that day, they called Hushang ‘Dibaband’, meaning ‘complete of horse armour and weapons’, and this nickname is applied to him to this day, and some say that this [referred to] Tahmurath. Then Hushang situated himself on the lower slopes of the mountain in order to see that army of diwes. When he heard Kayumarth’s noise and commotion and his calling upon God, his children realised that the enemy were in view and went up the mountain and fought as hard as they could. And they killed many diwes and others, and the remainder of them were put to flight from that area, and many were destroyed and many were taken prisoner. And Hushang made shackles from iron and iron urns, and he put them in the urns with shackles and secured the lids, and from that time on there were prisons. And Kayumarth was very happy with the skill and wisdom he saw in Hushang. Then he ordered him saying: “Administer my affairs”, and he made him khalifa (vice-gerent) over his children for the remainder of his (Kayumarth’s) life, and khalifa after his death also. And again, the mubdi Bahram says thus, that his father was Mishi and his
mother Mishiyya, and when Hushang was a child, Kayumarth always kept him with him because of his affection for him. They say that when Hushang was seven years old, he used to follow his father climbing Kuh-i Balkh. He saw a lion and started to fight it, and because of God's blessing he took the lion's ears in his two hands and hit the lion's head with a piece of stone, so that the lion's teeth and jaw were broken, and then [pushed] the lion down the mountain and broke the lion's paws, and [then] carried on his way. Hushang hurried to reach Kayumarth, and when he saw him coming alone, Kayumarth said: “Why are you on your own; are you not afraid of those enemies who have killed your father?” Hushang answered: “Oh father, I am not afraid of what God, may He be honoured and glorified, wills for me”, and Kayumarth was very surprised that a boy of his age [could answer in that fashion.] And when they came back, Hushang saw the dying lion, and Kayumarth said: “What is this?” [Hushang recounted the fight with the lion. Then Kayumarth was sure that [Hushang] was wise and skilled, and said to him: “This is a lion]

the most powerful of all the beasts.” After this, Hushang showed he [also] possessed insight and Kayumarth observed his many achievements and that is why the Persians say he was a prophet and they called him Pishadé (the one who first established justice). And some people believe that Kayumarth was Adam, and the wise men of ‘Ajam say that Kayumarth was one of the children of Mahil bin [space left blank], and that it was Kayumarth who developed the whole world. And he was a handsome man and was called sayyår (the traveler), and they say he was resident in the mountain and did not mix much with people, and he was very big-bodied, and so tall that anyone who saw him was amazed. And he taught the people to make a thread from wool and from hair in order to make clothing, and he learned to make clothing from Idris, and he also lived for seven hundred years and then died.

Illustration

Following the awesome stasis of the frontispiece, the cycle of illustrations opens with a gusto characteristic of action scenes in the Freer Bâl'âmi. This painting illustrates two incidents in one frame: the first depicts the events which gave rise to the invention of the first prisons, as described in the lines immediately above and below the painting, and
the second, in the bottom right-hand corner, is a flashback to when the seven year-old Hushang killed a lion with his bare hands.

The primary focus is on the adolescent Hushang, son of Siyamak and grandson of Kayumarth, who is depicted lunging forward to belabour and vanquish the daws with a “dreadful stave” of his own devising, thereby earning the laqab of “Dibáband”. His hair is banded by Sasanian-type hair ribbons with floating ends and bunched behind his ears. The bunch has been edged with a pointillé frizz, perhaps to simulate the coiffure of figures in Sasanian rock carvings as at Naqsh-i Rustam. The figure of Hushang is similar to the pseudo-Sasanian guards in the frontispiece and two guards to the right and left of Bahram Gur’s throne (Pl. 17). Beneath a cut-away jacket and sashed knee-length tunic Ettinghausen has noted the curious, and apparently unique, binding of Hushang’s trousers which the forger of the Andażnāma tried to imitate. As these bindings appear to have rivets, the metal armour for which Hushang was famous may have been intended.

The figure to the right of Hushang, also wearing puttees and striding forward with a loaded sling at full tension, may represent one of Kayumarth’s other children who also joined the fray.

The features of both daws are now indistinct, but the white daw has had its scrawny arms pinioned to its body by Hushang’s knobly stave, while the other fruitlessly attempts to parry Hushang’s thrust with a flimsy stick. Both wear gold arm and ankle bands and bloomers with flowing ribbons. The black daw’s bloomers are of tiger-skin, a sartorial detail shared with the daw giving Namrud (Nimrod) a helpful heave heavenwards on folio 24b (Pl. 3).

Behind the daws stands a large, white cockerel encountered by Kayumarth earlier in the text, and which had impressed him with its familial virtues. It is possible that the hen and chicks may therefore have been included in the adjacent area now covered by a patch. Bal’ami also notes that the cock was said to sound the alarm at approaching danger, call the faithful to the dawn prayer and keep a house free of daws, which may

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8 Ettinghausen (unpublished)(b), p. 3.
9 Milstein cites this painting as an incidence of the vanquishing of demons with the help of angels, Milstein (1994), p. 202. However, although this image undoubtedly represents the confrontation of good and evil angels do not actually figure in the text or the image.
10 Earlier in the story, Gayumarth had also met an owl while searching for another of his son’s, Minushang, killed by the daws, and had declared the owl an ill-omen in perpetuity. It is therefore possible that an owl may have been placed next to the cock.
account for its inclusion in this *dzw*-slaying incident. After the cock crew on the evening of Gayumarth's death, an untimely crowing became a sign of ill-omen.

In the right hand corner, Hushang's torso has been torn from the folio and his features lost, but the lean, stunned lion with docilely crossed paws is a foretaste of the sensitive detail afforded to much of the animal drawing in this manuscript.

The setting for the scene is clearly an exterior, with one of the few examples in this manuscript of a formulaic Far Eastern-style cloud with vegetal streamers. The grass is of the simplest, sprouting like comb teeth along the base line, and a simple, weedy plant dividing the adversaries.

The lesson

At first sight it seems unexpected that Hushang rather than Kayumarth, the first king who sat on the throne, should be chosen to open the cycle illustrating a chronological history of the kings of Iran.

The opening chapters of Bal'ami's and Tabari's text describe the Creation of man, the fall of Iblis (Satan), and the subsequent struggle on earth between good and evil. As discussed by Milstein, Kayumarth and Hushang's struggle against the *dzw* represents the primal dualistic approach of the Iranian tradition as expressed in the *Shahname*.

Indeed, the description of Hushang in the older preface to the *Shahname* is not unlike the injunction to Dawud for caliphal justice:

"The beginning of the appearance of men (mardum) was from Kayumarth, and those who call him Adam say the first king who sat (on the throne) was Hushang whom they call Pish-dâd, because he was the earliest person who established the rule of justice among men".

The frontispiece should not necessarily be seen as directly influencing the choice of illustrations in the text. Nonetheless, as *khâlija*, law-giver, and inventor of prisons, Hushang's talents have more in common with the muscular implementation of justice than do the more reclusive and homespun virtues of his grandfather, as described in Bal'ami's text. However, despite the fact that the line of text immediately above the painting

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1 The Freer Small *Shahname*’s image (F29.24) is the earliest according to current dating; illustrated in Gray (1961), p. 59.
2 This theme has been discussed in Milstein (1994), pp. 201–206.
4 Hushang, rather than Kayumarth, was also chosen to illustrate the
raises the expectation of viewing a row of potted āiswa, it is Hushang’s brawn rather than his brain that the artist has chosen to depict. A reason may also have been that the artist, or designer of the cycle, wished to catch the reader’s attention by opening the cycle with action rather than another enthronement scene. If so, the option of readily available prototypes for demon combats, perhaps from paintings accompanying popular recitations or lost Shāhnāma manuscript illustrations⁵ may also have played a part in his selection.⁶

Edinburgh–London Jāmi‘ al-tawdīkh (EUL, Arabic 20, fol. 4a), but as an enthroned monarch, Talbot Rice (1976), p. 45, no-3. The possibility of an additional link between Dawud, Hushang and Ghazan as armourers, and Islamic and Mongol traditions concerning the discovery of iron will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁵ The survival in the Topkapi Album H. 2152 of later fourteenth or fifteenth-century large-scale folios with fold marks, which include battles with āiswa, suggests the possibility of precursors: Atasoy (1972), pp. 262–272 and figs 3, 4, 9, 10, 11 and 12.

⁶ For example, Rustam killing Arzhang in the First Small Shāhnāma (Emil Pretorius Collection, 103), Simpson (1979), ill. 29.
Namrud casts Ibrahim (Abraham) into the fire and flies heavenwards to challenge God.

Published: Milstein (1987), p. 127, fig. 2.

Dimensions
- folio: 422 x 280mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 77 x 170mm, plus a raised step 222 x 89mm at top right

Condition
- Faces of Namrud and his companion rubbed; three small patches of repair added at the bottom left of the text block.

Additional information
- The word ‘waqf’ has been inscribed between lines three and four, apparently in a different hand to the text.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 22b, l.3, “The story of Ibahim Khalil the Compassionate (Ibrahim al-khalil al-ra’man), may the blessings and peace of God be upon him.”

Ibrahim’s father Azar, of the lineage of Nuh (Noah), was in the employ of Namrud bin Kan’an bin Kush bin Ham bin Nuh, King of Babil (Babylon), who was an ardent idolator and ruled with great injustice. Azar was a sculptor of idols and trusted overseer of Namrud’s temples. As a young man, Ibrahim first denounced idolatry and then went into the temples and broke up the idols. Namrud had Ibrahim brought before him, and questioned him about his God (Ilah). Ibrahim said his God was “He who brought the dead to life, and took life from the living. Namrud claimed that he, too, held the power of life and death for he could spare a condemned prisoner or have him

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17 In the Freer text Ibrahim is written without an alif, i.e. Ibrahim.
19 For comparative texts see Bal‘ami/Tabari–Bahar/Gunabadi eds (1314/1962-3), pp. 180–193, especially pp. 191–193 and for the destruction of Namrud, pp. 200–204; Bel‘ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984[a]), pp. 124–135, especially pp. 132–133. In Zotenberg’s translation, the incidents of Ibrahim in the fire and Namrud’s flight to heaven to challenge God follow each other without a break, whereas in the Freer manuscript they are separated by the chapters on Ibrahim’s exodus to Harran and the birth of Isma’il. In this respect the Freer manuscript follows the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript, RAS 22 dated 701/1302. Bahar and Gunabadi place the destruction of Namrud between the chapters on Ibrahim’s exodus and Isma’il’s birth.
executed. Ibrahim then said that his God cause the sun to rise each morning in the East and he challenged Namrud to cause it to rise on just one morning in the West. Namrud was confounded but stayed his hand while Ibrahim's father lived.

After Azar's death, Namrud ordered a great fire to be built, but its heat prevented anyone approaching near enough to cast Ibrahim into it. Wise men (hāšāmān) were summoned to address the problem and a siege catapult (manjanīq) was suggested and built. God sent Jibra'il to succour Ibrahim but he would accept no help except from God Himself. Ibrahim was then catapulted into the fire while Namrud observed from a nearby tower.

And from that hour God Most High took Ibrahim as his friend and called him Khātil Allāh (Friend of God), and gave witness to his friendship and made the angels His witnesses. And when Ibrahim, peace be upon him, passed by Jibra'il and reached the fire, God, may He be honoured and glorified, ordered the fire saying: “Oh fire, this Ibrahim is my friend, if you burn even a hair of his head I shall burn you up in the Greater Fire”. And the Greater Fire is that which when a believer passes by on the path [of righteousness] it [the fire] says: “Oh believer, pass by so the fire of your belief may quench my fire”.]

Then God said: “Oh fire be coolness and peace for Ibrahim.” Oh fire, this Ibrahim is my friend because he has stood firm and relied on me; in these difficult circumstances he detached himself from man and did not take succour from Jibra'il. With my power I shall do something for him and Jibra'il and all mankind will be amazed at my power.” Then God, may He be honoured and glorified said: “Oh fire, be cold for Ibrahim! Be cold in peace [sardi bi-salāma]! And if He had not said “in peace”, it would have been cold until the Day of Resurrection. When Ibrahim reached the fire, he burst all the chains and not one of his hairs was burned. And Ibrahim stood in the midst of the fire in prayer, and for forty days and forty nights the flame of that fire did not die down, and all the wood became fingers and the blaze shot up like mountains, and no one was able to go near the fire. Then Namrud went up into his great watchtower to see the extent and power of the fire. He saw Ibrahim standing at

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90 In Zotenberg's translation, Iblis, dressed in fine clothes, comes to advise Namrud in his dilemma.
91 Lines 32–33 have been covered by patching; the missing text has been supplemented from Bahār and Gunābādi (1953/1974), pp. 192–193.
92 Sura 21:69.
prayer in the midst of the fire, and round about him all the flames had turned to
flowers and aromatic herbs

so that Namrud was overcome with amazement. He shouted to
him saying: “Oh Ibrahim, this fire has not burned you. What kept it at bay
from you?” Ibrahim answered, saying: “God, may He be honoured and
glorified, drew back this fire from me because this fire was created by Him. He
[Namrud] said: “Oh, Ibrahim, come out of there so that I may see you.”

[Ibrahim] got up, and passed through those burning fingers [of flame that rose]
like an escarpment of the heat, and wherever he stepped, flowers and herbs
appeared or sprouted. Namrud was amazed and said: “Oh Ibrahim, you have a
great God who you worship. Namrud became angry and for ten days he gave
audience to no one, and he was thinking of turning to God, may He be honoured
and glorified. Then he did not convert. He summoned Ibrahim and said: “Oh
Ibrahim, your God is a great king and he is powerful and I wish to sacrifice to
Him.” [Ibrahim] said: “My God will not accept your sacrifice so long as you do
not follow me and do not put aside our idols.” Namrud said: “I am not able to
put aside these idols, and he ordered four thousand cattle to be brought, and they
sacrificed them all, and God, may He be honoured and glorified, did not accept
them. And Muhammed bin Jarir also says and relates in this book, that God,
may He be honoured and glorified, sent an angel to Ibrahim in that fire so that
Ibrahim’s heart might be set at ease and not be afflicted, and Ibrahim placed his
head beside him. And this story is not correct, and is very unacceptable to the
'ulamâ and men of wisdom (ahl'-i haşmat), because Ibrahim was the kind of man
whose heart was fixed [only] on God, may He be honoured and glorified, and he
did not incline towards Jibra'il in such surroundings, for then knowledge of
Almighty God would not have been sufficient in that solitary state, and he was of
a happy disposition and filled with desire and love, so why should an angel stand
by him as a comforter?

fol. 25a

And because there was esoteric holy insight (ma'rifâ) for the initiated one (anîf) in
that place, and the friendship and happiness of communion, of what value was an
angel in the eye of the saint, and what place would it have had?\(^3\)

... When Ibrahim, the blessings of God be upon him, left the city of Namrud, those miracles and wonders of Ibrahim’s which he had seen at the time of that fire, were in his heart, and every day, his disbelief and pride increased. Then he said to himself: “I am desirous to go to the heavens the better to see the God of Ibrahim, and who it is who possesses such power. And the viziers said to him: “It is not possible to go to the heavens”. Then he himself made the arrangements to build a tower (manâra), and ordered the people to make mud bricks, and he waited for them to dry. And after a year, he called the skilled workers and asked them to build a tall tower with strong foundations, a spear cast in height and of stone and baked brick. Then he ascended the tower and observed at the sky, and he saw that it appeared exactly the same as it did from the earth, and no closer. He was astonished, and did not know what to do. And when he came down from there the tower collapsed and the people fell unconsciousness from fear. When they recovered their senses, they could no longer speak their own language and everyone spoke a different tongue, and it is since that time that there have been seventy-two languages in the world. And when he came down from the tower, Namrud was amazed, and swore an oath that he would not believe in the Lord of the Heavens until he had seen him, and had, himself, travelled to the heavens. So he ordered four vultures to be brought and fed them for ten years until they had grown big and strong. Then he commanded a square cage to be built, that would be big enough for two people to sit in. That cage had two doors, one facing upwards and one downwards, and four pikes to be put at the four corners, with meat on their points, after which the vultures were starved for three days. Then Namrud and the man who was with him sat in the cage and rose towards the heavens to make war against God, whom he wished to destroy. And he said: “If I am victorious, I will free Ibrahim, and if I am overcome by the God of Ibrahim he will share with me the rule of the heavens and the earth.” Then the vultures were loosed and the cage rose into the air, and wishing to seize the flesh above them they held the cage aloft for a day and a night. After that, Namrud said to the man who was with him: “Open the door which faces the sky, and say what you see”. The door was opened he [the man] looked out and said to Namrud: “I see nothing but the sky itself.” Then Namrud himself looked and
saw the same, so he shut the door and ordered the lower door to be opened and
he saw all the earth with the sea. Then Namrud ordered the door to be fastened,
and they waited for another day and a night. And the vultures [smudge] ... then
he [Namrud] said: “Open the door to the sky”, and Namrud looked and saw the
sky as he had seen it from the earth. Then he opened the lower door and saw
nothing but darkness, and Namrud was afraid and shut the door to the earth, and
he and his friend got up [smudge] ... and the vultures, on account of their desire
for the meat, came down and [smudge] that cage descended to earth, and ...
[smudges and repairs].

fol. 27b

... when Namrud came back to earth, he was ashamed ...

The dénouement:

God sent an angel to Namrud urging him to fear God, saying that God had the
power to annihilate him and his army. Namrud scoffed and led his army out into the
desert to wait for the heavenly host, but none appeared. Again God sent the angel to
Namrud, but he persisted in his belief that no one was more powerful than himself.
Thereupon God sent a swarm of mosquitoes that blackened the sun and stung his soldiers
into flight. Namrud was dismayed. Again the angel stood before him, and urged him
to ask for God's mercy, but Namrud remained obdurate. So God sent a tiny mosquito
which bit him all over, starting with the lip, and that is how Namrud died.

Illustration

Here again, two incidents are depicted in a single composition. However, this is
the first example in the manuscript of a margin-aligned single-step extension to increase
the pictorial narrative potential. A single step up or down composed in this manner is
the only variant format exploited by the designer. As becomes the norm on these
occasions, the main textual focus has been designed to fall on the lines immediately
adjacent to the margin-to-margin strip, so that a raised extension then flanks an
introductory passage and a lowered one an aftermath or dénouement.

While in visual terms depicting Namrud's celestial trip as breaching the upper
margin is logical, in its relationship to the text it deviates from the norm in that it is two
chapters distant from the pertinent text. An anomaly such as this probably reflects the
prototypes associated with other illustrated texts with which the artist was familiar, such as

\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\]

The smudged section differs from the published editions.
Chapter 2

Qidās al-anbiya', but since no comparable example of Namrud's flight survives in another text before the fifteenth century, this is hard to verify.\(^{25}\)

To deal with the event in sequence: in the main strip and lower half of the raised extension, Ibrahim is shown as a turbaned Arab standing in the fire with hands raised in prayer while Namrud looks on from his tower. Namrud's face and raised hand have been badly rubbed but it is fair to assume that he was portrayed with Arab features because of his generous beard, and that his finger was raised to his lips in a gesture of amazement. However, despite his presumed Arab physiognomy he has been garbed in a short-sleeved flowered brocade surcoat over a white, narrow long-sleeved under garment of more Turkic type. His gold crown is of the tri-partite design with flaring sides common to this manuscript. With a dark-skinned guard in an unusual blue-green hat behind him, he is standing on a tower with battered walls and a crenellated battlement, from which textiles have been draped as a backdrop to a balcony on the roof of a jutting portico extension. This type of 'pepper-grinder' tower is a recurring architectural feature.

The artist has remained true to the text in that Ibrahim is depicted standing and praising God. However the artist has augmented and contradicted the text in other respects by including birds and minor ministering angels—not even Jibra'il—in the fire alongside him.\(^{26}\) This diw obligingly launching Namrud's cage in the second incident is a further example. As noted by Milstein, this may be due to similar stories of Ibrahim, Namrud, Siyawush and Kay Kawus having become confused in Islamic historiography:

"... the syncretized story emerging from these texts consists of the following elements: the main figure, that of the sinful king (Kay Ka’os according to Tabari\(^{27}\) and Firdousi,\(^{28}\) Nimrod in the works of Bal’ami, Tha’alabi and Mirkhond); Satan (Iblis in Islam; Ahriman in the Iranian epic) who suggests to

\(^{25}\) For example, the Majma‘ al-tawārikh of Hafiz-i Abru (TSM, B. 282, fol. 31b), cited in Milstein, Rürhdanz et al. (1999), p. 120 and n. 53.

\(^{26}\) Milstein notes that this image appears to be the first which includes angels in the fire, but not mention the anomaly with the text, Milstein, Rürhdanz et al. (1999), p. 119.


\(^{28}\) With regard to the image of Kay Kawus in the Gutman/Schultz Shālmāna (MMA, 1974-290.99), Swietochowski mentions that in the text the king falls into a forest, far from help, whereas in the Gutman painting he is tumbling into a bed of flowers, Swietochowski and Carboni (1994), no. 15, p. 91 (Fig. 133). If the Gutman painter was familiar with the image of Namrud's double folly in a single painting, as in the Bal’ami, then his interpretation of Kay Kawus's floral landing pad may derive from the juxtaposition of Ibrahim's flowery inferno alongside Namrud's basket escapade.
the king that he ascend to heaven, sometimes portrayed as accompanying the king in his adventure, ..."\(^9\)

The inclusion of the angels is noteworthy since Bal'ami is outspokenly critical of Tabari for giving credence to accounts of Ibrahim having accepted angelic support. The image therefore not only deviates from the adjacent text but directly contradicts it. However, the inclusion of extraneous elements such as birds as a suitable accompaniment to flowers and a *dīw* as signifying evil influence would have been staples of a popular, particularly oral or poetic tradition, as well as cross-references to alternative literary versions.

The image of Ibrahim and Namrud in the Edinburgh-London *Jāmi' al-tawārikh*\(^{30}\) is notable for how it differs from the Bal'ami (Fig. ?). In the Edinburgh version Ibrahim is seated rather than standing, no birds or angels are included and the fire is shown as surrounding the prophet rather than as the mountain or escarpment-like wall of flaming fingers, graphically described and accurately depicted in the Freer version. On the other hand, the Freer artist has failed to depict the siege catapult which Bal'ami specifically mentions, whereas Rashid al-Din's master, or committee, have made it the centrepiece of their composition.

In the upper section of the extension Namrud, still crowned but dressed in a pale-coloured garment and holding his bow at the ready, gazes heavenwards from the cage, apparently a frame with wicker sides viewed here in section. His companion (\(^{31}\)) also looks upwards with his hands demurely on his knees. The cage is being drawn heavenwards by vultures, flapping their way beyond the confines of the text block *en route* to challenge God. The head of the right hand bird has been turned back into the picture space to avoid decapitation by the right hand margin. This being the case, it seems unlikely that bamboo poles topped with the tempting gobbets originally extended even further than the current extension beyond the text block.

The painting deviates from the text in that Namrud is shown with his bow, while Namrud's challenge to the Godhead by shooting arrows, which Jibra'il skilfully fields, does not appear in the Freer text or in RAS 22. This incident is, however, included in Zotenberg's translation. In the Freer text Namrud's return to earth is described as

\(^9\) Milstein (1987), p. 124. The question of alternative literary sources will be mentioned further in Chapter Three.  
\(^{30}\) EUL, Arabic 20, fol. 5b, Talbot Rice (1976), p. 53, no. 7  
\(^{31}\) In some manuscripts the companion is given the title of vizier.
prompted by fear when he sees that all is darkness. A more comprehensive study of surviving copies of the text is needed before deciding if this excision, clearly overlooked or disregarded by the Freer illustrator, is characteristic of all copies of the particular redaction followed by the scribes of the RAS 22 and the Freer text. If it is characteristic only of texts copied c. 1300, then it may represent an Ilkhanid sensitivity to the malicious firing of arrows in the direction of the sky god, Tingri, during the period of Mongol conversion.

The lesson

The story of Ibrahim being thrown into the fire is not only one of the great Biblical-Qur'anic stories, but represents an archetype of the infidel king destroyed by God for his disbelief; on both counts it was an obvious choice for illustration.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 37b, (Pl. 4)

Yusuf flees from Zulaykha.

Unpublished

Dimensions

folio: 422 x 287mm

text block: 280 x 170mm

painting: 70 x 170mm plus raised step 55 x 65 mm at top right

Condition

Some pigment loss.

Additional information

The word “awqf” has been inscribed between lines 9 and 10, apparently in a different hand to the text.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 35b, “The story of the Prophet Yusuf, may the blessings and peace of God be upon him”

Bal’ami, citing Tabari, presents Yusuf as the one who is extolled above all others in the histories of prophets and kings, is mentioned more times in the Qur’an than any other, is the one to whom the greatest number of Qur’anic verses are addressed and is the source of more precepts and examples than any other; of him God says: “Verily, in Yusuf and his brethren are signs (of Allah’s Sovereignty) for the enquiring.”

At the age of seventeen, Yusuf, renowned for his beauty, and his father Ya’qub’s favourite among his twelve sons, dreamt that the sun, the moon and eleven stars bowed down before him. This was interpreted as being the obeisance of his parents and eleven brothers. In jealousy, the brothers first threw him into a well, and then sold him to a merchant travelling to Egypt. In Egypt Yusuf was bought by the King’s Treasurer.

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Sura 12.7.
Chapter 2

referred to in this text as 'Aziz Misri, whose own name was 'Amir, or, according to some sources, Asafi bin Hayb.\textsuperscript{36} The Treasurer had a wife named Zulaykha\textsuperscript{37}.

Chapter heading: fol. 37a, “The story of Zulaykha and Yusuf”

As God, said: “And she, in whose house he was, asked of him an evil act. She bolted the doors ...”\textsuperscript{38} Zulaykha fell in love with Yusuf and when he had been in their house for six years, and was twenty-three years of age, this woman was no longer able to resist her passion. She called him to her, but Yusuf would not consent to what she wished. One day, while Yusuf was sleeping in his bedchamber, she entered the house and shut the door, and waking Yusuf said to him: “Come, I have adorned myself for you”. Yusuf said: “I seek refuge in Allah! Lo! he is my lord, who hath treated me honourably. Lo! wrong-doers never prosper.”\textsuperscript{39} I hold him in high esteem and will not fail in my loyalty towards him”. And other sources, which are not part of this book, say that Yusuf refrained from adultery from fear of God, and not because of the husband of this woman. Alternatively, that it was because she did not know God and she did not know her husband, that Yusuf spoke to her thus, and that he dreaded the consequences of disloyalty. Meanwhile, this woman did not desist, and the more Zulaykha pursued him, the more Yusuf fled from her, and had God not sent Yusuf a sign, Yusuf might have given in to her. But God did send a sign, which was the following: it seemed to Yusuf that Ya‘qub came to him through the wall of the house and put his forefinger to his teeth, and said to him: “Oh, Yusuf, alas!” and Yusuf fled from her out of the house, without satisfying her desires. And others say that he saw Ya‘qub, who came through the wall and discoursed with him saying: “Oh, Yusuf, beware, because you are like a bird which flies through the air, and when its wings and breath fail, it falls; if you do this deed, you will fall from the level of prophethood. And others say, that he did not see not see Ya‘qub, but that he heard a voice coming from the corner of the room, which said: “Oh, Yusuf, you would commit adultery and you are a prophet?

\textsuperscript{36} (Lit. mighty, honoured, proud, precious); according to Tabari he was a ruler in Egypt but not the king or Pharaoh, al-Tabari–Brinner tr. (1987), p. 153, n. 363. In Zotenberg’s translation, the Treasurer carries the Biblical name of Potiphar (Qatafir), which is also used by Brinner, but the option of Asafi bin Hayb is not given, Bel’ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984(a)), vol. 1, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{37} In Brinner’s translation of Tabari Zulaykha is named Ra’il, al-Tabari–Brinner tr. (1987), pp. 154–158.

\textsuperscript{38} Sura 12:23.

\textsuperscript{39} Sura 12:23.
Prophets must be innocent in small ways and great, because if anyone says Yusuf committed adultery, or that he wished to do so, that person is an unbeliever, because Yusuf is the son of Ya'qub of the God of Isra'il, son of Ishaq, “Sacrifice of God”, son of Ibrahim, “Friend of God”, may the peace of God be upon them all, and when someone says thus, what merit is there in it? And God praised Yusuf, and said: “The obscenity and sin was the woman’s.” Then He said: “He is one of the devoted friends”, and those who are pure and great [of mind] will not think ill of him, and those who do are unbelievers, and for it they will be the losers in the two worlds. Zulaykha decorated the interior of the house with pictures, so that wherever Yusuf looked, on the ceilings, walls and in every place, he looked he would see a picture of Zulaykha and Yusuf making love. Yusuf took fright and ran from the house, with the woman running after him, and Yusuf reached the door, and she took hold of Yusuf’s garment and tore it. And God said: “And they met her lord and master at the door,” meaning, he saw the husband sitting by the door of the house, in conversation. When they saw him, both Yusuf and Zulaykha were ashamed, and Yusuf wished to find a pretext in order to conceal the truth and not dishonour Zulaykha before her husband.

Zulaykha spoke up more quickly than Yusuf, and said to her husband: “What shall be his reward, who wisheth evil to thy folk, save prison or a painful doom?” Since the woman had spoken first, Yusuf said: “She it was who asked of me an evil act.” and I fled from her. “And a witness of her own folk testified.”

And this woman [with whom he had been in conversation] said to the husband: “The garment provides the evidence as to who is lying and who telling the truth. If the robe is torn at the back, then the servant has told the truth, and she wished to have him; but if the garment is torn at the front, then the servant is lying and the woman is telling the truth. So when [the husband] saw his shirt torn from behind, he said: Lo! this is the guile of you women. Lo! the guile of you is very great.” And this woman spoke the truth because this is also the word of God. And when it became apparent that the garment was torn at the back, Yusuf was shown to have spoken the truth, and Zulaykha to have lied. Zulaykha made an

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40 Sura 12:25.
41 Sura 12:25.
42 Sura 12:26.
excuse. Then, Zulaykha’s husband, not wishing his wife to be publicly
dishonoured, said: “O Joseph! Turn away from this, and thou (O woman), ask
forgiveness for thy sin. Lo! thou art of the faulty.”45 And he said to Yusuf: “Oh,
Yusuf, take care that you speak of this to no one, so that people will not be
aware”. And to his wife he said: “The fault has been yours; ask forgiveness
from God, for you have been numbered among the sinners”.

Illustration

The painting depicts the action which provided the basis for refuting Zulaykha’s
false testimony and call for Yusuf’s imprisonment, which is quoted in the lines
immediately adjacent to the painting. The painting does not deviate from the text in any
significant way and provides a clear rendition of the incriminating act.

A sequence of three arcades spans three quarters of the text block, with a single
step extending upwards on the right hand side to accommodate the upper section of a
tower, of the pepper-grinder type, with multicoloured crenellations and a projecting
balcony underpinned by wooden struts. It has a window with a grill, perhaps intended
to evoke Zulakha’s boudoir decorated with seductive paintings of herself and Yusuf.
Yusuf’s bedroom is shown at the far left, with the curtain hitched up to reveal the sleeping
shelf covered by a pale blue coverlet which falls in a semi-circular flounce.

Zulaykha is depicted with a Turkic moon-face and multiple plaits braided with
gold. Her short-sleeved surcoat covers a free-flowing gown with wide sleeves. She has
been given a crown although there is no mention of her being royal, and her husband (if
it is he) is shown without distinguishing insignia.

The winsome, beardless and fresh-faced Yusuf is depicted with Turkic features
and braids, probably to emphasise his beauty, but is also shown turbaned and in Arab
dress in common with other prophets in the manuscript. He is depicted fleeing down a
triple arcade towards the outer door of the house, clutching at one of the flimsy wooden
pillars to steady himself as Zulaykha grabs the back of his coat. He is pointing in
conspicuous agitation, with the index fingers of both hands, towards her husband seated
beneath the third arch; he looks over his shoulder at the commotion while pointing at an
invisible interlocutor beyond the margin. The humour of the situation was not lost on

45 Sura 12:29
the artist. Ettinghausen suggests that the figure at the door may also be the "bāṣēṣab" (doorkeeper) pointing to the husband who is conversing outside.46

The lesson

Milstein has interpreted the basic literary motives of the Yusuf story as:

"... serving as a point of departure for the development of various ideas and concepts. In the Qur'an and early historiography, both the brothers and the Egyptian lady sinned in order that Joseph might eventually reach the highest position in the Egyptian hierarchy from which he could then propagate Islam. [Thus] ... the temptation of Zulaykha on the one hand, and Joseph on the throne with his parents47 on the other ... represent the two moral poles of the story: the fall and the ascension."48

The story of Yusuf may therefore represent how the ruler chosen by God will come to power despite the machinations of men. Nonetheless, the careful positioning in the text also suggests that the lesson here is the importance of testing your evidence.

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46 Ettinghausen (unpublished) (b), p. 4. However, the quantity of gold on his brocade coat leaves this open to doubt. The figure perched at the end of a building, sometimes just inside and sometimes out, is one of the stock in trade images of the Baghdad School and may have been picked more for its familiarity than narrative exactness. The use of repertoire figures will be discussed in Chapter Four.

47 I.e. the next illustration in the Freer manuscript's cycle (57.16, fol. 42b).

Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 42b (Pl. 5)

Yusuf is reunited with his family.

Unpublished

Dimensions

folio: 422 x 287mm

text block: 280 x 170mm

painting: 74 x 170mm plus

Condition

Pigment crackled and some lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 37a, "The story of Zulaykha and Yusuf [continued]."

fols 38a-40b

In order to quell the rumours about Yusuf and the Treasurer's wife, and to make it appear to the public that it was Yusuf who was to blame, he was sent to prison. In prison he became famed for his interpretation of dreams. He found favour with the Pharaoh of Egypt through interpreting his dream of the seven thin and seven fat kine as representing seven years of plenty and seven of famine. He was appointed inspector of the public granaries, and on the death of Zulaykha's husband became Treasurer and subsequently Vizier.

Chapter heading: fol. 40b, "About the coming of Yusuf's brothers to Egypt in search of food."

After seven years of plenty had passed, and Yusuf had ensured that the granaries of Egypt were fully stocked, the seven years of famine set in and the starving journeyed from the four corners of the earth to buy Egyptian grain. Yusuf's brothers also came, and though he recognised them, they did not recognise him, so he concocted reasons to ensure they would return. Finally, Yusuf sent his shirt to Ya'qub, now blind, who recognised the garment as Yusuf's by its fragrance, and so identified their benefactor.

fol. 42b

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... and Ya'qub with all his children came to Egypt, and at that time his tribe numbered seventy people. When they came before Yusuf, he put his father and mother beside him on the throne. And his mother was dead, but it was his mother's sister; and the aunt and the eleven brothers kissed the ground, and ...  

[Painting]

Yusuf said to his father: "Oh father, this is the dream which I have seen in my childhood".

fol. 43a

And it is said in a tradition, that when Yusuf was reunited with his father, his father said to him: "Oh, my son, tell me what your brothers did with you?" Yusuf said: "Oh, my father, do not ask me what my brothers did, but what God, may He be honoured and gloried, has done for me." And he said this because he did not want his father to turn his brothers into enemies. And he said to his father: "This is the interpretation of the dream, which I have seen before, and God, may He be honoured and gloried, has done this. He has brought me out of prison, and you out of the desert into Egypt, and He has brought you and me together after Iblis had turned the hearts of my brothers against me".

Illustration

The painting is at the very foot of the folio with no line of text beneath it. As described in the text, Yusuf has seated his father and aunt beside him, on a low throne of the type used on all occasions but one in this manuscript, while a token six of his eleven brothers are seen abasing themselves before him. The three figures standing behind the brothers are probably represent courtiers. The turbaned standing figure nearest the throne is carrying a sword with its shoulder baldric wound round the hilt, and figure next to him has his hand posed as if he should be holding a lance, although this has been omitted. Yusuf is shown more handsomely turbaned than in the previous painting but still with Turkic features, unlike his brothers, who though turbaned are clearly intended as Arabs with features verging on the grotesque. Their father is portrayed as wearing the tarba (shawl) of a high-ranking ecclesiastic. Yusuf's aunt is demurely garbed in a nun-like habit with her hair entirely concealed, providing a stark contrast with the figure of Zulaykha.

\[51\] Mayer (1952), p. 50.
Despite its base-line structure and crudeness of execution, the illustration in the Freer text is nonetheless more readily perceived as Yusuf and his brothers than, for example, the similar scene chosen for illustration in the Edinburgh-London Jāmi' al-tawārikh (Khalili Mss. 727, fol. 289a).\footnote{Blair (1995), Facsimile.}

The lesson

The text above and below the painting refers to the fulfilment of Yusuf’s dream and God’s intention that he should rule, and the line immediately above the painting refers specifically to Yusuf’s recognition of his dream become reality. The passage which follows, albeit at the top of the next folio, focuses on Yusuf’s sagacity in holding his tongue rather than denounce his brothers’ sins to their father. The text is explicit in stating that the motive for his reticence is to avoid turning his brothers into enemies; in other words, it is a lesson in the wisdom of restraint and judging when more is to be gained by withholding revenge. It is also an interesting contrast to Yusuf’s moral dilemma in the previous scene, in which his protestation of innocence led first to his acquittal but ultimately to his imprisonment in order to quell public gossip about Zulaykha.
Manuchihr addresses his assembled people and army.

Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 75 x 170mm

Condition

Paper patch with evidence of script (similar to patching on frontispiece) masks section missing from surcoat of soldier to left of throne.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 46a, “Concerning King Manuchihr.”

Manuchihr was the grandson of Faridun and son of Iraj, murdered by his brothers Salm and Tur over the division of the kingdom of Iran. Manuchihr killed his uncles to revenge his father's death and took possession of the empire, which, at that time, included the Maghrib, Syria, the Hijaz and the Yemen. He ruled for a hundred and twenty years, and when he had been ruling for twenty, the prophet Musa appeared, but Manuchihr did not convert because he was concerned with affairs of state. However, his rule precedes the history of Musa, because Manuchihr was a just king and composed a discourse that all rulers should read and act upon. During his reign, a border treaty was signed with Afrasiyab, agreeing that the river Jayhun should be the boundary between Iran and Turan, and in the respite from warfare which ensued, Manuchihr set about reorganising the administration of his empire.

... Then, on the following day, he (Manuchihr) ordered that the whole army should gather in his presence, each group to sit in its appointed place, and they brought in all the subjects who were nearby, small and great, and all the elite from among the army and the subjects were seated in their appropriate place, everyone according to rank,

[Painting]

and he himself sat on the royal throne and put the crown on his head. And he seated the Mubid on the throne beside him, and the Mubid was the greatest of

the religious authorities (‘ulama’) and philosophers (hukama) of the time. When he [Manuchihr] knew that everyone was seated in their own place, he stood upon the throne and ordered them, saying: “All of you are seated in your places, I, for that reason, have risen so that all of you may see and hear me better. Then he pronounced the khutba and good counsel, and at the beginning of his homily he gave thanks to God. Then he also said to them: “Oh people, all things which you see, the many types and thousands of creatures that are in the world, all have been created by one God, and there is one Creator for all things, and the gift of this creation is from Him. It is beheld on all that they should know their own God and worship him and thank Him for his gift, and submit to His will for your [destiny], because there is no remedy that it may not be so. And nothing

is weaker than humankind before the throne of the Creator. And if an alternative way is sought in life, it will not be found. You should know that we have to improve our land, and for this there should be three qualities: one, to be honest, to tell the truth and not lie; two, to be generous and not mean, and the third is not to get angry, because all people are God’s creatures. And we should not be angry with people of a lower class, as they are weaker than us. And it is clear, that we do things better if we are not angry, and we should give our subjects their needs, and provide horses and weapons. And the army will be useful to the king and be beneficial to the king, but what is beneficial to the people the king should not keep to himself. …

The disquisition continues with a lengthy and comprehensive list of the mutual responsibilities of rulers and subjects, particularly with regard to taxation and mutual wealth and well-being, bearing in mind that ruler and subject are equally dependent upon God who will be their ultimate judge. He says, for example, that the army to the king is like the two wings of a bird—neither can function without the other; the ruler should plant trees so that the land may become populous, and then people must pay their taxes so that the ruler is able to protect them. Also, the ruler must possess three qualities: first, he must be truthful and not lie, he must be bountiful and not avaricious, and third, he must control his anger for he holds the power and the people are in his hands.  

A version of this speech is included in Brinner’s translation of Tabari but is not identical either with the Freer text or Zotenberg’s translation, al-Tabari–Brinner tr. (1987), pp. 25–28.
Illustration
Although the line immediately above the painting describes Manuchihr sitting upon the throne after crowning himself, his standing posture indicates that the artist has focused on his 'enthronement' speech. Manuchihr has risen to ensure that all assembled may see him, and is already addressing his people. His gesture with open palms suggests he is describing the virtues to be observed by the just king who treats his people with beneficence but also gathers in the taxes.

The Mubid has not been identified, and the serried ranks of audience implied by the text are suggested by four turbaned nobles kneeling or squatting in the foreground, with hands on their knees, and the four courtiers with hats and arms folded behind them. A guard in a spiked helmet, similar to that of the parasol bearer behind the throne in the frontispiece, stands to the left of the picture, clutching the throne's gold finial, probably as a gesture of loyalty.

The lesson
It is noticeable that it is Manuchihr's declaration of his Utopian vision for the well-ordered state, rather than the dispatch of his usurping uncles, the subjugation and accommodation of Turan or the panoply of his coronation which has been chosen for the illustration. The artist has favoured an image of the ruler-subject relationship. Following the judgement scene in the frontispiece, Hushang's muscular imposition of order and Yusuf's example of foresight, good husbandry and moral restraint, the painting draws attention to Manuchihr's conceptualised ideal of just rule. The call to virtue of ruler as well as subject suggests the second half of Sura 38:26, even if not spelt out beneath the frontispiece, was nonetheless appreciated.
Musa frightens Fir'awn (Pharaoh) by turning his staff turned into a serpent.

Published: Milstein (1986–87), p. 200, fig. 1.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 80 x 170mm plus a boxed extension into right hand margin
  80 x 20mm.

Condition

Fir'awn's face badly rubbed; some pigment lost from background.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 54a, "Concerning the arrival of Musa in Egypt and delivering of his prophetic mission to Fir'awn."

Following Musa's vision of God in the burning bush on Mount Sinai, God instructed him to carry His message to Fir'awn, promising Musa miraculous powers, including turning his staff into a serpent. Accordingly, he returned to Egypt with his brother Harun (Aaron) and sought an audience with Fir'awn:

... and Fir'awn said: "If thou chooseth a god other than me, I assuredly shall place thee among the prisoners." Musa said: "I will show you something plain," a sign, so that you may know that I am a prophet. [Fir'awn] "said: Produce it then, if thou art of the truthful." "Then he flung down his staff and it became a serpent manifest, / And he drew forth his hand and lo! it was white for the beholders." And it opened its mouth, and put its lower jaw by the throne and its upper jaw by the ramparts of the palace, and wanted to swallow Fir'awn, the royal throne and the palace. All who were with

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55 Mentioned without illustration in Milstein, Rührdanz et al. (1999), p. 132.
57 Sura 26:29.
58 Sura 26:30.
59 Sura 26:31.
Fir'awn fled from fear. Fir'awn was afraid and came down from his throne and went underneath it, and he voided excrement from fear, and it [the effect of the diarrhea] lasted for a week, rather than having to relieve himself once in seven days, and [all] this [happened] because he saw something in himself that was not in other people, and he deceived himself and said: "I am not a man, I am a god". Fir'awn, from beneath the throne, cried out to Musa for help, saying: "Seize this serpent and I will believe in you and do whatever you wish!" Musa took the serpent by the neck and it turned back into a staff. Fir'awn emerged from beneath the throne and sat upon it. Musa withdrew his hand from his cloak, and it was white as the moon, as God, may He be honoured and praised, had said: "And he drew forth his hand and lo! it was white to the beholders."

Fir'awn said unto the chiefs about him: "Lo! this is verily a knowing wizard, Who would expel you out of your land. Now what counsel ye?"

Illustration

The version of the story chosen by Bal'ami does not include a competition between Musa and Fir'awn's wizards, although their presence is obliquely referred to in the Qur'anic quotations.

In the painting, Musa gazes apprehensively at his staff turned serpent, as if not entirely confident of the outcome. The serpent (mār) in Bal'ami's text, is depicted here as a quadrupedal dragon, on a dramatic left-curving and downward trajectory to spit fire into the face of Fir'awn, cowering beneath his throne. A significant deviation between text and illustration is the replacement of the serpent by a dragon (azhdaha) of the freshly imported Chinese type bearing auspicious and imperial symbolism. This contrasts with the Middle Eastern monster to be quelled and slaughtered.

Musa's head is oversized, but his profile has been finely drawn, and, exceptionally for this manuscript, his grey side locks and beard have been spared a heavy application of black. According to the Qur'an, and as described in this text, God turned Musa's right hand white and luminous as a sign of prophethood, and he dazzled Fir'awn by exposing it

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60 Sura 26:32-33.
61 The Fir'awn's ability to survive for long periods without excreting was one of his legendary powers, al-Tabari-Brinner (1987), p. 53, n. 300.
62 Sura 26:33-35.
Chapter 2

after casting down his staff. Musa's right hand and bare lower arm were originally painted silver, now oxidised.

Fir'awn's face and form have been largely obliterated, but it appears that he was depicted as a turbaned Arab, similar to Musa and Harun. Harun, at his brother's back, is clutching Musa's upper arm with his left hand while his torso escapes into the margin area, taking partial refuge behind the edge of the red background, as if behind a screen. He is without a halo, which is rare for this manuscript. The servant in Mongol dress behind the throne is not mentioned in the text, which describes all attendants as having fled. In other respects the artist has followed the text closely, even attempting a more substantial type of raised dais throne—the only one in the manuscript—in order to accommodate the quaking Fir'awn beneath it. It has stout, gilded corner pillars and a straight back with a scalloped silver cresting engraved with lotus blossoms.

The lesson

The lines above and below the painting focus on the humiliation visited upon Fir'awn for his overweening pride.

Milstein observes that the three images of Musa chosen for illustration in this manuscript relate to the confrontation of the prophet with manifestations of infidelity, rather than presenting Musa as the lawgiver or national deliverer. In this case, Fir'awn is cast as an archetypal heretic, condemned not for the captivity of the Israelites but for claiming to be a god, like Namrud before him. Milstein also considers this interpretation as confirming an orthodox Muslim attitude to the text.

Ibrahim and Namrud, Musa and Fir'awn may have been chosen for illustration simply as a core story in the Biblical-Qur'anic tradition. However, the theme of the

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64 Qur'an 7:106–108. In the Bible Musa's hand is described as becoming miraculously leprous, Exodus 4:6–7. For a discussion of the luminous hand of Musa as a sign of prophecy, the struggle of Islam against paganism and the dualistic belief in the struggle between Light and Darkness see Milstein (1986), especially pp. 548–550, and Milstein (1994), pp. 211–212.
65 Milstein considers this to be so, Milstein (1994), p. 211. I am most grateful to Dr Martha Smith for confirming that silver was indeed originally used for Musa's luminous or palsied hand in this manuscript.
66 Throne types have already been mentioned in Chapter One, and will be discussed again in Chapter Five.
67 The two other occasions are the execution of the worshippers of the golden calf and Musa's dispatch of the giant 'Uj bin 'Anaq.
obdurate infidel king ultimately destroyed by God is reinforced by this second image. Later in the story Fir'awn orders his vizier, Haman, to build a tall tower so that he may see God the better. As God was not visible even from the top of the tower, he remained convinced of his own divinity and so set the seal on his own perdition. This additional parallel also concerns the punishment of hubris.
The innocent of the Banu Isra'il kill the worshippers of the golden calf.

Published: Milstein (1986/87), p. 201, fig. 2.

Dimensions
- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 102 x 170mm plus

Condition
The figure in the top left hand corner has been considerably rubbed.

Text
Chapter heading: fol. 59b, "Concerning Musa's prayer to God at the appointed place of Tur Sina (Mount Sinai), and the worshipping of the calf by his people because of his [his behaviour] and how he appeared to them."

When Musa, and the seventy delegated to accompany him, failed to return from Mount Sinai within the appointed thirty days, the Israelites began worshipping a golden calf. On his return, Musa destroyed the calf and those who had worshipped it were condemned to death. The condemned pleaded for Musa to intercede with God, to which he agreed. God decreed that the twelve thousand who had not worshipped the calf should decapitate the guilty. And "Moses said unto his people: O my people! Ye have wronged yourselves by your choosing of the calf (for worship) so turn in penitence to your Creator, and kill (the guilty) yourselves. That will be best for you with your Creator and He will relent toward you. Lo! He is the Relenting, the Merciful." 

And the next morning, everyone was in their place, and had made their wills, and put their hands on their feet and turned their faces to heaven in repentance. And there were six hundred and sixty thousand who were worshippers of the gold calf, and twelve thousand took up their swords, and before the sun was up, their heads had been cut off. And there were sons who were killing their fathers, and fathers killing their sons, and much weeping and wailing. Musa put his head on the ground and cried, and called upon God. And God sent a black cloud upon

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the earth which stood between the two groups, so that they would not see who had killed them, and the swords flailed from dawn

[Painting]

until mid-day, and a river of blood flowed. And Musa and Harun were prostrated and crying, and the elderly and the children and the weak were seated around Musa, and crying. And when the sun was at its highest, God showed them compassion and accepted the repentance of those killed [so that] against those that remained the swords had no effect, and wherever they hit they did not cut. And they told Musa, and he lifted his head from prostration and gave thanks to God, and said: “Mercy has come and He has accepted their repentance”.

Illustration

At first sight, the artist appears to have taken the easier option of a generalised battle scene, rather than attempting to conform to the text. Neither the executions of the condemned, meekly awaiting their just deserts, nor the cessation of the killing on Divine command accompanied by the black cloud sent to mask the executioners from their victims is shown. Rather, a bloody mêlée is in progress, with a curious central figure, hooded and putteed, putting up a spirited resistance against armoured soldiery. In addition, Musa and Harun are shown standing with raised arms to plead with God, rather than in the act of prostration.

The clothes and turbans of Musa and Harun match those worn for their audience with Fir’awn, and Musa’s ‘shining’ left hand and forearm is discoloured in the same way. The turbaned grey-beard, half hidden by the skyline, with hands outstretched to them in supplication, may be Samiri, who encouraged the manufacture of the golden calf, and to whom Musa denied death and salvation but condemned to eternal ostracism without forgiveness. The three smaller figures behind the skyline may represent the righteous Israelites, pleading with the Almighty on behalf of their condemned kinsmen. The mountain setting may be intended to evoke Tur Sina and Musa’s revelation.

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70 Sura 2:54.
71 Ettinghausen noted that Zotenberg’s translation mentions only Musa as pleading for the Israelites, and that this suggests he was working from an alternative version of the text, Ettinghausen (unpublished)(b), p. 5.
The lesson

Regarding this episode, Milstein holds that:

"Muslim writers did not emphasize the sin as much as the punishment and the subsequent forgiveness, ... [and] in the Tabari-Bal'ami manuscript, the introduction of the miniature between two lines of text telling about Moses' prayer and God's acceptance of it shows that it is precisely the aspect of forgiveness which is significant."

This, however, does not explain the choice of a battle scene. A possible alternative may be that the painting is in fact focusing less on the forgiveness than on the "river of blood (juy-i khan), mentioned at the beginning of the line immediately above the painting, and preceded by the description of the familial chaos caused by the apostates. The text leading up to the image is also rich in legal precedent for internecine killing justified in the greater cause of the corporate salvation of the community. If so, an image of Divine forgiveness may have been intentionally eschewed in favour of one emphasising social discord and its bloody aftermath.

The incident with the golden calf is probably the most famous example of converts to monotheism reverting to idolatry in the histories of the People of the Book. The religious and cultural tensions associated with conversion were as relevant to the Mongols as they had been to the Banu Isra'il.

Chapter 2

F57.r6, fol. 68b, (Pl. 9a-b)

Musa, with Harun, strikes the giant 'Uj bin 'Anaq (Ogg) with his staff.
Published: Milstein (1986-87), fig. 3.73
Gutman (1989), fig. 3.

Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Dimensions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folio</td>
<td>422 x 287 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>text block</td>
<td>280 x 170 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painting</td>
<td>57 x 130 mm, plus a single raised step</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>143 x 65 mm at left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Condition

head of 'Uj rubbed out; pigment on Musa’s surcoat badly crackled.

Text74

Chapter heading: fol. 67a, “Concerning the departure of Musa and the Banu Isra’il from Egypt to wage war against [obliterated] and the Jabara-an (Giants), their returning from the war and remaining in the desert of Tiya.”

During the wandering for forty years in the desert, Musa led the Banu Isra’il into Syria, to the area near Jerusalem, where they confronted the people of ‘Ad, who were giants, ‘Uj bin ‘Anaq being the greatest among them. Scouts were dispatched, but ‘Uj picked them up in his fist, and they were freed only on the advice of his wife, so that they might return to their people and persuade them to retire. At first the Banu Isra’il were overawed by the size and strength of their opponents, and wanted to retreat. Musa berated them for their cowardice and enjoined them to stand firm on the basis of God’s promise that they would vanquish their enemies as they had vanquished Fir’awn. Finally, two representatives of the Banu Isra’il, Yushi’ bin Nun (Joshua) and Kalib bin Yufna’,

[Painting: line above upper extension]
both of whom became prophets after Musa, went to him and said:

“You go, because however strong they are, God the Exalted will give you victory over them, because God has promised this to Musa.” “So put your trust (in Allah) if ye are indeed believers.” Musa said: “You go, because God, may He he honoured and glorified, has promised me that He will destroy them as He destroyed Fir’awn.” “They said: 0 Musa! We will never enter (the land) while they are in it. So go thou and thy Lord and fight! We will sit here.” Musa became angry with them and prayed: “My Lord! I have control of none but myself and my brother, so distinguish between us and the wrong-doing folk.” Musa took his staff and went to the city to find those people. When evening came and Musa had gone, these people (Banu Isra’il) turned tail and each night travelled until dawn, but when they came to pitch camp, they found themselves where they had started, and so it was for three nights. Then they knew that Musa had turned [God] against them. Yusi’ bin Nun said to them: “Wait here until God, may He be honoured and glorified, returns Musa to you.” And when Musa, peace be upon him, arrived near the town, he saw ‘Uj, of fearful appearance, and Musa was afraid. And ‘Uj wished to pick him up and crush him, for he knew they were of the Banu Isra’il.

[Painting; line above lower section]

And Musa raised his staff to hit him, and Musa was ten cubits high and the staff was ten cubits and Musa leapt ten cubits in to the air, hit ‘Uj with his staff on the ankle bone, and he fell down. And that great ‘Uj was felled by one blow from Musa, and died.

‘Uj’s bones were then left to whiten in the desert, and after forty years, his backbone was taken to Egypt, and made into a bridge across the Nile.”

75 Sura 5:23.
76 Sura 5:24.
77 Sura 5:25.
78 This skeletal dénouement is not included in Zotenberg’s translation. However, it appears to have been part of current myth, for, according to Howorth, quoting Quatremère’s translation of Maqrizi, in 1262, one of the questions asked of Mamluk Ambassadors by Birka (Berke), Khan of the Golden Horde, was whether it was true that a giant’s bone, thrown across the Nile, served as a bridge, Howorth (1876–1889), pt. II, div. 1, p. 118.
Illustration

In the Freer version, Musa's leap of ten cubits into the air has been eschewed, in favour of him hooking 'Uch's ankle with his serpent-headed staff, shown here as if snapping at the giant's Achilles heel. Musa's garment was probably a patterned gold brocade. As on the two previous occasions, Musa's right hand has become discoloured through oxidation. Harun, still in his saffron robe, stands by in amazement. Musa is not nimbed—surely an oversight rather than intention—and Harun's head is too badly rubbed to be sure. Milstein suggests that 'Uj has been dressed only in a loin cloth to associate him with an attire worn by dawq. Gutmann describes 'Uj's hand gestures as "pleading".

Although badly distressed, the area around the head and face of the towering 'Uj shows evidence of a double outline with in-turning tendril, indicating that even this old rascal has been haloed, and stylishly so. The damage is too great to be sure whether or not 'Uj was originally wearing the stone neck-ruff often included in later versions; there is no need for it here since it is not mentioned in the adjacent text. The semicircle above 'Uj's head probably represents the sky. The small stylised Chinese clouds also increase the sense of the giant's celestial height, and Milstein suggests that drawing attention to it is a direct reference to the story not only of the birds but also to 'Uj grilling fish by holding them up to the sun.

To date, this painting appears to be the earliest example of a vertical format used to depict the story of Musa slaying 'Uj. It forms an "L" shape, with Musa and Harun

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79 The exact colour is difficult to identify due to the crackled and flaked paint.
80 Milstein (1986-87), p. 202. While this is true in general, the bloomers worn by dawq in this manuscript tend to be patterned and more highly coloured.
82 This is the halo type of the ruler in the frontispiece, fol. 1a (Pl. 1).
83 The story of the hoopoe and other birds pecking through a boulder on God's command, so that it falls around the giant's neck like a collar occurs in the opening sections of the text among the questions on the Pentateuch posed by the Jews of Khaybar to the Prophet, Bel'ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984[a]), pp. 57–58. The image of 'Uj in the Munich copy al-Qazwini's Ḥaḍrāt al-mubtadiʿat dated Wāsit 678/1280 (Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Arab. 464, fol. 210a) shows the giant alone, in profile, without the stone and striding out in knee-length breeches, Gutmann (1989), p. 108, fig. 1. In the London copy (BL, Add. 14140, fol. 134a), attributed by Carboni to Mosul c. 1300, the giant is shown in naked back view, balancing the rock on his head; nonetheless Qazwini cites Wahb b. Munabbih as reporting he was "a nice and pleasant man, whose height, force and age were known only unto God", Carboni (1992), Cat. no. 361, pp. 286–287.
squeezed into the foot. The scaling of the Freer figures is arguably as daring as anything currently known from the first half of the fourteenth-century. The generous use of text space in response to the subject matter may be contrasted with the dramatic use of restraint in the Edinburgh section of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh* (Pl. 96), where the tumbled frame of the giant has been squeezed, escargot-like, into the constraints of a cube. It is the tall version, however, which finds favour in the long-term, suggesting that it derived from a more traditional base than the compacted version.

For example, the image of ‘Uj also appears in the London Qazwini dated by Carboni to c. 1300–1315 and possibly produced in Mosul. Here, ‘Uj stands alone; he is naked and viewed from the rear, the rock with a bird on it is held above his head, which is turned to reveal a bearded profile.

The gap between the early fourteenth century and the 1420s–30s is bridged only, as far as I am aware, by a currently unpublished late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century addition to the copy of the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh* with a text date of 717/1317 (Fig. 40). In this example the strip left vacant for an illustration when the manuscript was copied, has been turned 90 degrees to accommodate a ‘vertically challenged’ and fully-clothed figure.

Standing figures of ‘Uj appear in fifteenth-century manuscripts, for example the separated folio from a dispersed copy of Hafiz-i Abrū’s *Majma‘ al-tawārikh* in Cincinnati, dated to Herat, c. 1426 and in the *Kulliyat-i tawārikh* of Hafiz-i Abrū, Herat c. 1430, discussed and illustrated by Gutman and Moreen. However, perhaps the most interesting image of ‘Uj and Musa in vertical format is the mid fifteenth-century detached folio in the Khalili Collection, London, in which Musa and ‘Uj represent Judaism in an allegory of the three great monotheistic religions.

Although these examples provide evidence of the continued currency of the version in vertical format, tracing a genealogy back to the early fourteenth century is hindered by lack of surviving evidence and radical changes in painting style over the intervening period.

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86 BL, Or. 14140, fol. 127a.
87 Carboni currently favours a date closer to 1300 (private communication).
89 TSM, H. 1654, fol. 13a.
91 Istanbul, TSM, Bagdat 282, fol. 65.
92 Gutmann (1987), figs. 3 and 4.
The lesson

The attraction of the myth of giant and giant killer needs little justification for inclusion in a painting cycle. However, Milstein points that 'Uj also represents a rebel against God and a personification of Evil to be equated with Iblis, Ahriman, Zahhak and Namrud, rather than as a political enemy of the Banu Isra'il.\footnote{Milstein (1994), p. 198 and 213.}

While the positioning of the painting in the text points squarely to a further example of an amazing feat achieved with Divine assistance, the prize on this occasion was the Promised Land rather than the salvation of souls, and thus may also be seen as Divinely-sanctioned territorial gain.
The slaying of Jalut (Goliath) by Dawud with a stone from his sling.

Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 88 x 170mm

Condition

Upper central area of quiver patched; banner in margin cropped.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 74b, “The story of Talut (Saul) and Jalut their going into battle and Dawud's slaying of Jalut.”

The King of the Banu Isra'il, Talut, was at war with the Filastins, led by Jalut. Dawud, because of his supposed weakness, did not go to join Talut's forces, along with his father and brothers, but remained behind to look after the sheep, and to bring them milk from time to time. Jalut refused to fight the Banu Isra'il on the grounds that it would be undignified to fight an army so much smaller than his own. He challenged Talut to send a soldier to fight him in single combat but none could be found, even after they had all been issued with coats of mail. Dawud agreed to fight Jalut and kill him with the help of God, but without armour or a horse, and Talut offered him half his kingdom and his daughter in marriage if he succeeded. David was weak of body, yellow of colour, thin of face and with red hair. Jalut jeered at him, saying:

“Oh weakling, what have you come for?” Dawud said: “I have come to kill you.” Jalut said: “Oh miserable one, how can you kill me, when you are unarmed except for a staff and a catapult.” And Jalut ridiculed him. Dawud took his catapult and one of those three stones, and put it in the catapult, said the bismillah, pulled the thong and let it go. And that stone split into three pieces, and Almighty God

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95 Mentioned without illustration in Milstein, Rührdanz et al. (1999), p. 143.
Chapter 2

ordered the wind to seize the helmet that was on Jalut's head, and that shattered stone hit Jalut and he fell from his horse and died on the spot. And his army all turned tail and were routed by the order of Almighty God. And Talut returned to the town victorious and recounted the events to Ishmu'il (Samuel). Ishmu'il was delighted and he said to Talut that he should be faithful to his promise. Then Talut gave his daughter to Dawud and a ring and entrusted his affairs to him. And in the course of time he became a prophet, and Talut was the king and Dawud was his deputy (khalifa) and son-in-law and the affairs of the Banu Isra'il were well ordered under him.

Illustration

Whereas the line immediately above the painting refers to Jalut's destruction and the routing of the Philistines by the Almighty, the painting depicts the tense seconds prior to Dawud's loosing of the stone. Dawud, still unsure of the outcome, puts his faith in God and draws the thongs of his sling. The armies have not been differentiated, both being shown as mounted Mongols. Only Dawud is turbaned and without body armour. His figure is lithe and the artist has caught the tension of the drawn sling in much the same way as the figure accompanying Hushang in the first illustration.

Little effort has been made to differentiate Jalut from his companions; rather, it is his horse which catches the eye as it shies away from the danger. The idea of single combat has been set aside in favour of Dawud running ahead of a cavalry charge, familiar from contemporary Mongol warfare.

The lesson

As in the case of Musa and 'Uj, 'Dawud versus Jalut' is, at one level, another splendid yarn with a simple moral that the weak (or the brave) may inherit the earth with Divine assistance. However, Dawud's youthful exploit is not followed by an illustration of him enthroned. This is similar to Hushang but unlike Yusuf and Bahram Gur, and is unexpected since Dawud, is the exemplar of the Divinely-anointed king for the People of the Book. However, the inclusion of the Qur'anic quotation in the frontispiece, which trumpets Dawud as "Khalifa fi'l-ard", together with an injunction to just rule, may have been deemed sufficient acknowledgement of his status.97

97 A concordance of attributes between Dawud and Ghazan was noted in Chapter One and will be mentioned again in Chapter Four.
F57.f6, fol. 79b, (Pl. 11a–b)

Bilqis crosses the pool covered by crystal to greet Sulayman
Published: Atil (1993), p. 5, fig. 1.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 88 x 170mm plus a single step down 40 x 80mm at bottom right.

Condition

- Pigment missing to right of Bilqis; figure to left of throne badly rubbed.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 78b, “Concerning Bilqis and the Kingdom of Saba.”

Sulayman was intent on converting the kings of the world to Islam. Having been informed by the hoopoe of the sun-worshipping Yemenis and their powerful queen, he sent it to Bilqis with a letter demanding, in curt tones, that she and her people should convert. In return, Bilqis sent Sulayman a series of gifts and riddles; the gifts he returned and the riddles he solved, with help of Jibra’il and the jinn, thus persuading Bilqis of his prophethood. Bilqis set out to visit him, and to accept his God. However, thinking Bilqis would monopolise Sulayman’s attention, the jinn became jealous and told him that she had hairy legs. In order to see for himself, Sulayman ordered the jinn to build a palace with a pool in front of it, filled with water and fish but covered with a strong sheet of crystal so that it appeared to be water, and would raise their trousers to wade across.

fol. 79b, l. 13

... and they put Sulayman’s throne by the pool, and men, parins and jinnis stood all around him, and the birds of the air gave him shade from their wings.

Sulayman wished to know if what the jinn had said of Bilqis was true or false, so they set Bilqis’ throne apart. And when Bilqis arrived they said: “Is thy throne like this?” She said: (It is) as though it were the very one. And (Solomon said):

We were given knowledge before her and we had surrendered (to Allah).

(all) that she was wont to worship instead of Allah hindered her." And they said she came to Sulayman and became a Muslim. "It was said unto her: Enter the hall. And when she saw it she deemed it a pool and bared her legs. (Solomon) said: Lo! it is a hall, made of smooth, of glass." When she saw the pond, she thought it was water and lifted her trousers revealing her shins. Sulayman saw them but he did not want anyone else to see them, so he said: "This is glass not water, so cover your legs". Then it became clear to her and she went to the throne and came to Sulayman and became a Muslim, and said: "My Lord, I have wronged myself, and I surrender with Solomon unto Allah, the Lord of the Worlds." Then Sulayman sent her to the women’s quarters, and all her army became Muslims. And Sulayman married Bilqis, but he did not like the hair on her legs. He said to the humans

"How can I remedy this?" They said: "Either by a razor or by plucking."

[Sulayman] said: "The skin of a woman is too tender for this."

So the DJs made a bath of lime and arsenic which Bilqis stepped into, and all the hair came away. And Sulayman possessed five things that were hitherto unknown: the unguent for depilation, the warm bath, the art of piercing pearls, the art of diving and the art of liquefying copper.

Illustration

This is a famous story that provides lively subject matter for the most competently executed and entertaining painting in the manuscript. The artist has admirably caught the frisson between Sulayman and Bilqis. Atil refers to this painting as the earliest representation of Bilqis in Islamic art, and an example of powerful Muslim women.

The lines immediately above and below the painting accurately describe the incident depicted. Sulayman, an arresting presence in a large turban without feylasên. He wears a red coat with a dotted design in deeper red, perhaps representing figured velvet.

99 Sura 27:42-43.
100 Sura 27:44.
101 Sura 27:44.
The coat is plain save for the gold śināz bands and gold hem, visible beneath his knees. Its plainness contrasts with the elaborated design on the bolster supporting his back on the low throne. He inclines towards Bilqis while gazing intently at her and her hairy legs—a detail of which the artist has taken full advantage. His features are less purely Arab than Musa’s but he has been given a handsome beard.

Bilqis has been given the moon-face, extended earlobes and black mole on the cheek of a Turkic beauty. She wears a three-quarter length surcoat of cutaway design, perhaps edged with gold coins, over a shift and shalābār trousers. She also wears the largest crown in this manuscript and has been granted an enfoliated halo, in contrast to Sulayman’s. She inclines towards him as she delicately raises her dress to reveal the calf-length shalābār and an area of hairy shin. The single step extension to the picture has been cleverly used to accommodate the crystal-covered pool in which a water snake wiggles and, contrary to the text and the ruse, a duck is also swimming.

The turbaned Levite adviser Asaf sits to the left, again on a cushion with a cover of clearly defined pattern. Attendants ranged behind the monarchs consist of two helmeted guards with a crowned figure between them, perhaps Sulayman’s son and successor, Rubu‘am. Between Sulayman and Bilqis squat two horned dīwās, louring in evident apprehension at her approach. Behind Bilqis stands a dark-skinned, elderly female retainer as token of her retinue.

Above the dīwās hovers the hoopoe, with another of Sulayman’s birds, who shield him from the sun with their wings.

The Topkapi Album folio of Sulayman flanked by Asaf and a dīwā (Fig. 25) is closer to the formal presentation of the ruler in the Balʿami frontispiece than to this illustration in the text. However, it provides an interesting contrast between a conceptualised and narrative image of the same individual.

The lesson

The story is an example of applying ingenuity to tease out truth from rumour. However, although the lines immediately above and below the painting are concerned with this, they are also preceded and followed by Qur’anic references to Bilqis’ conversion to Islam.

103 TSM, H. 2152, fol. 97a.
Policies of territorial expansion through dynastic marriages and the conversion of spouses were not major features of Ilkhanid foreign policy, however the idea of a female ruler was not anathema in Mongol public life. Marriages were used primarily to promote loyalty and internal stability within the Ilkhanid state; a notable case was Hulagu's bestowment of the throne of Fars on the Salghurid Princess Abish Khanun, whom he also married to his eleventh son, Mingu Timur.

104 Ryan has gathered cogent examples of influential Christian wives of Mongol Khans, Ryan (1998), pp. 412–413. The role of Hülegü's Karayat Christian wife, Duquz Khatun, has already been mentioned.
105 The Salghurids referred to themselves as "inheritors of the Kingdom of Sulayman" (vārist-i mulk-i Sulaymān), and the designation for the province continued at least into the Timurid period, Melikian-Chirvani (1971), pp. 1–41. It is tempting to see the additional confidence of this painting as reflecting the artist's familiarity with the subject from a Sulayman cycle, but extant evidence is lacking. Another example of Sulayman in condescending mode occurs in the London Qazwini (BL, Or. 1440, fol. 100b), dated by Carboni to Mosul (?) c. 1300–1315, Carboni (1989), pl. 6D; compared with this and the Topkapi image, the Bal'ami version appears remarkably robust.
Kay Khusraw has Afrasiyab killed to avenge the death of Siyawush.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 85 x 170mm

Condition

Some pigment has been lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 82b, "Concerning Kay Khusraw bin Siyawush bin Kay Khusraw." 

Siyawush, son of Kay Kawus, King of Iran, had taken refuge from his father at the court of Afrasiyab, ruler of Turan. The sons of Afrasiyab became jealous and persuaded their father to order Siyawush's death. When Siyawush's son, Kay Khusraw, came to the throne, he swore vengeance on his father's murderers. War was waged against Afrasiyab, with the help of the general, Gudarz. Eventually Afrasiyab was captured, bound hand and foot, and brought before Kay Khusraw to be judged. Kay Khusraw ordered Gudarz to administer the same punishment as that inflicted on Siyawush. Gudarz came forward and gave the order, and they dismembered him, cut off his ears and nose and then slit his throat ... 

[Painting] 

... as he had done to Siyawush. And the next day the throne was set up and he [Kay Khusraw] sat on it and held court, and praised Gudarz and his [Kay Khusraw’s] uncle, and rejoiced and gave thanks for that day and fulfilled his

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107 In some Bal'ami manuscripts also Giw, or Giw b. Gudarz, in some manuscripts, Bal'ami/Tabari-Mashkur ed. (1337/1959), p. 58 and fn. 6.

108 The Freer version omits a description of Kay Khusraw plunging his hands into a bowl of Afrasiyab's blood, which both Mashkur and Zotenberg include in their texts, but without identifying the manuscripts in which this elaboration occurs. This lacuna will be commented on in Chapter Three.
[Gudarz's?] wishes. The kingdoms of Makran and Kirman he gave to Zawara, and Rayy to Gudarz.

Kay Khusraw then addressed the people, saying that he now wished to resign his kingdom in this world, in order to spend the rest of his life contemplating God and the next. Having appointed Luhrasp as his successor, he disappeared into the mountains, and was never seen again.

Illustration

The moment depicted is the instant before the first incision, and the words: "... as he had done to Siyawush" occur, perhaps not entirely fortuitously, directly above the head of the condemned man.

Kay Khusraw has been cast as a large and menacing Mongol, his torso encased in lamellar armour, brandishing an elegant long-bladed and slightly curved sword in his right hand, while pointing accusingly at Afrasiyab with his left. He has exaggeratedly long and narrowed eyes and his Mongol forelock protrudes from beneath a truncated conical hat rather than a crown. Two Mongol attendants in feathered hats stand behind the throne.

Despite mentioning mutilators in the plural, the painting shows a single soldier, probably Gudarz, wielding the knife, while Kay Khusraw's uncle sits passively on a folding stool to the right of the throne. His avuncular and bulky frame and reddish beard are attributes also associated with Rustam.09

The elderly Afrasiyab with sagging belly is shown stripped of clothes and kingdom, naked except for his drawers and bald save for whiskery fringes of white hair. His arm is being thrust forward for amputation, but he nonetheless looks Kay Khusraw in the eye and stoically awaits his end brought upon him by the jealousy of his sons. His face is of the distinctive 'netsuke' type with the compressed, puffed cheeks first encountered in the frontispiece. The horse's head peering out from the rank of attendants indicates an outdoor scene.

The lesson

The lesson here is to be sure to discipline your sons and secure the succession, or they may bring about the downfall of you and your kingdom. In terms of sentence, the judgement of Kay Khusraw is a literal exaction of retribution on the principle of "an eye for an eye".

09 For example in TSM, H. 1479.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 90b, (Pl. 19a–b)

Iskandar enthroned receives the coffin of Dara.

Unpublished

Dimensions

folio: 422 x 287mm

text block: 280 x 170mm

painting: 70 x 170mm, and the spear of the left hand guard protrudes into the margin.

Condition

Bottom right-hand corner patched; areas of pigment lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 90a, "The reign of Dara bin Dara."

The armies of Iskandar and Dara spent a month in the region of Mosul without joining battle. Owing to their ill treatment, many of Dara's forces defected to Iskandar in that period, including two ḥājībs (chamberlains), whom Iskandar suborned to murder Dara in the course of battle. However, during the first engagement, an opportunity did not present itself. Iskandar suspected them of having repented their decision. In addition, Iskandar had been wounded in the encounter. Iskandar and Dara decided independently to sue for peace, but the ḥājībs persuaded Dara to continue the war.

... As Dara's soldiers attacked, those two ḥājībs (chamberlains) came up behind him and thrust the spear into his side, and it came out the other side, and Dara fell from his horse. The two hastened to Iskandar and said: "We have felled Dara". Iskandar went in company with a group of his close followers to Dara and saw him in the dust on the ground, with the blood flowing from him. And all who had come dismounted and sat down. And (Iskandar) put Dara's head in his lap, and cleaned his face and called him "The King", saying: "Oh, King! It does not please me to see you in such a state. Thanks be to God that this was done to you by your followers and not by me; now order me to do whatever you want." Dara opened his eyes and said: "I want you to do three things for me: first, not to leave my blood unavenged; second, marry my daughter.

For comparative texts see Bā'ami/Tabarī–Mashkūr ed. (1337/1959), pp. 73–77, especially 75–76; Bā'ami/Tabarī–Zotenberg tr. (1984(b)), pp. 73–78, especially pp. 76–77.
Rawshanak, and third, respect the nobles of ‘Ajam. Iskandar said: “I will carry out all three requests.” And Dara died. And the next day, Iskandar sat on Dara’s throne, and put Dara in a coffin. Then he counted his and Dara’s armies, and they came to about a thousand thousand and four hundred thousand. After that he presented himself as their king and summoned the two ḥājis. He gave them the money he had promised them, but he said: “You have been unfaithful to your master, so you, and those who behave like you, are deserving of execution.” And he gave the order for their execution and then he fulfilled the other requests of Dara.

Illustration

Iskandar is shown sitting on Dara’s throne and pointing at the coffin of the assassinated monarch. He is crowned and his hair has been looped either in Mongol tresses or Sasanian bunches, edged by the painter with the pointilliste frizz typical of this manuscript. He wears a coat which fastens left to right, with gold roundels on his breast and upper arms. The breast roundel carries a couchant caprid with back-turned head and the head and neck of a phoenix is visible on the right hand arm, the left hand example being indistinct (Pl. 13b). Two supporters behind the throne wear Mongol feathered head-dresses. A hatted one is partly concealed by the margin but carries a three-pronged spear, similar but not identical to those carried in the frontispiece.

Of the four figures on the right, the mourning female tearing her hair is likely to be Dara’s daughter, Rawshanak, whom Iskandar has promised to marry. Next to her is a bare-headed mourning male, who may represent the nobles of ‘Ajam, whom Dara had requested Iskandar to treat with honour. The figure immediately adjacent to Iskandar may be one of the ḥājis, since he appears to be holding a rolled bolt of cloth with ties, perhaps a robe of honour representing Iskandar’s fulfilment of his promise to them of reward, despite their subsequent condemnation for treachery. The fourth figure, kneeling by the coffin, which has been raised a little off the ground on slender legs, is intent on hammering in a nail. The slatted wooden coffin is banded by an inscription in black on gold but no longer legible.
The lesson

This story illustrates a transition from Persian to foreign rule as described in the adjacent text. It is also an example of a dynastic transfer peaceably effected through a form of mutual agreement which ensured stability for the realm. Iskandar achieved this by treating the indigenous notables with honour, seeking to reconcile opposition by mourning the vanquished ruler and avenging his death, and by uniting the two houses through marriage and thus securing the blood line. Iskandar provides an ideal of honourable behaviour which justifies the transfer of kingship to the man with an even greater destiny. Indeed, the fourteenth-century Byzantine historian, Pachymeres, reports that Ghazan took more pleasure in studying the achievements of Cyrus, Darius (the Great) and, in particular, Alexander, upon whom he modeled himself, than he did in all the insignia and ultimate power that in reality he enjoyed."

Fulfilling the promises of reward to Dara's murderers even though they were condemned to death for treachery to their king teaches that while your word should be your bond, you should not let it bind you to dishonourable men.

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Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 107a, (Pl. 14a-b)

Yunus is swallowed by the whale.
Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 97 x 170mm plus extension into left hand margin for prow of boat and flag, 57 x 20mm.

Condition

Some pigment lost at lower left revealing calligraphy beneath.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 106b, "Concerning Yunus bin Matay."

Yunus was a prophet of the Banu Isra'il, in the days of the Muluk al-Tawa'if, sent by God to the city of Ninavi (Niniveh). However, not a single person believed, so Yunus asked God to send a sign on a particular day and after that to chastise them. The night before the predicted occurrence Yunus himself fled the city. God sent a sign in the form of a flaming cloud, whereupon the people believed and showed true repentance so that God remitted their punishment. However, having abandoned his post Yunus was no longer there to carry on his prophetic mission. It is only the people of Yunus who were exonerated in this way, as God said: "If only there had been a community (of those that were destroyed of old) that believed and profited by its belief as did the folk of Jonah! When they believed We drew off from them the torment of disgrace in the life of the world and gave them comfort for a while."  

Yunus, full of remorse, and believing God would punish him for deserting his people, went to the seashore and boarded a ship. When the ship was in mid-ocean God ordered the fish, into whose belly He wished to put Yunus, to rise from the bottom of the sea and stop the boat. And the people fell to praying, lamentation and resigning themselves to death, and the fish continued to circle the ship. And they said: "There is a man among us who has committed a great sin." Yunus said: "That sin is mine. Throw me into the sea!" But the people refused when they heard he was a prophet of

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112 Mentioned but not illustrated in Milstein (1987), p. 133 and n. 28:
Chapter 2

God, and decided to cast lots, by throwing shards of earthenware with names on into the sea, and the shard that floated, would designate the one to be thrown to the fish. They called on God to chose which shard should float. Three times they cast the shards into the water, and each time Yunus's remained on the surface.

[Painting]

Then they said to Yunus: "Now you know better." Yunus went to the edge of the boat and threw himself into the sea. Almighty God ordered the fish to swallow him. The fish opened its mouth and swallowed him:

"And the fish swallowed him while he was blameworthy."

Then God put it into the mind of the fish that it had not been given sustenance, but was to keep him safe. And at that time, Yunus, in the belly of the fish, stood in prayer, and the fish was so big that he could stand erect, but he could not see anything [because of the darkness]. And Yunus prayed fervently, and if God had not approved of his prayers, he would have stayed there until the day of Resurrection. Yunus stayed in the belly of the whale for forty days and forty nights, and for forty days and forty nights the fish did not eat or drink, for fear of harming Yunus. And God granted it and its kind a status above other fish of the sea until the Day of Resurrection, and the back of that fish is like a domed chamber, and this fish is well known to sailors, navigators and fishermen, and it is forbidden to hunt or eat it, and if it becomes caught in the nets it is freed. And after forty days and nights had passed, God wished to deliver him, and He put it into Yunus's heart to call upon God for forgiveness from the depths of the three darknesses: the darkness of the night, the darkness of the sea and the darkness of the belly of the fish. ... And God sent an angel to guide the fish to the shore near Ninavi, and the fish regurgitated Yunus on to the shore, and from the forty days of fasting, Yunus had become feeble as a babe from his mother's womb. And God sent a tree, and according to Ibn 'Abbas, it was a gourd plant, from the roots of which milk flowed, which provided Yunus with nourishment, so that his hair grew, he put on flesh and his bones strengthened until he became strong again. ... And some say that God sent a gazelle which God inspired to leave the desert and go to the seashore and stand beside him so that he could suckle, and when the milk had run out it went away and returned in the evening.

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114 Sura 10:98
115 Sura 37:142.
Illustration

In accordance with the text closest to the painting, having thrown himself over the side of the boat, Yunus is seen disappearing head first into the maw of a great carp-like fish. Unlike the illustrations of the Yunus story in the Edinburgh-London sections of the *Jami' al-tawārikh* only the head of the fish is visible above the waves, its mouth straining to accommodate Yunus's bent knees.

As noted by Milstein, the story is usually illustrated by one of three scenes: the gulp, the regurgitation or Yunus recovering on the shore. The Bal'ami manuscript depicts the gulp, the moment of God's punishment, rather than the regurgitation and his redemption as illustrated in both the Khalili and Edinburgh paintings. However, redemption and forgiveness may be anticipated in this instance by the inclusion of the gazelle-like animal gambolling on the shore, where the story leads us to expect the deer which suckled Yunus after his ordeal. The creature has short horns and Chinese-type flames rising from its shoulders, like a *kiling* on Far Eastern or Chinese-inspired ceramics or textiles. It is one of the few Far Eastern elements to be included in these paintings.

Milstein suggests this beast may be a mythical animal based on classical images of the *kaios*, or long-eared, dragon-headed sea monster with a fish-tail, incorporated into Christian images of Jonah and likely to have been familiar to Muslim artists of the Mongol period. However, despite its exotic form, a simpler explanation may be the deer mentioned in the text itself.

The lesson

The story of Yunus teaches that to renege on your responsibilities may end in more trouble in the end, and it is rash to presuppose the manner in which Divine judgement, retribution and forgiveness will be meted out, even to the elect.

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And Ardashir had a full elder brother called Shapur, who was a brave fighter. And Babak loved Shapur more than Ardashir. When Ardashir conquered these cities, he killed the people and the kings. And he took the king of Istakhr prisoner but he (Babak) gave the throne to Shapur, because he did not trust Ardashir. Ardashir had a golden crown and Babak crowned Shapur with that crown. And at that time, Babak died. Then Shapur wrote a letter to Ardashir and said to him: “Come to me, because I have more right to rule the country, and I am the elder.” Ardashir did not go to him, and Shapur became angry. Apart from Ardashir, Shapur had some other brothers who were older than him. Shapur gathered the soldiers and calling his brothers, asked them to attack Ardashir. The brothers set off with a big army, but they [the army] preferred Ardashir to Shapur, and having left Istakhr, they returned and captured Shapur, and wrote a letter to Ardashir. Ardashir came to them, and they gave [him] that crown,

[Painting]

Ardashir came to Istakhr and sat upon the throne, and put the crown upon his head, and conquered the kingdom of Pars. And there was a man called Sam bin Zahqar, and Ardashir appointed him as vizier. And there
was a wise and learned man whose name was Mahan, and (Ardashir) appointed him as the Chief Mubid, and he (Ardashir) gave everyone the position he deserved. He arranged and put everything in order. Then he heard the news that the brothers had made a pact with a group of soldiers, and they wished to kill him. He killed his brothers and also the commanders who had made the contract with them. And under him the kingdom was well ordered. [Further military measures taken by Ardashir to secure his kingdom are then listed].

Illustration

The lines above and below the painting describe the coronation, and that is what the artist has depicted. A standard court formula of monarch on a low throne has been used, with the ruler propped against an ornate textile cushion and flanked by officials on the right and female musicians on the left, with guards and attendants standing to the rear.

Ardashir has Mongol features but Sasanian-type curly, bushy hair and a large crown with flared sides. In his right hand he holds a wine-filled beaker of Syrian design. His long coat fastens left to right. To the right, the seated figure with turban and 

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Ardashir has Mongol features but Sasanian-type curly, bushy hair and a large crown with flared sides. In his right hand he holds a wine-filled beaker of Syrian design. His long coat fastens left to right. To the right, the seated figure with turban and ta\llas\dn, with right hand uplifted, as if in blessing, is probably the Chief Mubid with the vizier, Sam bin Zahqar, beside him. The vizier's face bears the style of spiky features used sparingly in this manuscript. Of the female tambourine and harp players, the former is given Arab and the latter Turkic features. Situating them so close to the left of the throne, as if in positions of honour, suggests a response to limited space rather than a significant breach of protocol. A comparable location of musicians occurs in the Edinburgh–London Jami' al-tawarih. The two supporters immediately behind the throne carry a spear and a mace; the mace bearer appears to be resting a weary wrist on the throne's back, while his left is placed on the throne support, either steadying himself or more probably in a gesture of loyalty. The two guards next to him carry swords. To the left of the picture is a sorely rubbed face surrounded by hair secured with Sasanian-style ribbons, as in the frontispiece and worn by Hushang. Despite the detail and some careful painting, this remains a somewhat pedestrian majlis scene.

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175. For example in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (EUL, Arabic 161) and London Qazwini (BL, Or. 14146) This point of style will be discussed in Chapter Four.

176. Sultan Sanjar b. Malikshah enthroned, (EUL, Arabic 20, fol. 189a), Talbot Rice (1976), p. 175, no. 68.
The lesson

Although no hint of it is provided by the artist, this story also offers an example of sibling rivalry for the throne resolved by a military *coup d'état* in favour of Ardashir, and then by killing his brothers and their supporters. Although fratricide was not uncommon, and within the first year of Ghazan's reign five princes of the blood were put to death,\(^{133}\) it does offer another variation on the transfer of political power.

However, the crown of Ardashir was fabled for its magnificence and it seems that Ghazan included a particularly magnificent crown among his regalia. According to Allsen, quoting Rashid al-Din, at Ujan in 1302 Ghazan placed a jewel-studded crown upon his head, the likes of which no one had seen.\(^{124}\) Attention may therefore be being drawn to the significance of the fabled Sasanian regalia.\(^{125}\) Nonetheless, the artist appears to have opted for a very standard and unexceptional formula.

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\(^{123}\) Boyle (1968), p. 381. Nonetheless, according to Rashid al-Din, on his accession Ghazan felt it necessary to justify his ordering the death of the Chingizid prince Taghchar by citing a Khitay precedent—a story which Rashid al-Din records at some length, Rashid al-Din-Jahn ed. (1940), pp. 101-102.


\(^{125}\) Allsen suggests that the Mongols had absorbed a residual response to Iranian traditions of kingly headgear through contact with the Kushans and Khwarazmshahs, Allsen (1997), pp. 86-87. However, the claim to continuity with the monarchical traditions of pre-Islamic Iran was also already well established in the more westerly provinces of Greater Iran prior to the Mongol invasions, particularly under the Buyids and Salghurids and their successors; see for example Melikian-Chirvani (1971), pp. 1-41.
Bahram Gur kills a lion, an onager and a dragon.

Unpublished

Dimensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Text block</td>
<td>280 x 170mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>105 x 170mm with the left hand margin broken by the hind fetlocks of Bahram Gur’s horse.</td>
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</tbody>
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Condition

Sections of bottom two lines of text obscured by paper patch; some pigment lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 114b, "The reign of Bahram Gur bin Yazdijird the Third."

Bahram, the only surviving child of the Sasanian king, Yazdijird, was sent by his father to the healthier climate of Hira, into the care of the king of the Arabs, Nu'man bin Imru'l-Qays, who ruled in the name of the Sasanian monarch. Nu'man built the palace of Khawarnaq for Bahram. After the death of Nu'man, Yazdijird confirmed Mundhir bin Nu'man as Bahram’s guardian. When Bahram reached the age of fifteen, he asked to be taught the arts of war and the chase, and chose for his horse a chestnut belonging to Mundhir.

Then, one day when Bahram Gur had gone hunting with the Arab army, he saw from a distance an onager galloping on the plain. Bahram went towards it and Mundhir and the whole army followed after. He put an arrow to his bow, and as he neared the onager he saw a lion leap upon its back and sink its teeth into its neck to break it. Bahram let fly an arrow. The arrow hit the lion’s back and came out through its belly, and at the same time, pierced the onager’s back and came out through its belly, and then stuck into the ground up to the middle (of the haft), and it continued to quiver for half an hour. Both the onager and the lion died. And a gazelle was running when Bahram threw a stone at its ear. The deer raised its hoof to scratch the back of the ear, but Bahram shot an arrow and sewed head and hoof together. And whatever bird

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1 For comparative texts see Bal'ami/Tabari-Mashkūr ed. (1337/1959 pp. 115, but Mashkūr’s text is somewhat abbreviated and contains no mention of the dragon; Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenberg tr. (1984(b)), pp. 203–214, especially p. 209.
was flying over that plain, fell to a single shot from Bahram. And for some time, there had been signs of a dragon in that district, and nobody could go in that direction. Bahram heard about it and went there. When Bahram approached the dragon, it started to attack, but Bahram shot an arrow into its mouth which came of the back of its head. He shot another into its side, and the dragon curled itself up. He covered the horse’s eyes, rushed towards the dragon

and slashed it with his sword. And it is said that Bahram, on his own, had killed seven lions together with some onagers and much game that day. Mundhir and all the people were amazed, and Mundhir ordered a painter to paint that onager, lion, dragon, the game, the arrow and Bahram on the walls of the Palace of Khawarnaq, and in the hall of audience. From that day onwards, he was called “Bahram-i Gur”.

Illustration

Whereas the line above the painting is concerned with listing Bahram Gur’s trophies, the line below it records its propaganda value, with the feats being recorded on the walls of the audience hall of the palace of Khwaraq. However, it is the deeds themselves, combined into a single frame, that the artist has chosen to depict.

The first and third feats share the same space but have not necessarily been conflated. In a mountain landscape Bahram Gur is shown at a flying gallop in the classic pose of the mounted archer, and also as in depictions of royal Sasanian hunters he is shown wearing his crown on the hunting field. Onager, lion and dragon are caught prior to their last gasps and before Bahram dismounted to deliver the coup de grâce to the dragon with his sword, having first dismounted and covered his horse’s head to stop it bolting. His companion may be Mundhir, perhaps carrying the sword with which Bahram finally dispatched the monster. The doe at the foot of the picture, with an arrow in its vitals, may represent, if inaccurately, Bahram’s second feat, in which the hoof of the gazelle was pinned to its head while scratching its ear. Alternatively, it may be shorthand for the wholesale slaughter credited to the prince.

This is the first occasion on which the skilful draughtsmanship and sympathetic portrayal of animals is truly evident. An example is provided by the horse with head

back-turned in fear, which acts as a foil for Bahram’s courageous steed, whose
hindquarters and fetlocks still carry a hint of the chestnut colouring described in the text.
The dragon, unlike Musa’s transmogrified staff, is legless and closer to Anatolian and
Jaziran than to Far Eastern prototypes. As analysed by Simpson and termed ‘epical’ images, depictions of Bahram Gur
were regularly reproduced independent of text in a variety of forms and media. This
may account for the artist’s minor deviations from Bal’ami’s text.

The lesson

Courage in single combat was one of the primary virtues expected of the ruler,
and hunting was a training ground for the arts of warfare. Bahram Gur’s feat in
multiple slaughter with minimal expenditure of weaponry therefore represents both a rite
of passage from youth to manhood, and his coming-of-age in military competence.
Although scenes of Bahram Gur hunting enjoyed a currency independent of text in the
thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as a youthful exploit it joins the scenes of Hushang
and Dawud in the Bal’ami cycle.

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Bahram Gur enthroned.

Unpublished

Dimensions

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folio:</td>
<td>422 x 287mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>text block:</td>
<td>280 x 170mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>painting:</td>
<td>90 x 170mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Condition

Some pigment lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 114b, "The reign of Bahram-i Gur bin Yazdijird the Third."

Following the death of Bahram Gur's father, Yazdijird, whose rule had been unjust and oppressive, the people gave the crown to a kinsman of Bahram's, Khusraw (Kisra), fearing that Bahram might be even worse than his father. Nu'man, the Arab King of Hira, mustered an Arab army to support Bahram in his claim to the throne. In order to save bloodshed, Bahram suggested a contest between himself and Kisra, and the Sasanian crown was placed between two hungry lions, to see which of the princes would be brave enough to retrieve it:

... and they said, he who chooses to take the crown from between the two lions, will be the more deserving to be ruler of the country, provided the lions do not harm him. So the Mubid brought the crown, and they asked Bastam, the chief trainer of the king's lions, to bring two hungry lions with leading chains, together with inexperienced trainers. Then they placed the crown on the ground, and the lions were brought in from each side. Bastam loosed the chains. Bahram came and said to Kisra: "Come forward, oh usurper king!" (Kisra) said: "You go first, because you are the one who is claiming rule of the country, so you perform." Bahram took a piece of stone and started to attack the lions. The Chief Mubid said to him: "Fear God, and do not kill yourself for the possession of the kingdom! And for the sin of taking it thus far, repent, in order to escape the punishment of God. To be killed is God's punishment for coming to this

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country [seeking] to rule. These blood-thirsty lions will kill you, but we will be innocent of your blood.” Bahram said: “You will be innocent of my blood.” Then he advanced towards the lions, and when he drew near them, one was about to attack him, but Bahram leapt on to its back, and taking hold of its ears, hit it repeatedly on the head with the stone. The other lion was about to reach him, when Bahram took one of the lion’s paws

and pressed his thigh on it until it died. At the same time, with the other hand, he took the ears of the second lion and hit its head against the head of the other until they broke open, and the brains spewed out. Then he stretched out his hand, picked up the crown from the ground, put it on his head, threw the two lions at the foot of the throne and with the crown he sat upon the throne. And the people were astonished at his bravery, and nobody dared to say anything. The first person to hail Bahram as king was Kisra, whom they had made king. He said: “It is fitting that you should be king and rule this kingdom from east to west.” And the Mubid, and all the people of ‘Ajam, both army and peasants, hailed him and bound themselves to him (in loyalty), and thus Bahram took possession of the kingdom.

Illustration

Although the designer of the manuscript clearly envisaged Bahram’s contest for the throne to be the subject of the painting, the artist has opted for a straightforward enthronement. This may have been to leaven a trilogy of Bahram Gur’s derring-do with a more sober and stately image of kingship, or perhaps, as also with the image of Ardashir, to save time and thought in designing a lengthy cycle by following well established prototypes.13

Bahram Gur is portrayed seated cross-legged on a low throne, with the crown on his head and a mace with a caprid finial in his right hand; the two emaciated lions, are slumped to right and left before the throne. The Chief Mubid is absent, but two guards with Sasanian hair ribbons, one with a spear and the other unarmed, stand on either side of the newly self-invested monarch. Two guards in Mongol armour accompany them,

13 It is possible that volumes similar to those seen in the tenth century by Mas’udi, Ibn Hawqal and others, containing paintings of each of the Sasanian rulers in their royal robes and as they appeared at the time of their deaths, Arnold (1965), p. 82, may have
one bearded and with a scabbard but no sword and the other holding a staff with a spherical finial. A curtain is draped in a festoon above the group suggesting a tent. Despite this semi-exterior setting, vases of flowers flank the throne.

The lesson

In this instance it is the selected text rather than the image which carries the more meaningful message: a lawful claim also requires valour and decisive action to win the throne.

survived into the thirteenth century.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 118b, (Pl. 18)

Bahram Gur kills a rogue elephant.
Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 70 x 90mm

Condition

- Some pigment lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 114b, “The reign of Bahram-i Gur bin Yazdi jird the Third.”

After ruling successfully for two years, Bahram decided to go to India, alone and in disguise, on a reconnaissance trip. He attached himself to the court of the King of India, and remained there for a year. Everyone was amazed at his feats in the hunting field, particularly since the Indians did not have the bow and arrow. News came that a giant elephant and its herd were on the rampage, and had brought all traffic to a standstill on the road between Rum and India, and the soldiers sent by the King of India to kill it had quailed and failed. Bahram offered to take up the challenge, requesting that one man only should accompany him. Accordingly, the king sent a man with him to report the outcome:

... Bahram set off, and the king’s man came to that meadow and climbed a tree to watch what the elephant would do with Bahram. Bahram approached the elephant, put an arrow to his bow and bellowed at it. The elephant came towards him, and Bahram shot an arrow between its eyes, and it entered up to the notch on the arrow’s end, and the elephant was distracted by the arrow. Bahram dismounted, seized the elephant’s trunk in both hands and pulled it until the elephant tumbled over, and Bahram struck it on the neck with his sword until the head.

was severed. And the other elephants came at Bahram, and he shot a single arrow at each and threw them into disorder until they all fled. Then he put the head of the huge elephant on his neck and left the meadow, and cast it on the road before the people. All the people saw and were amazed. The king's messenger returned, and told the king, and he too was amazed at his bravery.

Having summoned Bahram to his presence and been impressed by him, Bahram admits to being a prince of Iran, saying that he has fled to India to avoid the wrath of the King of 'Ajam. Bahram does not own to his real intentions until after he has assisted the King of India repel an attack from the ruler of China. When the King of India was sufficiently in his debt, he told him the truth about his wish to annex those territories which bordered Iran. The King of India agreed, and gave Bahram not only his daughter in marriage, but Sind, Makran and the border regions.

Illustration

Here the artist has chosen to portray the action prior to the lines immediately above and below the painting, perhaps because he recognised an opportunity to display his preference for, and greater skill in, depicting the larger herbivores rather than big cats.

Here the chips are shown stacked against Bahram. He is depicted lunging forward, with the bent knees and wide stride characteristic of this manuscript, grabbing the elephant's trunk, while his horse rears backwards in panic, a herd of enraged elephants flap their ears menacingly and the King of India's observer appears to be totally at a loss. Finger to lips he gazes at the ground, perhaps because he meant to be in a tree, while pointing to the words above: "...until they all fled", thus assuring the viewer of a successful outcome. The option for a stepped extension to house the tree in which the observer is described as perching has been eschewed, and the pool in the right hand corner does not feature in the text. Bahram's bow is also nowhere to be seen and there is no arrow lodged in the rogue elephant's brow, although Bahram's quiver is at his waist. Although the story implies that the herd was wild, as would be natural in India, the artist has given the leader the tinkling anklets of a domesticated elephant.94

The lesson

The illustration is another example of Bahram Gur's bravery and strength—a prerequisite of the worthy monarch. However, the story as a whole also illustrates how the kingdom may be extended through reconnaissance and diplomacy as well as war.

94 As also worn by the elephants in the Pierpont Morgan *Manâhî‘ al-hayâwân* (PML,
A demon in the shape of a black dog quits the heathen temple of the Yemenites. Unpublished

Dimensions

folio: 422 x 287mm
text block: 280 x 170mm
painting: 76 x 170mm

Condition

Some pigment and ink smeared.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 125a, “The tradition of what befell the kings of the Yemen at the hands of the Ethiopians.”

The idolatrous Tubba', the Himyarite ruler of Yemen, launched an attack against Arabia, the Hijaz, Syria and Iran. The Medinans killed his son and the Tubba’ threatened to destroy the city. In those days, the city of Medina was under the control of the Jewish community. Two of the Jewish doctors (dā‘ādim) went to him and pleaded for the city to be spared. They told the Tubba’ that according to the Pentateuch God had ordained that a prophet named Muhammad, of the tribe of Quraysh, would come from Mecca, that he would be driven out of that city and settle in Medina, and for that reason Medina was under God’s particular protection. They also explained that the Torah was the Holy Writ, given by God to Musa. The Tubba’ was converted to Judaism and spared Medina. On the advice of the Jewish doctors, he did not destroy the Ka’ba in Mecca, but required his army to circumambulate it, remove the idols, and for the first time cover the sanctuary with cloth. After initial opposition and subjecting the Jewish doctors to trial by fire, from which they and the Torah emerged unscathed, the people of Yemen also converted to Judaism.

... And there was an idol temple from which they (the Yemenites) used to hear a voice which preached to them, and answered questions to those who asked but

M. 500, fol. 13, Schmitz et al. (1997), fig. 5.
they did not see anyone there. The king told the Jewish doctors about these happenings, and they said: “It is a āzī which is distressing them.” Then these Jews

[Painting]

goes and read the Torah at length at the entrance to the temple, and the king had also accompanied them out of the town. Then they saw a black dog which ran out of the temple barking, and disappeared into the ground. The Jewish doctors said: “This was the āzī which was conversing with them.” And the king destroyed the temple, and the whole of Yemen accepted Judaism and remained steadfast, and the Jewish religion remained until his [the king’s] death.

Illustration

The painting refers directly to the lines immediately above and below it. The two Jewish Doctors are confronting the black dog, which is about to make a nose-dive into the ground at their feet. The foremost Jewish doctor wears a white turban with gold ẓārīz decoration and a shawl over his olive-green gown. He holds a semi-crouching position while supporting an open book, presumably the Torah, while his companion, in a green turban with gold ẓārīz, holds a small open tome. He stands gazing at an idol in the form of a semi-naked cross-legged Buddha, sitting in an arcade of the temple façade. The form chosen for the idol recalls Ibrahim destroying the idols in the Edinburgh al-Biruni. They are followed by the king on horseback, of unimpressive aspect but wearing a crown, a gold coat and boots decorated with embroidery or beaten felt. His mounted companion emerges from the right hand margin; he too is turbaned.

The architectural formula used to express the temple is a tower of the ‘pepper-grinder’ type with multi-coloured crenellations. However, unlike the examples met previously in this manuscript, it has been given an elaborate upper storey with an open arcade of shouldered arches, the right-hand one of which reveals a wall with arabesque designs within. The black dog has emerged through the closed door.

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137 A similar shawls are worn by the Prophet and the figure seated to the right of the lower register in the illustration accompanying the Prophet’s genealogy (Pl. 26).
138 The image of the squatting idols also occurs in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (EUL, Arabic 161, fol. 88b), Soucek (1975) fig. 5.
139 (EUL, Arabic 161, fol. 88b), Soucek (1975), pp. 114-118 and fig. 5.
The lesson

This illustration is concerned with the conversion of rulers, the primacy of the Word of God, and also portrays the Jews as custodians of the Mosaic tradition who foretell the coming of Muhammad.

According to Ibn Taymiyya, jinns take the form of black dogs, and he quotes the Prophet as saying: “The black dog is the Satan among dogs.”

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The duel between the Ethiopian generals Abraha and Aryat.

Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 78 x 170mm

Condition

Some pigment lost.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 128a, “Concerning the departure of the Ethiopian army for the Yemen.”

The Himyarite king of the Yemen, Yusuf Dhu‘l-Nawas, attempted to force conversion to Judaism upon the Christians of Najran, and when they refused he ordered the city to be destroyed and the Christians massacred by being thrown into a deep ditch and burned alive. The Byzantine Emperor declined to take revenge because of the distance to be travelled, but the Christian Negus of Ethiopia sent an army to invade the Yemen, under the command of his general Aryat bin al-Sabbah. However, assessing that his forces were not equal to those of the Negus, Yusuf Dhu‘l-Nawas resorted to a ruse. While surreptitiously giving orders for the Ed-dopian troops to be set upon while dispersed through the country, he professed to having submitted to the authority of the Negus and handed over the keys to the towns and treasuries of Yemen to Aryat.

When Aryat was apprised of this deception he alerted the Negus, who sent a second army to Yemen under the command of Abraha. On hearing of Abraha’s arrival, Yusuf rode his horse into the sea and drowned. Abraha conquered the Yemen and sought to convert the people from Judaism to Christianity, but failed to remit any of the treasure to the Negus. The Negus then sent Aryat to Yemen for a second time, to reclaim the kingdom for him. When Abraha and Aryat met, they agreed to fight a duel rather than order their troops to shed each other’s blood.

... And Abraha had a slave, an Ethiopian fighter named Ghanud, and the Ethiopians always fight with a lance. When the day of the battle arrived, Abraha said to the slave: "When we are fighting, you lie in ambush, then come from behind him, strike him with the lance and kill him." Then Abraha and Aryat came forward to fight, and the two armies looked on from afar, and the Ethiopian slave remained hidden behind them. Aryat struck Abraha on the head with his lance. Abraha was wearing an iron helmet and the lance cut through Abraha's helmet to the skin taking off part of his nose. And from that day on he was known as Abraha Asram (the Noseless). The slave, whom Abraha had concealed, came from behind Aryat.

and struck him with the lance causing him to fall from his horse, and he killed him. And a great number of his soldiers were killed, and some threw themselves into the sea and were drowned and some returned to the Negus. And Abraha ruled the kingdom. ... Abraha had offered the slave whatever he wanted in return for killing Aryat, and he demanded the droit de seigneur over all the maidens in the land, and Abraha was obliged to grant it. The slave exercised this right for one year, to the great distress of the people, until a man murdered him. And [the people] were afraid of Abraha's anger, but he said he would have had the slave killed long before, had it not been that he had given his word.

Illustration

The subject matter illustrated is described in the lines immediately adjacent to painting. The perfidious Ghanud is lancing the luckless Aryat from behind as he lunges forward to strike Abraha with his sword, cutting off his nose.

Despite being a very simple composition along a base line, the action is vivacious, with much of the atmosphere generated through the sharp responses of the horses to the impact of the combatants; Abraha's chestnut is in a half-rear with laid back ears, while Aryat's shies away with raised foreleg and flying heels, drawing attention to the perfidy approaching from the rear.

Although all the protagonists are Ethiopians, Aryat is given a pale complexion while Abraha's has been darkened. The face of Ghanud has been rubbed but was
probably also dark. Apart from his lance he is shown as a fully armoured Mongol
horseman, which is in contrast to the depiction of the Ethiopian slave Wahshi, the slayer
of the rival prophet to Muhammad, Musaylima the Liar, on folio 234a.\footnote{F47.16.}

The base line is fringed with a decorative grass formula, one of the few types of
grass in this manuscript. The base line has also been decorated with simple flowers and
the background with weedy plants, even though a plain background would have sufficed.

The lesson

The moral of this story is never to assume that your opponent will fight cleanly,
and the \textit{dénouement} to the story teaches that military assistance should never be bought with
unconditional promises.
The miraculous rescue of the Ka‘ba from Abraha’s attack.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 100 x 170mm

Condition

Six small patches on image of sanctuary and one, with evidence of calligraphy, on loin cloth of foremost Yemenite.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 129b, “Concerning the reign of Abraha and taking his army to Arabia to destroy the Ka‘ba.”

Abraha, having become reconciled with the Negus of Ethiopia, set about pacifying the Yemen and converting the population to Christianity. In his reign a great church was built in the environs of San‘a, which rivalled Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage. However, it was burned to the ground after catching fire from an encampment of Arabs beneath its walls. Abraha led a force into Arabia to demolish the Ka‘ba. ‘Abd al-Muttalib, the Prophet’s grandfather and a Qurayshi leader of the Meccans, sent word to the people to abandon the town with their flocks and herds and take to the hills, saying that Mecca would be protected by one more powerful than themselves. Included in Abraha’s forces was a phalanx of elephants sent by the Negus, including a huge and famed tusker named Mahmud which the other elephants would always follow.

... And he (Abraha) ordered the elephants to advance and destroy the Ka‘ba.

They took the big elephant into the sanctuary, and having reached it the elephant stopped and refused to go forward another step.

However much they hit the elephants with batons of wood and iron, they would not proceed a step beyond the door of the sanctuary. Then God, may He be...
honoured and glorified, sent a flock of birds like swallows to the sea shore to pick up three pieces of clay, two in the claws and one in the beak, and they flew through the air until they were over Abraha's army. And it is said that God sent heat as from hell to turn the clay in their beaks and claws into stones. Then the birds dropped the stones on the soldiers' heads. As soon as a piece of clay touched a soldier, it ignited and the flesh shrivelled and turned to blisters, and while they were tending to their afflictions from the stones dropped by the birds, the birds returned again. And their skins suppurated, and all because of those stones. And the more they forced the elephants to go forward the less they moved. When they turned them towards Yemen or to the east they moved, but efforts to drive them towards the sanctuary were in vain, so the whole army had to retreat and the elephants were turned around. And the skin and flesh fell from the bodies of all those on whom the stones had fallen and on reaching the Yemen they died.

And when the news reached the people of Mecca, hiding in the mountains of Tihama, they returned to Mecca and thereafter 'Abd al-Muttalib and his family were revered as the "People of the House of God" (Ahl-i khâna-ji khudâ), because through him the army and the elephants had been made to retreat.

Illustration

Abraha and his Ethiopian troops are depicted careering towards the Ka'ba. Two are depicted as Mongol cavalry and five as Indian mahouts44 on two elephants, while he himself is transported by a third. In contrast to the previous painting, Abraha has shed his armour and sits perched on a throne placed sideways with his legs akimbo. He is crowned but in the panataloons and stance of an Indian potentate. The mahout-soldiers are also bare-chested except for scarves. They are being shot forward down their elephants' necks, as the foremost of the troop, Mahmud, grinds to a halt and refuses to enter the sanctuary. At the same time, some of the Ethiopians are turning heavenwards

44 Milstein notes that the miracle probably took place in the year of Muhammad's birth, and is alluded to in Sura 105. Milstein also notes the use of Indians for Ethiopians on this occasion, Milstein, Rührdanz et al. (1999), p. 161. Sura 105:1-5 reads as follows: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the owners of the Elephant?/ Did He not bring their stratagem to naught,/ and send against them swarms of flying creatures,/ Which pelted them with stones of baked clay,/ And made them like green crops devoured (by cattle)"
as combustible stones a rain upon them, dropped by the flock of black birds described as ‘swallow-like’. There is more than a little absurdity in the treatment of the scene.

The arcaded enclosure walls of the Meccan sanctuary are shown in flat, diagrammatic form as three sides of a square, with the fourth cropped by the margin. The Ka'ba itself has been depicted upright and half of it is visible. The shrine itself is shrouded in the traditional black cloth (kaseeb), with a gold band of decoration but not calligraphy. Towards the bottom right-hand corner of the ambulatory is a small white domical structure, depicted as if laid flat with its dome towards the arcade, perhaps intended as the Maqam Ibrahim, associated with his building of the Ka'ba. In the equivalent position near the top right hand corner is a structure which, though damaged, appears to be a small pavilion with a black covering braided in gold. This is possibly the qubba of the Zamzam Well, associated with 'Abd al-Muttalib. Placed on top of the Ka'ba itself is a ewer-shaped golden vessel, probably representing the gilded water spout, mizdb, which juts out below the top of the north-west wall. The white marble semi-circular wall (al-hatam), which defines a sacred area to the right of the cube, has been picked out in gold. The objects displayed in the two visible corners are not clearly defined but could be bladed weapons, which would accord with the swords and armour recorded as having been stored in the Ka'ba and also associated with 'Abd al-Muttalib.\footnote{Wensinck, A.J. [and Jomier, J.] (1978), pp. 317–321. Milstein has suggested that this image of the Ka'ba enclosure probably reflects a Buddhist mandala, but does not identify the additional elements within it. Milstein also notes that this scene is included in the fragmentary copy of the \textit{Jami' al-tawdikh} (TSM, H. 1654, fol. 45a), Milstein, (1999) p. 161.}

A plan of the Ka'ba, comparable in style and many of its details, survives as a wall painting in a Muzaffarid mosque, the Masjid-i Gunbad, at Azardan dated 1365.\footnote{O'Kane (1999/2000), pp. 14–16 and fig. 20. The earliest example cited by Ettinghausen is the pilgrim map for Maymuna bint Muhammad dated 1432 in the British Museum (BL, Add. 27566), Ettinghausen (1934), fig. 2.} It shows a domical building and a similar putative tented structure to the left of the Ka'ba, which would be more correct for the alignments of the Maqam Ibrahim and the Well of Zamzam than in the Freer plan.\footnote{The Freer designer may have taken a degree of licence in order to indicate them in the space available to him.} Vessels shown on top of the Ka'ba itself are similar to the ewer in the Freer image, as is the semi-circular wall which is also clearly visible in both versions. The four corners appear to be vacant, suggesting that the objects in the Freer image may indeed represent a pre-Islamic tradition.

As already recounted in the story of the exorcism of the Yemenite temple, on
conversion to Judaism the Tubba' of the Yemen had removed the idols from the Ka'ba and covered it with cloth for the first time. The embroidered band (ruzam) depicted here, is now too damaged to decipher, but is more likely to bear a band of decoration rather than a text, in common with that shown as adorning the kiswa in the Edinburgh–London Jami' al-tawârikh (Fig. 101). 

As previously mentioned in Chapter One, in 1265 Baybars sent gifts to Berke, Khan of the Golden Horde, which included three pictures representing the ceremonies of the pilgrimage to Mecca drawn on gilded paper, which the Sultan had had made at Berke's request. Since examples of maps such as these are not currently known, the image in the Freer Bal'ami may be the earliest extant depiction of the Meccan shrine.

The lesson

This is an image of the inviolability of the Ka'ba under God's protection. It also establishes the ancestor of the Prophet as its protector. An image of the Ka'ba in a history of the Ahl-i kitâb is not surprising, but that it appears in the history of the Jahiliyya with no repetition in the Islamic period is curious. However, it is conceivable that an image of God preserving the Ka'ba while permitting the great Christian church at San'a to burn to the ground, might be seen as a precedent for the official destruction of churches, along with synagogues and Buddhist monasteries, following Ghazan's conversion in 1295.

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48 According to Wensinck, from Mamluk times (mid-seventh/thirteenth century), and therefore in the Ilkhanid period, the kiswa was traditionally provided by Egypt, Wensinck, A.J. [and Jomier, J.] (1978), p. 317.
49 “Muhammad solves a dispute over lifting the black stone into position in the Ka'ba” (EUL, Arabic 60, fol. 47a), Talbot Rice (1976), p. 101, no. 31.
50 Howorth citing D'Ohsson, Quatremère and Maqrizi, Howorth (1876–1888), pt. 2 div. 1, p. 121.
Dhu-Yazan, King of the Arabs, pays homage to Nushirwan.

Dhu-Yazan, a Himyarite claimant to the throne of Yemen, first sought help from the Emperor of Rum to oust the Ethiopian descendants of Abraha from the throne, but the Emperor declined both because of the military logistics and as a co-religionist of the Ethiopians. Dhu-Yazan proceeded to the court of Nu’man of Hira, a vassal of the Sasanian king Nushirwan. Nu’man took him to the court and arranged an audience

... Then the King of the Arabs [Nu’man] went to the court of Nushirwan. Nushirwan sat him at the foot of his throne., and while in conversation, the King of the Arabs told Nushirwan about Dhu-Yazan, his rank and situation, and said:

“This man has accompanied me to the court.” Nushirwan ordered him to be brought. Nushirwan was seated on a golden throne with four ruby feet [and covered by] a carpet of brocade. His crown was inlaid with emeralds, rubies and pearls, and its weight was such that it could not be put on his head, but was suspended above the throne from the ceiling by a very fine golden rope, so that no one could see it [i.e. the rope] from below the throne, unless they came close to it. Those who looked at it from a distance, thought that that heavy crown was on [his] head, but when Nushirwan rose the crown remained suspended, and it was covered with brocade to protect it from dust. And this tradition was instituted by Nushirwan, but it was not followed by his sons or his father.

Dhu-Yazan entered and he saw that throne and crown, he was amazed at such majesty and grandeur,

[Painting]

and he lost his senses and fell to the ground. The King of the Arabs said: "Raise him up, because he has lost his senses on account of the majesty of the King." They raised the old man, and brought him to Nushirwan. The King of the Arabs was seated near Nushirwan, and no one apart from them was there, and he [the King of the Arabs] gave him a higher place than himself, so Nushirwan understood he was a person of note. And he asked how he was and what he needed. Dhu Yazan knelt before him and praised Nushirwan in a suitable manner.

Dhu-Yazan requested Nushirwan to assist him in repossessing his kingdom.

Nushirwan persuaded him of the wisdom of biding his time and staying on at the Sasanian court, prevaricating in this way until, ten years later, Dhu-Yazan died.

Illustration

The scene relates to the lines immediately above and below it.

A simple strip format with the enthroned ruler on the left, and two registers of figures to the right have been deemed adequate, even though no attempt has been made to make much of Nushirwan's fabled regalia which is overwhelming Dhu Nawas with awe. As with all the kings of Iran, Nushirwan is depicted as a Mongol while "the King of the Arabs" and the would-be King of the Yemen are shown as turbaned Arabs, although the latter's henchman is of swarthier countenance. In the text, Dhu-Yazan is described as being old and with a white beard, but the artist has opted for length rather than colour to intimate his venerability.

The lesson

The events subsequent to the scene provide a good example of mercy and sanctuary shown to an exiled ruler, while nonetheless retaining the political initiative and not becoming embroiled in their political problems. In many ways this illustration should be considered as one of a pair with the following, which provides the more complex sequel to this court scene.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 134a, (Pl. 23)

The arrow of old Wahraz kills Masruq, the Ethiopian king of Yemen. Unpublished

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 75 x 170mm plus margin broken on the right by a spear and mule's tail.

Condition

Some pigment lost.

Text 92

Chapter heading: fol. 132a, "Concerning Dhu-Yazan King of the Himyarites and his going to Nushirwan."

Dhu-Yazan's wife was of royal Yemeni descent and renowned for her beauty and intelligence. Under pain of death, Abraha demanded her of Dhu-Yazan so as to contract a dynastic marriage, and he yielded her up, together with their two-year-old son, Ma'di Karib, known as Sayf. Abraha had two sons by this Himyarite princess, named Yaksum and Masruq, and Sayf was brought up at court with them believing that he was their full brother. In the meantime, Dhu-Yazan died. When Sayf discovered that he was the son of Dhu-Yazan, he went to Nushirwan and asked for help to regain the kingdom which was rightfully his.

On the advice of a mabid, Nushirwan gave Sayf a force consisting of eight hundred condemned prisoners, all archers, plus equipment and boats to sail to Yemen. Among his generals was Wahraz, who had been a soldier of unequalled prowess but was now aged eighty and had grown weak, and his bushy eyebrows fell into his eyes obscuring his vision. Nonetheless he remained the finest archer in the Persian forces and Nushirwan appointed him as commander of the expedition.

On the journey, two boats and two hundred men were lost. The Persian contingent were therefore reduced to six hundred in the face of Masruq's combined Ethiopian and Yemeni forces. Masruq considered it beneath his dignity to fight such a puny force, and attempted to suborn Wahraz. He would not be bribed but negotiated a

month's stand-off. During that month the Persian forces reprovisioned and sharpened their arrows, and Sayf surreptitiously sent word to the Himyarites, five thousand of whom deserted to his cause. Then Wahraz declared war.

In a preliminary skirmish, the Yemeni forces of mounted lancers and swordsmen were routed because the bow and arrow was previously unknown in Yemen, and Masruq's son was among the dead. No Persian archers were killed except for Wahraz's son, who pursued the enemy, renowned for their cavalry, and was surrounded by them. Both fathers were stricken by the deaths of their sons. So that nothing would remain as booty, Wahraz ordered the boats to be burned and all but one day's rations to be thrown into the sea. Then he gave his men the choice of fighting or deserting. They remained loyal and swore an oath to fight with Wahraz to the death.

... And the next day, Masruq arrived with a hundred thousand Ethiopian troops, armed with lances, spears and swords. Wahraz ordered his companions to eat the food they had with them, to fall into line for battle and to string their bows. Wahraz strung his bow which no one else was able to string, and he asked for a bandage to cover his eyebrows, because his eyes were weak, and said: "Show me which is Masruq." They said: "He is seated on an elephant, wearing a crown in the front of which is a ruby that shines like the sun." Wahraz saw the ruby from a distance, and said: "Wait; the elephant is a noble beast, and the time will come when he descends." He [Masruq] descended and with the gold crown [still] on his head he mounted a horse. And Wahraz said: "The horse too is a noble beast fit for royalty." And they said: "Now he has mounted a mule." And Wahraz said: "The mule is the offspring of a horse and a donkey, and a donkey is the mount of women. Now, give me my bow." He took the bow and placed an arrow in it, and said: "Weigh the bow and my hand in rubies. If, after I shoot, the army do not move, then you will know that the shot has gone astray and give me another arrow. If they move and gather round him, you will know that the shot was true, and his soldiers are occupied with him, and you should all attack and shoot them down." Then they prepared the rubies as was ordered, and Wahraz drew his bow and shot the arrow, and

[Painting]

it went straight to the ruby, and split it in half, and pierced the crown, and exited through the back of Masruq's head. Masruq fell from the mule, the army gathered round him, and the Persians began to shoot them down. And they killed many people and the Ethiopian army were routed.
Sayf said to Wahraz: "In the Ethiopian army there were many of my kinsmen, Himyarite princes and countrymen, and many Arabs who were sorely oppressed by them [the Ethiopians]; give the order that they should not be killed, but kill the Ethiopians. Wahraz gave the order that only the black-skinned and Ethiopians should be killed, and the killing continued through that day until not one from the Ethiopian army remained, and the blood streamed. The next day, Wahraz gathered his army and entered San'a, which had been Masruq's seat of government, and took possession of the kingdom, and Sayf stood before him. Wahraz put to death all Ethiopians that could be found and wrote to Nushirwan informing him of the victory. Nushirwan replied: "Give the throne to Sayf, and you yourself return." Wahraz placed Sayf to his throne and put the crown on his head, and Sayf rewarded Wahraz beyond his imaginations, and by his hand sent gifts without measure to Nushirwan. Wahraz took ship and returned and Nushirwan and Sayf sat in kingship.

**Illustration**

The moment depicted is that described in the lines immediately adjacent to the painting.

Wahraz, with an exaggerated hand gesture, is striding out having just loosed the arrow which is piercing Masruq's brow. Masruq is mounted on the ass that signalled his downfall, with attendants to his rear. No attempt has been made to depict the fabled ruby, split by the shot although he is wearing a meagre crown. Little effort has been made at ethnic consistency, despite its importance for the story, for example, the Ethiopian king sports an unlikely tawny beard and moustaches, and shares similar facial features and garments with the white-bearded Persian Wahraz, whose eyebrows, far from being bushy, have been elegantly plucked. The two Ethiopian warriors have been given a distinctive mop of black hair. The helmeted antagonists on both sides have faces from a satirical repertoire, with the winsome pop-eyed rider being ogled from the left of the picture by the elderly bearded foot-soldier, much to the perplexity, or fury, of the gormless youth at his side. Both forces carry distinctive almond-shaped shields. Some vegetation has been included.

**The lesson**

The story of the legitimate rulers of Yemen and their relationship with Nushirwan

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53 In this manuscript, the only other almond-shaped shield is held by a soldier holding the rampart in "The death of Musaylima at the hand of the Ethiopian slave Wahshi", on folio 53b (Pl. 33).
is packed with examples of political and military acuity and tactics: judiciously withheld support from a just cause (Nushirwan's harbouring Dhu-Yazan but not committing troops in his support), not committing more than you can afford to lose (Nushirwan's support of Sayf), the right commander can lead a rabble to victory (Wahraz and the force of eight hundred condemned prisoners). As always, man proposes and God disposes, but a dash of human guile may pay off.
Chapter 2

The purification of Muhammad's heart by three Divine messengers.

Published: Soucek (1988), fig. 2.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 65 x 170mm

Condition

Much pigment lost, particularly from right-hand side; rough patching with blue paper on 'b' side of folio fills holes in figures of Muhammad and the chief of the three divine messengers.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 136b “The birth of our Prophet, the blessings and peace of God be upon him.”

While a child, the Prophet lived with his wet nurse, Halima, for two years, and then his grandfather, 'Abd al-Muttalib, sent him back to Halima for a further year.

... When the Prophet was three years old, he used to go out into the desert every day with 'Abd Allah, his milk brother. Then one day, the Prophet went out into the desert with 'Abd Allah, and three men came down from the mountain and carried off the Prophet. ‘Abd Allah followed them and asked them not to kill him, saying: “This child is an orphan and you will gain nothing from killing him, so have pity on him.” They said nothing, but laid the Prophet on the ground and slit his chest and belly from top to bottom.

[Painting]

When Halima’s son saw this, he was frightened, came down the mountain crying and went to his mother with the news. Halima and her husband ran crying up the hill. When they reached the top of the hill, they saw the Prophet, sitting safe but pale. They said to him: “Oh son, what happened to you?” The Prophet said: “Three men came with a golden basin and ewer. They cut me from chest

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Chapter 2

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to belly, and pulled out what was there and washed it in that pan, and put it back again. And they said to me: "You came pure into this world, and now you are purer." And then one of them put his hand into my belly and took out my heart and cut it in two halves, and made black blood came out of it, and they threw it away and said: "This is the share of Satan which is in the body of all men, but we have removed it from you." Then they put my heart back in its place, and sealed it with a ring, and the third man rubbed my belly with his hand, and my belly was healed, and I could get up and sit, and I still feel the coldness of that washing in my body."

Fearing that Muhammad might have become possessed by a demon, Halima and her husband took Muhammad to a soothsayer (kahin). On hearing the story, the soothsayer embraced Muhammad, and cried out to the Arabs that he would be the one who would change their religion and overturn their idols, and they should cut him in half. Halima snatched Muhammad from his grasp, saying that it was the soothsayer who was the one possessed, and returned home with the child.

Illustration

The subject matter of the painting relates to Muhammad's description of the visitation which follows the lines of text immediately adjacent to the illustration.

'Abdallah is seen in a stance of deep distress, with his hands to his head, while the three turbaned men in Arab dress officiate on the prostrate youth whose features appear in Buddha-like repose. No attempt has been made to evoke the hills where the two boys had been sent herding; however, this is one of the few paintings in the manuscript in which a tree with branches is depicted.

This painting is important since it may be the earliest surviving depiction of the Prophet in childhood, and because the incident of the cleansing of his heart is rare in any period. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the poor figure drawing on this occasion

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55 Soucek identifies this figure as Halima, perhaps because of the way in which the pectoral muscles have been depicted, Soucek (1988), p. 198. However, this is at variance with the text since she arrives at the scene after the visitors have left. Also, a comparable convention for depicting the chest is used on the male figure of Afrasiyab, stripped for mutilation (Pl. 12). In this manuscript females with uncovered heads are depicted with tresses rather than bobbed hair.

56 To date I have not found mention of this scene being included in Qisas al-Anbiya literature.

57 To date, I am not aware of another illustration of this subject. Two depictions of
renders the already gruesome subject matter additionally grotesque. One bearded, *habash*-like figure, with oversized and turbaned head, kneels between Muhammad's knees peering into the gaping pectoral cavity, while in his right hand he holds a fistful of extracted organs. The other two divine visitors are depicted as an unbearded youth, who holds Muhammad's left hand in his own while squeezing a dripping sponge in his right, presumably as part of the cleansing, or perhaps stanching the blood. The third figure squats by Muhammad's head, proffering a golden bowl in which the pectoral organs are to be, or have just been, deposited and the black blood cleansed from the heart. The ewer mentioned in the text is not depicted. The image is memorable, if not for the most palatable of reasons.

Ettinghausen and Soucek have suggested that illustrated medical manuscripts may have provided a model for the scene. Among the Ilkhanid historical manuscripts, the Edinburgh *al-Āhār al-Baqiya* of al-Biruni provides a similar example, in which Caesar (Augustus) is seen being delivered by Caesarean section from the naked corpse of his mother (Fig. 92). In that instance the body is also surrounded by three fully-clothed and turbaned males; by comparison with the Bal'ami, however, the al-Biruni painter has achieved a touching sense of delicacy and concern. An apparent lack of instinctive reverence in the Freer image may be the result of experimentation with subject matter not traditionally depicted; however, since it is also evident in other images of the Prophet in this manuscript the question will be raised again in Chapter Five, and a possible solution proposed in Chapter Six.

The lesson

Soucek has noted that the cleansing of the Prophet's heart, together with the subsequent illustrations to the Prophet's genealogy and his conversion of the peris, stresses the theme of the prophetic mission. In the context of the illustrative cycle as a whole, however, the incident may also be seen as belonging to the group depicting rites of

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The question of 'hands' will be addressed in Chapter Five.

passage from youth to adulthood, and from private life to public responsibility. In the case of Muhammad this was to prophethood.
Khusraw Parwiz kills three Turks in a battle with Bahram Chubin.

Chapter heading: fol. 144b "About Parwiz and the King of Rum until his return to Mada'in (Ctesiphon)"

Hurmuzd bin Nushirwan alienated the powerful military commander Bahram Chubin and, in response, Bahram fermented distrust between Hurmuzd and his son and heir, Khusraw Parwiz. By reaffirming his support of Hurmuzd, Bahram won the support of the Sasanian army and Parwiz fled to seek help from the Qaysar of Rum, who gave him his daughter Maryam in marriage, money and a force of seventy thousand men, including crack troops (hazārmandi), led by his son Banatus (Theodosius). In Parwiz’s absence, Hurmuzd was murdered and Bahram took power in the name of a younger son, Shahriyar. On hearing that Parwiz and his forces had crossed into Azerbaijan and were camped at Shiz, Bahram and a force of hundred thousand men left Ctesiphon and drew up in battle order at a farsang’s distance from Parwiz’s army.

... Bahram, on a piebald horse, stood at the heart of the army. Parwiz and Bahram recognised each other. In Bahram’s army there were three Turks, the bravest in the whole of Turkistan, who had come to him to seek protection when he had been fighting against the Turks. They came forward and told Parwiz that

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63 The banner extending into the margin has been cropped in photography.
65 These were fighters whose worth was said to be equivalent to a thousand ordinary troops.
they were ready to fight him one after the other. Parwiz came forward, but Banatus said to him: “Do not go! It is not fitting that the king should fight.” Parwiz replied: “When the master is called out, it is shameful to show reticence. When the load falls off the back of the donkey, it is the owner who has to pack it again.” Parwiz went forward and began to fight with one of the Turks; he unhorsed him with a stroke from his spear, he fell to the ground and Parwiz struck him with his sword and killed him. The other Turk came up, and Parwiz hit his head with a sword, slicing his head and helmet into two halves. The third one started to flee, but Parwiz followed him and hit him on the shoulder, severing half his body. Then Parwiz returned to the army. The people of ‘Ajarm and Rum did not know that Parwiz was so brave and strong, and they were happy. Banatus,

[Painting]

being very pleased, dismounted and kissed his stirrup, and the whole army were happy and kissed the ground. A horseman came to Parwiz and said: “O, King, you are so brave, why did you flee from one of your generals?” Parwiz was mortified and remained silent. This hazāmardī asked Parwiz: “Who was the cavalryman before whom you fled to Rum? I will deliver you from him single handed.” Parwiz said: “The man who has the piebald horse.” Then the hazāmardī went to Bahram’s troop and called him out to fight. Bahram started to fight and hit the hazāmardī’s head so that it cut through the coat of mail, cuirass, breastplate and saddle and into the horse’s body, and the two halves of the body fell to each side. Parwiz roared with laughter. Banatus and the Rumis were astonished. And Banatus asked Parwiz: “Why do you laugh at the death of such a brave man?” He said: “Because he blamed me for escaping from Bahram and now God showed him Bahram’s stroke.”

Parwiz had the body of the hazāmardī embalmed and sent to the Qaysar, as an example of what was likely to happen to those who misinterpreted Parwiz’s discretion as lack of courage.
Illustration

The illustration depicts the two consecutive actions described in the text immediately above and to the right of the painting.

The upper section has been sorely disfigured, thus reducing the impact of a composition which sweeps right to left in the upper section and then sharply reverses the direction for the lower. The upper strip relates to the preceding description. A supporter to his rear may represent the Rumi prince, Banatus. Parwiz, identified by his crown, is shown redeeming his reputation in one-to-one combat with the three Turks. The first is falling backwards off his horse, the second is rubbed beyond readability and the third is seen in flight. The scene of Banatus kissing Parwiz's stirrup, and of the obeisance of the combined armies in recognition of his valour, has been eschewed in favour of the subsequent dénouement, in which the discretion of Parwiz is proved through the fate of the over-confident ḥazārmardī, being sliced in two by Bahram Chubin. The painter has chosen not to identify Bahram Chubin through his piebald mount as explicitly mentioned in the text.

This is the first occasion in the manuscript where the mêlée of battle has been constructed from superimposed registers, between which figures appear to veer at diagonals, creating both an intense sense of action and of terrestrial depth without the help of landscape, save for a simple cresting of grass and primitive weeds along the top of the lower text block. The banner which extends into the right-hand margin appears to have been cropped.

The lesson

The subject matter of the painting is clearly weighted in favour of the moral of the story, namely, that while the king must never shirk as champion on the field of battle, nevertheless, discretion may sometimes be the better part of valour. Parwiz won both a physical victory over the two Turks and a moral one over the truculent ḥazārmardī.
Chapter 2

F57.16, fol. 157b, (Pl. 26a–e)

The genealogy of the Prophet.

Published: Ettinghausen (1984), fig. 2 (detail only).
Soucek (1988), fig. 3.
Fontana (1994), fig. 3.

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 215 x 170mm;
- inscribed border 10mm;
- painted area inclusive of left hand panel with calligraphy set vertically, 155 x 140mm; excised panel below painting, 45 x 140mm.

Condition

- Some loss of pigment and evidence of wear; panel below painting has been roughly excised, leaving fragmentary evidence of calligraphy on a greenish ground; right hand section of this panel covered by a paper patch, with “Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa” written in a later hand.67

Text68

Chapter heading: fol. 156a “The beginning of our Prophet, Muhammad Mustafa, may the blessings of God be upon him, and ... [the next phrase, probably “his family”, has been defaced beyond legibility] ... may God be pleased with them.”

After a discussion on the disparities between Jewish and Muslim chronologies of the prophets, of the time that has elapsed between Adam and the present, how long remains until the Day of Resurrection, whether the Prophet, during his mission, was ten years in Mecca and thirteen in Medina, or vice versa, Bal’ami’s text continues:

[Footnotes]

67 I am grateful to Elaine Wright for her opinion on the damage sustained by this folio and the sequence of its calligraphy.
... And the genealogy of our Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, from his father to Adam, peace be upon him, is well known among the masters of the science of genealogy. And in this book different versions have been related from Ma'add bin 'Adnan to Isma'il bin Ibrahim, may the peace of God be upon them both; they say six generations, five generations and ten generations, and there is [in fact] no difference because this genealogy is well known. Now, the genealogy of our Prophet Muhammad Mustafa, may the blessings of God be upon him, which is true and correct according to the 'ulamā', and in the Book of Genealogy (Kitāb-i anṣāb) is true and correct, and about which there is no disagreement is this:

[Painting: the genealogy runs as follows, anti-clockwise around the painting and its inset panels]

Muhammad bin 'Abd Allah, bin 'Abd al-Muttalib, bin Hashim, bin 'Abd Manāf, bin Qusayy, bin Kilab, bin Murra, bin Ka'b, bin Luwayy, bin Ghalib, bin Fihr, bin Malik bin Nazr, bin Kanana, bin Khuzayma, bin Mudrika, bin Ilyas, bin Mudar, bin Nizar, bin Ma'add, bin 'Adnan, bin 'Udd, bin 'Udad, bin Humaysi', bin Ya'rūb, bin Yasjub, bin Qaydar, bin Isma'il, bin Ibrahim, bin Tarikh, bin Takhr, bin Saru', bin Fali', bin 'Abir, bin Arfakhshad, bin Sam, bin Nuh, [bin Lamīk, bin Matushlih, bin Hanuh, bin Barad, bin Mahabil], bin Qanyan, bin Anush, bin Shayt, bin Adam. ...

[Text: the text continues without repetition beneath the painting, on the last line of the folio.]

... This is the House of the Prophet, peace be upon him, through Isma'il, Ibrahim and Nuh, back to Adam, peace be upon them. And let me now speak about each of the fathers of the Prophet, and who they were. ...

Starting with Nizan bin Ma'add, major figures in the genealogical sequence are then mentioned, with particular emphasis given to Qusayy and the rise to power of the Quraysh and their seizure of jurisdiction over the Ka'ba and the religious rituals of the annual pilgrimage.

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86 I.e. Tabari's text.
The genealogy

As noted, the genealogy of the Prophet is not written in conventional running text, as in most copies of the Bal'ami-Tabari history, but within a rectangular frame around the painting. The list runs anti-clockwise from the left-hand end of the central cartouche which bears the Prophet's name and titles: "Al-nabi al-mustafâ muhammad", tracing the Prophet's descent from father to son through Isma'il, Ibrahim and Nuh back to Adam; Adam's name appears at the top right-hand corner of the outer frame, followed by blessings to complete the circuit to the central cartouche. The Prophet's name has been written within a yellow cloud scroll on an ochre ground, and the genealogy in a mauve cloud scroll on a darker mauve ground.

Soucek refers to this depiction as the "most unusual of the Bal'ami illustrations ... [with] many remaining questions about [its] painting and inscriptions." With regard to the genealogy, Soucek also observes that apart from tracing Muhammad's prophetic ancestry through the Qur'an and the Abrahamic tradition, eleven of the Prophet's Quraysh kinsmen appear to have been awarded special recognition by the inclusion of their names in the side panel to the left of the painting, apparently positioned for proximity to the name of their particular ancestor named in the frame (Pl. 26a). Furthermore:

"Among the latter, prominence is given not only to the four caliphs but also to the Umayyads and the descendants of Zubayr. Most of these individuals played a role in the transmission of the Prophet's religious heritage, and many played a major role in Muslim political affairs. Also notable is the treatment accorded to 'Ali and his descendants. 'Ali's name is placed after that of 'Abbas and Hanzah, both Hasan and Husayn were probably not originally mentioned despite their portrayal in the painting. Taken together, these elements suggest that the painting reflects the generally Sunni tone revealed in this manuscript's other illustrations. Perhaps the Prophet's genealogy was viewed as a confirmation of his claims of divine mission."

Thus Soucek (i) offers a primarily political rationale for the choice of names included in the panel; (ii) observes that the name of 'Ali appears to have been denied his Caliphal title in the original layout; (iii) suggests that his title was probably added, together with the names and Shi'i titles of his sons, at a later date, but (iv) remains surprised at the manner of the presentation. While (ii) and (iii) will be addressed more fully in Chapter Three, the form and the underlying rationale will be considered here, together with painting itself.

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The *tasbīr* or *mushajjar*

The *tasbīr* or *mushajjar* form of family tree, which underlies the illustration of the Prophet’s genealogy in the Freer text, helps to clarify not only the layout but also the range of personalities presented painting. At least two Ilkhanid period unillustrated copies of Bal’ami’s text: the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript dated 701/1302\(^\text{170}\) (Fig. 44), and an undated copy in the Marciana Library in Venice, dated by Piemontese to the late thirteenth century\(^\text{171}\) (Fig. 42) contain the Prophet’s genealogy in this form.

The form of the *tasbīr* or *mushajjar* is known to have been employed in the mid-fourth/tenth century by Ibn Farighun,\(^\text{172}\) in his *Jawāmī‘ al-‘ulūm* (Compendium of Sciences), a pioneer survey in which he used ‘trees’ and ‘branches’ to express groups and sub-groups but without surrounding frames\(^\text{173}\) (Fig. 43). Although the author discusses the purpose of history in his text,\(^\text{174}\) the facsimile edition of the Topkapi manuscript dated 396/1006 (TSM, Ahmet III, 2768) does not include the genealogy of a ruling house in this form. Rosenthal suggests that tree-like tabular formats may have taken a while to become acceptable as literature, despite the inclusion of titles such as the *Kisâb al-Mushajjar* of Ibn Habib in Ibn al-Nadīm’s late tenth-century *Fihrist*. By 602/1205–6, the Persian writer Fakhr al-Dīn Mubarak Shah was conceiving of a history of the world in genealogical form, entitled *Shajara-yi ansâb*, and claiming that the idea came to him through working on his own Qurayshite genealogy. By the early eighth/fourteenth century, the Shi’i writer Taj al-Dīn ibn Muhammad comments that there are two ways of presenting genealogical information, the tree form (*mushajjar*) and the plain form (*nabast).*\(^\text{175}\)

\(^{170}\) RAS 22, Morley 9, fol. 152a; reproduced in Bal’ami/Tabari-Rawshan ed. (1366s/1987–8) vol. 1, p. *shu‘a* *shash*.

\(^{171}\) Venice, BM, Or. CXXVIII (171), fol. 168b; see Piemontese (1984), pp. 334–5 and Piemontese (1977), pp. 463–474. Piemontese favours a thirteenth- rather than a fourteenth-century date for this manuscript on the basis of the codicology, calligraphy, orthography and illumination.

\(^{172}\) Little is known about Ibn Farighun, whose proper name is recorded as both “Sha’yā” (Isaiah) and “Mutaghabbi”. In his work Ibn Farighun declares himself to have been a pupil of the encyclopedist and philosopher Abu Zayd al-Balkhi (d. 322/934), and he himself probably worked in the upper Oxus region, Bosworth (1998), vol. 1, p. 325; Rosenthal (1968), p. 34–36.

\(^{173}\) Three copies of his text are extant: Topkapi Library, Ahmet III, 2768 dated 396/1006 and Ahmet III, 2675 written in a sixth/thirteenth century hand, and one in the Escorial near Madrid (Ms 950) from a copy dated 393/1003. The earlier of the Topkapi manuscripts, Ahmet III, 2675, has been published in facsimile with an introduction by Sezgin, Ibn Fari‘un-Sezgin intro. (1985) (without page numbers).

\(^{174}\) Rosenthal (1968), pp. 35–36.

Both RAS 22 and the Marciana copy place the genealogy of the Prophet in a frame around the central space, as in the Freer Bal'ami, with the subsequent generations following the sprouting in a *tashīr* from the relevant ancestor’s name in the frame. In the majority of cases, the line leads from the progenitor to an important figure in early Islamic history, as Soucek surmised, but where appropriate also sprouts a spray of offspring, clustered on diagonals of consanguinity around the progenitor. It is this which accounts for the unusual positioning of the Marwanid and Zubayrid offspring in the left-hand panel of the abbreviated Freer version (Pl. 26a, c and e).

In both RAS 22 and Marciana example the Prophet’s name is placed at the top right-hand corner of the rectangle with his Quraysh forebears processed along the top margin. This results in the Prophets Ibrahim and Isma'il falling conveniently in an almost medial position on the base line, with Nuh (Noah) roughly half way up the right-hand side. This means that figures from Islamic history related to the Prophet, both the blessed and reviled, appear in the upper area of the rectangle, while the lineages of Biblical–Qur’anic prophets and kings who sprang from Ibrahim or Nuh issue into the lower area.

By comparison with the two examples of *tashīrs*, the genealogy in the Freer manuscript has been shifted considerably to the left. Rather than placing the Prophet’s name at the far right-hand side, a cartouche containing “Al-nabi al-mustafa muhammad” is centred on the top line as the starting point. This has moved the names of ‘Abd al-Muttalib, ‘Abd Manaf and Murra bin Ka’b so that they frame two sides of the panel containing the names of their most illustrious or notorious offspring. As far as possible, the names in the panel have been dragooned into columns, presumably for clarity, but their sequencing from right to left, particularly Hainza, ‘Abbas and ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, the descendents of the Prophet’s Grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muttalib, continues to reflect the

aspects of Ibn Farighūn’s *ja‘ami‘ al-‘ulam*”, Dr Biesterfeldt suggested that the *tashīr* format probably derived from Greek prototypes. I am grateful to Professor Robert Hillenbrand for suggesting that it may be related to images of the Tree of Jesse. According to Wood, images of the Tree of Jesse, such as the miniature in the psalter of Henry of Blois produced in Winchester c. 1140–60, appeared in the twelfth century. These inspired the visionary, Joachim of Floris, to expound his theory of the three stages of history; these corresponded to the ages of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, associated with the ages of Noah, Christ and, finally, the reconciliation of the Jews and the Gentiles, Wood (1974), text and illus. 53 and 42. It is, of course, possible that images in Western manuscripts may have been known to the designer of the Freer Bal‘ami—the curious Italianate figure added to the margin of the 731/1330 *Shahāna* (TSM, H. 1479, fol. 54b) (Fig. 111) suggests that some Western prototypes may have been available. However, Eastern Christian or Jewish sources should also be investigated; this remains to be done.
positions they would have held on a complete tashfīr. This explains what might otherwise appear as a hierarchy with ‘Ali ranked lower than his uncles.

By the same token, it seems likely that the descendents of Ibrahim, other than Muhammad’s direct forbears in the margin, originally occupied the area beneath the painting. As Soucek has pointed out, this section has been lost probably as a result of the corrosive green pigment used as a background colour. Owing to the genealogy having been moved to the left, Ibrahim’s name now falls at the bottom right hand corner. This would have allowed the lineages of prophets and kings descended from him, such as Sulayman bin Dawud, Yusuf bin Ya’qub, Musa and Harun to have been ranged horizontally, perhaps on ruled lines as in the upper panel, beneath the painting. It would seem, however, that the sons of Nuh were traded for painting space.

The tashfīr format lends itself to dynastic, sectarian and political emphasis through the use of red ink, increased name size and some scope for annotation and the addition or withholding of blessings. It is noticeable that in neither example does the title Amīr al-mu’minin appear, but an ‘Alid bias is instantly evident in both the RAS and Marciana versions, through the increased height of his name. Indeed, in the Marciana it is some four times larger than the other names in the tashfīr and even rivals the names of ancestors in the margin.

In the abbreviated Freer version no attempt has been made to emphasise through size or red ink. On the other hand, Amīr al-mu’minin has been awarded to the first three caliphs but apparently not, at least initially, to ‘Ali, Hasan and Husayn (Pl. 26e). This is at variance with the even-handed application of the title to all four members of the Rashīdūn in the body of the text, as I shall attempt to demonstrate in Chapter Three.

178 Soucek (1988), p. 197. The same effect on certain section headings in the text will be mentioned in Chapter Three.

179 Soucek mentions that while Muslim scholars were in general agreement on the Prophet’s genealogy back to Ma‘add b. ‘Adnan, views differed on the generations linking ‘Adnan with Isma‘il, Soucek (1988) p. 197. According to Bal‘ami, the disputed numbers of generations are six, five and ten; in the Freer copy, counting each “bin” as a generation, nine are listed in the frame between Ma‘add and Isma‘il. However, this number does not appear to be standard to all copies of Bal‘ami’s text; for example, RAS 22 lists ten. The generation missing from the Freer text is that of Hamal bin Qaydar (bin Isma‘il). This suggests that the preferences of the copyist or patron often overruled Bal‘ami’s opinion.

180 I am most grateful to Dr Martha Smith of the Freer Gallery’s Conservation Departament for her help in identifying changes in the density of ink.
what period the caliphal titles were added to 'Ali and his sons.

Daniel has noted that curses indicative of a Shi'i scribe accompany the names of 'Umar, Mu'awiyya, Yazid and others in the Royal Asiatic Society text. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Shi'i annotations included in its tarīq, for example: "... and all the martyrs of Karbala" written alongside 'Ali's progeny. Nonetheless, despite this clear sectarian bias, the integrity of the family tree as a whole has been maintained, with historically important 'sinners', such as the Umayyads, not only present but with their names in red along with the sainted. This suggests that the role of the tarīq was twofold; (i) to record blood lines and (ii) to introduce the reader to an overview of early Muslim dynastic history, with the cupboard doors at least ajar. That the Freer genealogy was based on a the tarīq format thus largely corroborates Soucek's rationale for the choice of names included in the extant panel as being primarily concerned with the transmission of the Prophet's religious heritage and early Islamic history.

The painting

Apart from the frontispiece, this painting is the only illustration in the manuscript which does not describe an action in the text. The painting itself contains an upper and lower row of sitting or kneeling figures, linked by two diminutive figures of rosy-cheeked, male children placed on a diagonal between them. The upper section of the painting is framed by a green curtain, caught up at the corners and falling as a drape to the back of the left hand figure, suggesting an indoor scene. It is also the only painting that has generated interest in print, having been discussed by Soucek and mentioned by Fontana; it is currently also being reconsidered by Shani.

The views of Ettinghausen, Soucek and Fontana may be summarised as follows:

i. Ettinghausen does not comment on the genealogical frame to the painting or the inset panels, but does suggest the possibility that the upper and lower sections of the painting may be similar versions on the same theme, namely, the Prophet addressing his immediate successors. Ettinghausen identifies the figures in the top row, viewed from right to left, as representing the Angel Gabriel, the Prophet kneeling on a prayer rug and pointing at a book held by the white-haired Abu Bakr; Abu Bakr is accompanied by 'Ali, identified by Dhu'l-Faqar tucked under his arm and his two sons Hasan and Husayn.

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Daniel (1990), p. 294 and n.39; at the time of writing his article, Daniel had not finally located the Marciana copy, and in his 1977 article Piemontese does not address the question of the sectarian orientation of the scribe.

As previously mentioned, Dr Raya Shani is at present preparing an article for publication on the images of the Prophet and 'Ali in this manuscript.
before him. In the bottom row, the figure on the far right may be the Prophet
addressing the first four caliphs, but of these only the figure on the far left holds an
insignia, which may be 'Umar's flail. Ettinghausen also notes that the two figures to
the left are slightly larger than the two central figures perusing a book on a stand, and
that the second somewhat larger figure may be 'Ali; by process of elimination, Abu Bakr
and 'Uthman would then be between 'Ali and the Prophet.

In his 1984 article on "The early history, use and iconography of the prayer rug",
Ettinghausen published the figure of the Prophet kneeling on the prayer rug, into which
the word "Allah" has been inscribed in a mihrab arch. Here he suggests that this may
be the earliest representation of a "sajada" and:

"... the Prophet is not seen praying, but engaged in conversations with Abu Bakr
and Ali, the first and fourth caliphs. The miniature depicts the sajada not only as
a seat of honor, but also as a kind of spiritual throne, occupied exclusively by the
Prophet. Therefore, it could be ornamented with the very name of God."

To Ettinghausen's comments on sajada, may be added the presence of a second
carpet or textile, the patterned edge of which is just visible beneath the figures at the
lower right hand corner of the painting.

2. Soucek, while not naming Gabriel, suggests the angel represents the divine source
of Muhammad's statements, and identifies those in the upper register as the Prophet, Abu
Bakr and 'Ali, holding Dhu'l-Faqar, with Hasan and Husayn in the middle ground, but
refers to the figures of the bottom row as "enigmatic". Considering its placement in the
text, Soucek suggests that the Prophet's genealogy is being discussed by the figures in both
registers.

3. In her brief entry on this painting, Fontana summarises Soucek and offers the

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Footnotes:

183 Ettinghausen draws attention to the scene of the enthronement of the Prophet
attended by the four first caliphs in the Freer Small Shahnama (F29.26r) (Fig. 3b) in which
one of the caliphal figures holds a similar object, Ettinghausen (unpublished)(b), p. 10;
also illustrated in Simpson (1979), fig. 115. Ettinghausen identifies this object as 'Umar's
flail. I have not, so far, been able to locate a source for this identification. The shape
of the object in the Freer image seems to me to be closer to a quadruped's shoulder
blade. Shoulder blades were often used as writing surfaces in societies where paper was
scarce and Suras from the Qur'an were said to have been written upon them in the time
of the Prophet.


185 In this article, Ettinghausen dates the painting to the Inju School between 1330
and 1343, "if not earlier", Ettinghausen (1984), p. 12–13 and fig. 2.


187 Since Soucek does not cite Ettinghausen's Accession Notes in this article, I am
additional suggestion that the figures of Hasan and Husayn, placed on the Golden Section, may be intended to connect the two scenes, but without developing this hypothesis. Fontana also raises the question that, since Soucek considers the title "'Amir al-Mu'minin" after 'Ali and the names of Hasan and Husayn as later additions, the children likewise may have been added to the painting. However, Fontana dismisses this idea on the grounds that the painting style appears to be of a piece, 188 and I agree.

With no descriptive text to guide, interpretations will necessarily be speculative. However, the importance of the *taslih* suggests that as well as the Prophet's own genealogy, attention may also be being drawn to the role of the Quraysh. In addition, the presence of only Abu Bakr and 'Ali, rather than all four of the first caliphs, kneeling before the Prophet suggests they are there as the founder representatives of the Sunni and Shi'a branches of Islam. The shawled figure at the right-hand side of the lower register lacks any insignia helpful for identification. His juxtaposition to the lower panel, once filled with the names of the pre-Islamic prophets and kings of the Biblical-Qur'anic tradition, suggests he may be declaiming about them to two attentive listeners, and two who also gaze myopically at a book lying open on a stand between them. If so, the object held by the figure on the left is likely to be some kind of writing board and pen. More than this is difficult to propose with conviction.

**Composition and iconography**

Where copies of Bal'ami's *Tarih* are designed as two volumes, the second usually opens with the Prophet's genealogy. It may not be entirely fortuitous, therefore, that in terms of composition the painting recalls a frontispiece format. For example, it resembles the right hand folio of the double frontispiece in the Topkapi *Kütüha ve Dünna*, possibly from late-thirteenth century Anatolia 189 (Fig. 38). On this occasion the two registers of figures are shown studying books; in the lower foreground are two 'ālims wearing turbans with *teylasams*, and in the upper register are three turbaned youths, presumably students.

Another interesting example is the author portrait, now separated from its text, but originally a frontispiece to an undated fourteenth-century copy of the Shi'i treatise on philosophy and jurisprudence of Ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hilli, 190 (648-726/1250-1325), *Kitāb* ...

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189 TSM, H. 363, fol. 1b-2a, Çağıran and Tamn (1986), ill. 25.
Qasā'id al-Aṣḥāb (The Fundamental Rules) (Fig. 44). Here, books on shelves and a draped curtain clearly depict the interior of a library. Hoffman has noted that this composition is devoid of compartments or divisions and represents a unified group. In this respect the inclusion of Hasan and Husayn set at a diagonal between the two registers of adults in the Bal'ami image may be seen as a step in the same direction.

It is noticeable, however, that despite a probable dependence on earlier examples, so little effort has been made to set the Prophet apart from his companions in a clearly readable hierarchy. This is in contrast to other Ilkhanid-period images of the Prophet. For example, from c. 1300, the Prophet enthroned and attended by the first four caliphs in the Freer Small Shahnama (F29.26r) (Fig. 3b). Here, Muhammad is centrally enthroned beneath a floating canopy held by angels, with ‘Ali and ‘Umar on his upper right and upper left, and Abu Bakr and ‘Uthman to his lower right and left respectively. Soucek has identified the attributes of the Rashidun as the white beard of Abu Bakr; ‘Ali’s double-bladed sword, Dhu’l-faqqar; ‘Umar’s sword, perhaps reflecting his military prowess or his conversion to Islam when on the point of killing Muhammad, and ‘Uthman’s open book, signifying his compilation of the Qur’an.

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91 Farès (1959) pl. 7 and pp. 87-93. A šamsa incorporating a Table of Contents survives on the “a” side of the folio. Farès relates the frontispiece to thirteenth-century author images in Arab medical texts, idem, pp. 90-91.

92 Hoffman (1982), p. 258 and ill. 89

93 This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

94 Soucek (1988), p. 194 and fig. 1. Ettinghausen’s identification of the object in ‘Umar’s right hand as a flail has already been mentioned; Soucek does not mention it.
By comparison, the arrangement of figures in the Bal'ami, kneeling and sitting in rows upon the floor, is informal, egalitarian and less easy to interpret. The chubby angel squeezed into the top right-hand corner is helpful in identifying the figure of the Prophet. As well as representing the Divine inspiration of Muhammad's statements, as suggested by Soucek, the bowl in the angel's hands may be intended to recall the cleansing of Muhammad’s heart by the Divine messengers, and act as a helpful reminder of what has gone before. Abu Bakr may be identified by his noble white beard, and although pathetically wizened, ‘Ali is shown clasping Dhu’l-faqar. However, decoding the lower register is more problematic.

If a statement of the fulfilment of the prophetic tradition and the transfer of authority from the Prophet to the caliphs is intended, then the iconography of this composition is opaque. It compares starkly, for example, with the “Investiture of ‘Ali by the Prophet at Ghadir Khumm” in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (Fig. 9t). The proportions of the space allotted to the investiture scene are comparable to those of the genealogy, but the stance, gesture and dress, particularly the tabka, or enveloping head shawl, worn by the Prophet in the al-Biruni painting, combine to express supreme authority, further emphasised by the lowering cumulus cloud above an open, tree-fringed landscape. All have been configured to express an unequivocal statement of transfer of the Divine mandate. Such a composition should not have been beyond the wit of a designer, or team, had they have so wished; particularly bearing in mind the degree of thought apparent in adapting the standard enthronement formula for the frontispiece. Here, as in other paintings of the Prophet in this manuscript, a certain lack of engagement with the religious nature of the subject matter may be perceived. Compared with the spatial logic and visual clarity of the ‘Small’ Shāhīnāma enthronement and the al-Biruni investiture, the Bal’ami ‘conversation-piece’ offers an interesting, if not fully resolved, visual statement with which to open the history of the Islamic era.

95 Soucek suggests that the figure of an anointing angel with flask and bowl hovering over the Prophet on fol 72a of the Edinburgh–London Jami’ al-tawāridh (Fig. 104), may derive from Armenian depictions of Christ’s baptism in Armenian manuscripts, Soucek (1988), pp. 197 and 201. Soucek also remarks that on fol. 57a a bowl and ladle are offered to the Prophet, astride Buraq, at the outset of his celestial journey, perhaps representing the bowls of wine, water and milk offered to him, Soucek (1988), p. 204; Talbot Rice (1976), no. 36, p. 111.


97 Mayer (1952), p. 50.
The lesson

Within the text as a whole, the chapter on the Prophet's genealogy operates as a secondary introduction, raising, if only briefly, both chronological and eschatological issues initially discussed in the opening folios, and setting the religious and political scene for the subsequent account of the first centuries of Muslim rule. Its most obvious message is to record the direct bloodline from Ibrahim to Muhammad and their relationship to the collateral branches of the prophetic tradition. However, it also demonstrates Muhammad's position, and that of the Ahl al-Bayt, within the tribal network of the Quraysh, which is essential for understanding the history and politics of the Islamic state, and this provides a succinct dramatis personae for the main players about to step onto Balamí's stage. The painting-cum-hashíir is therefore placed, Janus-like, at the junction between the old order and the new; at the commencement of Muhammad's public mission as "Seal of the Prophets" and of the final era of Time leading to the End of Days. The primary message of the Freer painting may therefore be, if not an apocalyptic warning, at least: "Look and learn!".
Chapter heading: fol. 170a  "The travelling of the Prophet towards Ta'if"

Following the death of his uncle, Abu Talib, who had acted as the Prophet's protector against the unbelievers of their own tribe, the Quraysh of Mecca, Muhammad left Mecca and sought refuge in the city of Ta'if. Having been refused protection in Ta'if also, he set out to return to Mecca once more.

fol. 170b

The Prophet arrived at Batn Nakhl, about a mile\textsuperscript{99} from Mecca. He went into the desert, and spent the night in prayer and reading the Qur'an. The next day went into the town, and seven pafis came, stood before the Prophet and listened with pleasure to his recitation of the Qur'an. When he had finished the final prayer, they approached and made themselves visible, and he presented Islam to them and they accepted. Then the Prophet told them to return to their people and to instruct them in religion, and they went away, instructed them and they converted, as Almighty God said: "Do you recall how we have made a troop of jinn\textsuperscript{98} listen to the Qur'an?"\textsuperscript{100} And the names of those seven pafis were: Hasa, and another was Masa, and one was Shad, and the fourth was Nasir, the fifth, Qasim, the sixth, Qasim, the seventh, Qasim.\textsuperscript{101}
the sixth Ash and the seventh Aqham. And these seven paris became Muslims, and went to their troop and instructed them in religion and they were subjugated.

Later, when the Prophet went to Medina these seven came to him and said: "Our people have become Muslims, and they would like to see you and talk to you." So everyone gathered in the Valley of the Jinns, a valley two parasangs from Medina towards the desert, where no one would pass the night for fear of the place. All the converted paris gathered in that place, and the Prophet kept his promise and spent a night there with them.

Illustration

The lines adjacent to the text describe the scene.

The Prophet is depicted seated beneath a tree, which separates him from the leader of the paris, who kneels before him with the other six in single file to his rear. From the text we may assume it is inviting the Prophet to address the community of recently converted spirits in the Valley of the Jinns near Medina, pointing at the Prophet with his left index finger while taking him encouragingly by the elbow with his left. A large golden bowl, not mentioned in the text, is on the ground at the right hand corner of the picture.

The Prophet has been depicted slightly larger than the other figures, turbaned and in a robe of dull olive green. The paris are depicted as a motley band: the leader dressed as a turbaned Arab but with leaf-like wings sprouting from its halo. Four of its companions are also turbaned but stripped to the waist with armbands (bâzûbânûs) short, petal skirts and trousers. A fifth is shown without a turban and the seventh, like the leader, is shown in Arab dress. The presence of two fully clothed figures at either end of a line of semi-naked figures, suggests that shackled prisoners stripped for execution may have been the model. With this in mind the turbans appear somewhat incongruous, but may indicate the paris conversion.

The lesson

Soucek suggests that the choice of this scene emphasises the power of the Qur'an, augments a group which provides the artist with a further opportunity to paint winged figures and also stresses the Prophet's ability to communicate with supernatural beings. Within the cycle as a whole, it joins the earlier image of the Jewish doctors using the

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201 Bowls in images of the Prophet in the Edinburgh–London Fâns' al-iwârûsh have already been mentioned in connection with the Genealogy of the Prophet.

Torah to exorcise the Yemeni temple of its demon (Pl. 19).
Chapter 2

V, fol. 177b, “The Great Battle of Badr”

In the second year of the hijra, on the first day of the month of Ramadan, the Prophet was informed that a merchant caravan, led by Abu Sufyan, was on its way from Syria to Mecca, and was due to pass near the wells at Badr. In order to take booty, the Prophet set out to intercept it with a force of seventy Muhajirun and two hundred and thirty-six Ansar. However, Abu Sufyan heard of the plan and took the caravan by a different route, sending word to Mecca about the Muslim manoeuvres. A host of a thousand Meccans was mustered to send against the Prophet’s Madinan force, including among its leaders ‘Amr ibn Hisham, known as Abu Jahl, who had steadfastly refused the Prophet’s efforts to convert him and continued to plot against his life. Meanwhile, the angel Jibril was sent by God to Muhammad to assure him of his ultimate success. On the advice of spies, Muhammad successfully occupied the wells at Badr in advance of the arrival of the Meccan force, who were thus forced to encamp behind a high and precipitous sand dune. ‘Utba, a Meccan warrior of note, rode his red camel to the crest of the dune to reconnoitre, and was recognised by the Prophet. The steep incline and soft sand made the approach to the wells difficult, and from such a distance the Muslim force appeared small, leading Abu Jahl to be over-confident of victory. The night before
the main battle, God sent a shower of rain that fell only on the Muslims. The rain both purified their well, previously polluted by a wounded Meccan who had intentionally thrown himself into it, and by hardening the soft sand facilitated their manoeuvres. As the Muslims had no tents, a hut of branches was constructed to shield the Prophet from the sun during the battle. The Prophet and Abu Bakr withdrew into this hut, and prostrating themselves, in the manner of Musa, called upon God to assist them. At dawn...

... the Prophet stood in rank, and the unbelievers did the same, and the first of the unbelievers to come out was 'Utba, because of Bu Jahl having said that 'Utba was afraid of war. And there was no one bigger than 'Utba among the Quraysh, and among the Quraysh there was no helmet that would fit his head, so he tied a turban round it, put on a cuirass, armed himself thoroughly, and went out and stood between the two armies. And his brother Shayba bin Rabi’a, and his son Walid were with him. 'Utba shouted for a warrior from among the Muslims, and three of the Ansars came out of the Muslim ranks. One of them was named 'Auf bin Sa’d, and another Harith bin Ma’d, and they were called the sons of Ghafra, because Ghafra was their mother, and Shadik ‘Abdullah bin Ruwahi was one of the foremost of the Ansar. And 'Utba said: “What is your name?” And each one gave his name and genealogy. And 'Utba said: “Go back! You are not our equals, and among you are many Quraysh who are our equals, and who have left Mecca in order to fight us.” So they returned to Muhammad. And 'Utba shouted to the Prophet, saying: “Send me an equal from those of the Quraysh who are with you!” And the Prophet sent 'Ali and Hamza, the son of 'Abd al-Muttalib, and 'Ubayda bin Harith, and said: “Go! You are their equals, and from the same household. Place 'Ubayda, who is older, in front of 'Utba in the arena, and Hamza opposite Shayba, and 'Ali bin Abi Talib opposite Walid, because they are both young. And 'Utba and 'Ubayda were both stronger, but 'Ali wounded Walid first, hitting him on the head and splitting him in two, through his helmet, chain mail and cuirass. Also, Hamza hit Shayba on the chest with a spear, and it came out through his back, and killed him. 'Utba and 'Ubayda struggled with each other, and 'Utba struck 'Ubayda on the thigh with his sword,
and split it in two, and the marrow came out of the bone. So ‘Ali and Hamza went and killed ‘Utba, and brought ‘Ubayda back to the camp, and the bone was sticking out from the leg. And the Prophet said to him: “Oh ‘Ubayda, be content, because you are separated from Paradise by a breath.” ‘Ubayda said: “If Abu Talib was alive and had seen this, he would have recited the poem of his: “We will not give up so long as we and our children, gathered round the Prophet, are not killed.” And I am more deserving than he.” And the Prophet said: “You are more deserving, since he said it, but you acted on it.” Then the Prophet encouraged the men to go into battle, while he went to and fro in the camp, [and many were killed] ...

... And the Prophet and Abu Bakr went inside the hut and again prostrated themselves on the ground, and cried and lamented and prayed, saying: “Oh Lord, if this group all perish, who will there be left to worship you, and all the believers will abandon the religion.” And he raised his hands in prayer, until Abu Bakr took his hand, and said: “Oh, Messenger of God, do not oppress Almighty God with your prayers.” The Prophet said: “Oh Abu Bakr, I am asking Him to fulfil his promise.” While they were talking, Jibra’il came from the Almighty with a thousand angels, and said: “Be content, God has sent me with a thousand angels to assist you.” Then he recited a verse from the Qur’an: “On the day you ask your Lord for assistance, He will answer your prayer. I will assist you, He says, with a thousand angels following one after the other.” The Prophet said: “Oh, brother Jibra’il, a thousand angels?” Jibra’il said: “Three thousand, Oh, Muhammad!” “Three thousand?” repeated the Prophet. “Yes, five thousand.” replied Jibra’il. The Prophet hastened from the Sanctuary to tell the good news to the Muslims. He raised his voice and said: “God has sent three thousand angels to your aid.” They repeated in their joy: “Three thousand!” “Yes, five thousand.” said the Prophet, and Jibra’il recited the following verse to him: “Has not your Lord sufficed you with three thousand angels?” The Prophet recited the verse to the faithful, and angels fell into line with the Muslims, and the Prophet saw them, and in their hands were wooden clubs. And God told them to join ranks with the Muslims, so that fear might be cast into the hearts of the unbelievers, and He told the angels to hit them. ... And when the unbelievers wanted to attack, the Prophet took some dust and threw it, and God sent a wind to blow it into the eyes of the enemy, and they
were blinded. ... And whoever an angel hit, had all the bones in their body broken, ... and this was the work of God, not of man, ... and by evening, the enemy were routed.

Illustration

This painting includes several of the sequence of incidents described in the text, but the lines immediately above and below the painting are concerned, first and foremost, with the martyrdom of ‘Ubayda, and the words of the Prophet promising unconditional salvation to those who die in the cause of jihād, thus stressing a tenet central to Islam.

‘Ubayda, lying on his back with arms splayed and a sword protruding from his side, is placed immediately behind the mounted figure of ‘Ali, on the left-hand camel, who is brandishing Dhu’l-Faqr. On the left is the body of the young Walid bin Shayba, whom he has recently cleaved in half, and is seen collapsing as ‘Ali’s camel cannons into that of the turbanned “Utba. Behind “Utba, the grey-bearded Hamza is belabouring Shayba with a knobkerry, despite the fact that he has already been pierced through by the spear, and is about to take a last Jaziran’ stride out of this world and into the margin and perdition.

The Prophet, mounted on a wall-eyed, black horse, is depicted galloping to and fro behind the lines, wielding a sword and gazing over his left shoulder at the heavenly squadron, homing in over the sand dunes, to save the day for the Muslims. The non-combatant adult, half-visible behind the Prophet’s horse, may be assumed to be Abu Bakr. The identification of the child by the horse’s head is less certain. The inclusion of a child in the battle may refer to an incident prior to the engagement, in which five young lads begged the Prophet for permission to join the raid against the Meccan caravan; all but one, ‘Amru bin Abi Waqqas, were refused on account of their tender years."

Although the text implies the fighting was on foot, the artist has seized a further opportunity to exercise his imagination and skill in animal drawing. The camels, beautifully observed as they cannon into each other, with flailing legs, wild eyes and lolling tongues, provide some panache to a composition otherwise coagulated with incident. Soucek has pointed out that all the battle scenes accentuate the role taken by

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\[\text{Footnotes:} \]


The depiction of fighting from camelback is incorrect for Arab warfare; the camel was used as transport to the place of battle, and fighting was carried out on horseback or on foot. I am grateful to Michael Macdonald for advice on this point.
the Prophet, but here, despite his green robe and dark bay horse, he appears uncomfortably cramped and almost cowering in the top right-hand corner of the painting. That he is depicted in the action at all is contrary to the text, where it is clearly stated that he directed from behind the lines. This suggests that the designer was paying scant attention to the text and did not feel constrained to depict the incident according to established accounts; rather, he was availing himself of the space to create an appropriate sense of drama and mayhem.

The lesson

Soucek suggests that the scene stresses the victory itself and the manner in which it was achieved through angelic assistance. All this was perceived as vindication of his prophethood and his claim that the Muslim community were divinely protected.

The Battle of Badr, as the first major victory of the Muslims over the Meccans, and as such is an obvious choice for illustration in any history of the community. However, the lines immediately above and below the painting, are specifically concerned with the Prophet’s promise to the faithful of unconditional entry into Paradise for those who give their lives on the jihād.

At another level, the individual incidents described also pick up on the sub-plots, one of which is that faithfulness to the One God should override family and tribal loyalties, to the extent of killing your own kith and kin. Kindred groups divided by conflicting religious beliefs, judgements on who should live or die among the obdurate and legal refinements such as laws of sanctuary, are also the subject matter of the text which runs between this painting and the next, the death of the Prophet’s arch-enemy, Abu Jahl.

These two paintings are also linked through the story of “Utba’s son, Abu Hudayfa. As a respected Muslim at the time of his father’s death, Abu Hudayfa experienced, metaphorically, the double edge of Dhu’l-Faqar. His loyalty was sorely

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100 This may relate to a clumsy reworking of a prototype such as the frontispiece to the Kitab al-Aghani in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Arab. 168), or the mid twelfth-century stone carving from Konya from which the figure may have been drawn (Figs 152a–b).
102 The incident of the executions following the worship of the golden calf is another example.
103 F57.16, fols 182a–184a.
104 F57.16, fol.183a; Bal’ami/Tabari–Rawshan ed. (1366s/1987–8), vol.vi, p. 169;
tried; not only was he prevented from revenging his father's death, according to Arab
custom, but the Prophet subsequently ordered that members of his own family, who had
fought with the Meccans against the Muslims, should be spared if taken prisoner, on the
grounds that they had fought against him under duress. ‘Umar suggested that Abu
Hudayfa should be killed, rather than spread disaffection in the ranks, but the Prophet
c counselled patience to allow time for Abu Hudayfa's anger and confusion to subside. In
the text following the next painting, the Prophet's patience with Abu Hudayfa is seen to
pay off, as he comes to accept the greater good of the Muslim community as overriding
all other considerations, even his father's death. The Prophet is then able to praise his
father as an honourable, if misguided, man.

The Battle of Badr (2). The death of Abu Jahl, and the casting of the Meccan dead into dry wells.

Published: Soucek (1988), fig. 6d.\textsuperscript{15}

Dimensions

- folio: 422 x 287mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 55 x 170mm plus a single step extension at top left 100 x 90mm

Condition

Some pigment lost.

Text\textsuperscript{16}

Chapter heading: fol. 177b “The Great Battle of Badr”

Following the rout of the Meccan forces with the assistance of the heavenly host, the Prophet gave the order for Abu Jahl to be taken dead or alive. One of the Ansar, 'Amru bin Mu‘ad, detected Bu Jahl in the Meccan camp. They fought, and with help from another of the Ansar, Abu Jahl was struck down, and left for dead, with a hand and leg severed and a chest wound. However, there was a weakling among the Muslims, named ‘Abdullah bin Mas‘ud, who went to inspect the dead, and he found Abu Jahl to be still alive. ...

fol. 183b. l. 29

... he took him [Bu Jahl] by the neck, threw him down and sat on his chest. ‘Abd Allah [bin] Mas‘ud had no weapon except a club, and Abu Jahl had a big knife [stuck into him]. ‘Abdullah bin Mas‘ud did his best to pull it out, in order to cut off his head, saying to himself: “In this war, Muslims take booty for the glory of Almighty God and the satisfaction of the Prophet. I will offer the Prophet the head of this unbeliever as an earnest of service, and to please him, for I am not able to do more.” And in the Jahiliyya, this ‘Abd Allah Ma‘sud had been Bu Jahl’s shepherd, and when he had become a Muslim, whenever [Bu Jahl] saw him, he had beaten and tormented him.

fol. 184a, l. 1

\textsuperscript{15}Mentioned without illustration in Milstein (1999), p. 168.

Then ‘Abd Allah bin Mas’ud pulled the knife out of Bu Jahl, and sat on his chest to cut off his head. Bu Jahl opened his eyes to see who it was.

He saw ‘Abd Allah bin Mas’ud, and said: “Oh, shepherd of sheep, what a fearful position you are sitting in.” ‘Abd Allah said: “Praise be to God who has given me such a donkey!” Bu Jahl said: “What kind of a donkey do you see in me?” He said: “The greatest donkey that there has ever been, who accused the Prophet of lying, and drove him away from his homeland, and made him sorrowful, even though strangers support him and love him, and give him their allegiance.” Abu Jahl said: “They have killed many of the noble Quraysh; put me with them.” Then he said: “To whom is the victory?” and ‘Abd Allah said: “God, the Prophet and the believers.” Bu Jahl said: “Indeed, I am not one of them!”, and ‘Abd Allah cut off his head, and took it to the Prophet, and threw it on the ground before him. The Prophet gave thanks, and at nightfall, the Muslims returned to the camp. And in that desert, there were wells with no water in them. The Prophet ordered that the slain should be brought and thrown into those wells, except for Umayya bin Khalaf, whose body was already decomposing and could not be moved, so they buried him in the earth.

The Prophet then stood by one of the wells and called on the dead by name who were his kinsmen, and had cast him out. And his followers asked him why he called on the dead, and the Prophet said the dead were able to hear but not reply.

And on returning to the camp, the Prophet saw Abu Hudayfa bin ‘Utba, whose father had been killed by the Muslims, earlier in the battle. The Prophet asked him if he was still sorely afflicted by the death of his father, brother and uncle. Hudayfa said, no, because God had succoured the Muslims and given them victory, but that his father had been a very wise and brave man, and he had hoped that God would choose him for Islam, and was sad that he had died an unbeliever. The Prophet consoled him, and praised his father.
Illustration

As noted by Soucek, the painting depicts two consecutive scenes: ‘Abd Allah bin Mas'ud’s dispatch of Abu Jahl, and the burial of the decapitated, pagan Meccans in a dry well, supervised by the Prophet.197

The “L” shaped painting allows a visual progression from right to left, from one scene to another, but on this occasion the format has prevented the relevant text from being adjacent to the scene in describes. The satirical exchange between ‘Abd Allah ibn Mas'ud and Abu Jahl would have enjoyed a greater impact had it been positioned immediately above the speakers. In this instance the designer appears either to have missed a trick or to have held a different priority.

The hovering angels, this time stripped to the waist like some Buddhist apsarases, and trailing sinuous vegetation with a lotus-like flower, are not mentioned in the text. However, as one of the hallmarks of the Battle of Badr their inclusion requires only a modest artistic licence. Soucek suggests they may have included as a visual reminder of on-going divine intervention.198 The animals of the hunt: saluqi, fox and hare, gambolling about these gruesome activities, may be intended to evoke the desert, but also suggest that the artist suffered a sense of horror vacui, and thus included items from a general decorative repertoire.

The lesson

This painting picks up the issues addressed in the earlier Badr episode, most notably that of tested loyalties and judgements as to who should live or die among the obdurate. In this respect, Abu Hudayfa’s rationalisation of the death of his father, and the compassion of the Prophet, is a telling example of reconciliation.

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Battle of Uhud. Muhammad kills Ubayd bin Khalaf with his lance.

Published: Soucek (1988), fig. 7.

Dimensions

folio: 422 x 287mm
text block: 280 x 170mm
painting: 80 x 170mm

Condition

Face of Ubayy bin Khalaf badly rubbed; some general smudging and loss of pigment.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 190a, "About the Battle of Uhud"

At the Valley of Uhud, the Meccans inflicted a resounding defeat on the Muslims in revenge for their defeat at Badr. However, they did not follow it up with an attack on Medina itself. In the course of the battle, the Prophet was wounded by ‘Utba bin Abi Waqqas, and had fallen from his horse. Rumour spread that the Prophet had been killed, but a group rallied round him, including Sa’d, a noted archer, and they took refuge among the rocks. The Meccan women, headed by Hind, the wife of the Meccan leader Abu Sufyan, went among the Muslim dead, mutilating the bodies. On a previous occasion, the Prophet had sworn he would kill a Meccan, Ubayy bin Khalaf, who now, in the wake of the defeat, came in search of him.

fol. 190a, l. 15

... And on the day of Uhud, Ubayy came and found the Prophet at the time when Sa’d was shooting arrows. Sa’d wished to shoot and kill him, but the Prophet said: "Do not shoot until he approaches." Ubayy approached and pointed his spear towards the Prophet and said: "Oh Muhammad, who will deliver you from me?" The Prophet said: "God will protect me from you, and will not protect you from me." And the Prophet stood up and Harith bin Sibba was standing near him with his lance. The Prophet took the lance from Harith, and Ubayy was in full armour, and the only part of his body that was bare was

his neck, and he was on his camel. The Prophet, on foot, hit him on the neck with the point of that lance, and he spurred his horse [sic.],

[Painting]

and crying out from the pain, returned to the camp, crying out: “Oh people, Muhammad has killed me with his own hands.” They said: “Do not cry out, because you have not been wounded too badly and are not in fear of death.” He said: “I am always expecting the pain of death. He said he would kill me, and he spoke the truth.” And he continued to cry out until they set off to return, and he died before reaching Mecca.

The Prophet then rallied the troops which, in the belief that he was dead, were fleeing towards Medina, and Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, Talha and Zubayr were discovered in hiding behind a rock.

Illustration

As Soucek has pointed out, the illustrator has evoked aspects of the incident in a compact fashion but, once again, Muhammad dominates the scene. However, after the generously spaced and thematically complex illustrations of the Battle of Badr, the narrow strip format of this painting, (and those allotted for the Battles of Uhud, the Ditch and Hunayn), appears mean. Despite the reduced options open to the artist, the lamentable failure to articulate this sequence of events with clarity is nonetheless unexpected. The absence of any apparent effort to depict the Prophet with care— it is among the most coarsely and cursorily painted images in the manuscript—is particularly unexpected.

The Prophet is larger than the other figures. He is on “foot and striking Ubayy bin Khalaf on the neck with a two-pronged lance, as described in the two lines above the painting. Ubayy is shown riding a camel despite the fact that a horse is mentioned in the text. It is not clear whether the figures behind Ubayy, partially hidden by the pinnacle of rock, are Meccans or Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, Talha and Zubayr since two women are also included, standing in the left-hand foreground. As suggested by Ettinghausen and Soucek, the women may refer to the incident following the preliminary defeat of the Muslims at Uhud, in which Hind, and other Meccan women, mutilated the bodies of the

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20 The detail of Ubayy being mounted on a camel is in the Freer text, but absent from Rawshan’s and Zotenbergs’s versions. However, both describe him as returning to the Meccan camp on horseback Bal'am/Tabari-Rawshan ed. (1366/1987–8), vol. 1, p. 172, l. 15; Bel'am/Tabari–Zotenbergs tr. (1980), p. 200.

Muslim dead, especially Hamza, in revenge for the loss of their own male relatives. \textsuperscript{222} If this is so, then the other figures are more likely to be the Meccans, to whom Ubayy returned weeping and wailing.

The form of two-pronged lance used by the Prophet does not appear elsewhere in this manuscript, but may have been used by the artist to differentiate between Harith's \textit{harba} and Ubayy's \textit{nayza} in the text. The fungoid, sinuous and striated rock is an adaptation of other rock formulae in this manuscript, probably reduced to fit the limited space. \textsuperscript{223} It may also have been intended as a device for separating separate incidents in a polyscenic action.

The lesson

The choice of text immediately adjacent to the painting draws attention to Muhammad actively wielding arms, if in self-defence, and proves that his promise to kill Ubayy had not been an idle threat. The example of inflicting a non-fatal wound and allowing psychology to do the rest may also be a lesson.


\textsuperscript{223} The profile of this rock is also reminiscent of some Cappadocian geological formations, for example in the region of Nevşehir.

Published: Marteau and Vever (1913), I, pl.XL VIII, no. 54; Schulz (1914), I, p. 74 and pl. K (lower); Soucek (1988), fig. 8.

Dimensions
- folio: 410 x 285mm
- text block: 280 x 175mm
- painting: 83 x 170mm

Condition
Some general smudging and loss of pigment; faces of ‘Amru and the Prophet’s companion obliterated.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 198a (17a) “Information on the Battle of the Ditch”

As they were greatly outnumbered by the Qurayshi forces, the Muslims, on the advice of the Persian convert, Salman, dug a defensive ditch around Medina. This ditch led to a stand-off of twenty-six days between the opposing forces, during which time they traded insults with the only losses being three unbelievers. ‘Amru bin ‘Abd Wudd6 was a Qurayshi warrior famed for his bravery and ingenuity in warfare; for example, he fixed a mirror as a breastplate to his horse to catch the sun and dazzle the enemy. ‘Amru and a group of followers rode to the ditch. As he leapt his horse into it and was urging it up the other side, he was confronted by ‘Ali.

fol. 17b, l. 25

... ‘Amr said: “Who are you?”, ‘Ali said: “I am ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, and why have you come?” ‘Amru replied: “I have come here to kill you and your troops,
but I did not know that you were such a child; it does not seem right to fight you.” ‘Ali said: “I do not see anything wrong with this, but you are mounted and I am on foot, and if you want to fight with me you should be as I am [dismounted]. ‘Amru became angry, got off his horse, unsheathed his sword and said: “Now there is no excuse.” ‘Ali said: “There is something else; you have your troops with you, and I am here on my own. You, too, should not bring anyone with you, so that we can fight alone.” ‘Amr said: “I agree that I should not bring anyone with me, and we shall both of us be on our own, and now I shall relieve the people from the pain of your presence. And ‘Amru bin ‘Abd Wudd was a man who was known among all the Arabs, and there was no one braver than him in all the region. And they set to fighting one another on foot, and they fought from morning until the evening prayer. And ‘Ali attacked and hit ‘Amru, and every blow that ‘Ali delivered, ‘Amr stopped, and every blow that ‘Amru struck, ‘Ali parried. So ‘Ali said to ‘Amru: “Did you not say that you would not bring anyone with you?” ‘Amru said: “What companion have I brought?” ‘Ali said: “Your son has come.” ‘Amru looked behind him, and ‘Ali struck him with the sword, and severed ‘Amru’s leg at the thigh, and he fell. ‘Amru said: “Oh ‘Ali, you have played a deceitful trick”, and ‘Ali said: “War is [a matter of] deception.”

[Painting]

‘Amru took up his severed leg and cast it at ‘Ali, and ‘Ali hit him again and split him in half, and came down into the ditch and went towards the Prophet and the Muslims. And when the dust had settled, they found that ‘Amru bin ‘Abd Wudd had been killed, and the heart had gone out of the unbelievers and they did not pursue the war.

Illustration

This illustration diverges from the text in that ‘Amru and ‘Ali, are presented as mounted, rather than on foot, and in Mongol armour. ‘Ali has the sheath of Dhu’l-Faqar at his side, but there is no sign of a weapon held in his right hand, and he is mounted on a mule, probably Dull Dul. The ditch behind the duelists is shown as a river with grassy banks, on the far side of which is the Prophet, also mounted, turbaned and in a green robe, with a companion standing to his rear. As Soucek has noted, this
makes the Prophet appear to be actually directing the battle, which is not indicated by the text.  

The lesson

This detached approach to the text may also explain why the painting appears to have comprehensively missed the point and the panache of the story, namely, that otherwise dishonourable behaviour may be smart tactics in time of war, and that 'Ali, disparaged by 'Amru for his youth, employed guile to turned potential defeat into victory; an incident laced with the ghoulish humour of 'Amru's dying antics. It also provides a further example of the supposed weakling defeating the experienced man-at-arms.

\[\text{Soucek (1988), p. 197.}\]
Chapter 2

Battle of Hunayn. The Prophet's life is threatened.

Published: Soucek (1988), fig. 9.

Dimensions

- folio: 410 x 285mm
- text block: 280 x 175mm
- painting: 87 x 170mm plus a single step extension at top right
  22 x 54mm

Condition

Painting restored on at least two occasions; bottom right-hand corner partially obscured by patch over text block with replacement calligraphy; considerable pigment loss. Freer Gallery archival photograph shows two substantial lengths of tape clumsily pasted over tears running from right to left across the width of the painting, later removed during conservation.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 211b (30b) “Information on the Battle of Hunayn”

After the capture of Mecca by the Prophet, he mounted an expedition against the tribes of Hawazin and Thaqif, and confronted them at the Wadi Hunayn. The Hawazin were traditional enemies of the Quraysh and led by a gifted warrior, Malik bin ‘Awf. At the first encounter, the Muslims were defeated and preserved only by further angelic assistance. The following day, the opposing forces were again drawn up in battle order. Muhammad placed at some distance a group of two thousand Meccan recruits, whose loyalty was uncertain.

fol. 35b, l. 9:

... And the Prophet looked from afar at these two thousand men from Mecca, and said: “Are they against us or for us?” And he said this to himself. He sent Bu Sufyan and Safwan bin Umayya amongst the Meccans on foot, and he himself and companions drew up the battle line. And the Prophet, mounted on that war camel, went among the troops, holding the reins, and he was going round amongst the troops. And ‘Abbas ibn ‘Abd al-Muttalib had taken hold of the

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98 The folio has been numbered fol. 36v, instead of 30v.
camel’s reins, and Abu Sufyan bin al-Harb bin al-Muttalib its tail and ‘Ali with
drawn sword and the Muhajirun and the Ansar all surrounded the Prophet.
Malik bin ‘Awf said to [his] men: “Attack!”, and those thirty thousand men
attacked at the same time, and at the first assault the Muslims were defeated and
withdrew, and the battlefield was empty. And of those twelve thousand men who
had been with the Prophet, amongst the Muhajirun and Ansar, only nine remained with him, and these are their names: Bu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Ali, ‘Abbas and
his son al-Fazl and Bu Sufyan bin al-Harb bin ‘Abd al-Muttalib and his brother
Rabi'a and Usama bin Zayd and Ayman bin Ubayd and Hawa bin Umm Iman,
and the enemy overcame them. A man from among the enemy, on a camel,
took an arrow in his hand and whoever he hit fell. Then he recognised the
Prophet with a few people, and he went towards him. And a man from among
the Ansar and ‘Ali bin Abi Talib came up behind him and hamstrung the camel
with sword strokes so that it fell with the man still on it, and one of the Ansar
came forward and hit that man on the leg with a sword, and he fell from his
camel, and with another blow killed him. And ‘Ali came forward, drew his
sword and fought with the enemy until he drove them away from near the
Prophet, and then returned and stood by him so that no one else should
approach. And the enemy conducted another assault and continued killing the
Muslims, and taking them as captives. And these two thousand men who had
come from Mecca, had been watching from afar, and as Muslims they were

[Painting]

weak at heart, and they reverted to being unbelievers and were pleased and said:
“Muhammad thought that this [army was like that at Badr, and would fall into
his hands like women.]” Now the Arab leaders came and said: “Go and
behave towards them with chivalry (bā mardi). And there was a man in the
[Meccan] army whose father had fallen into Muslim hands on the day of Badr
and been killed by them. When he saw that the Muslims were defeated he
returned to being an unbeliever, and said to himself: “If I see Muhammad
unprotected, I will kill him and take revenge for the blood of my father.” And

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Ten names follow!

This part of the text has been covered by a patch. It differs somewhat from

In both Rawshan and Zotenbergs, this man is named as Shayba bin ‘Uthman.
In both Rawshan and Zotenbergs, this man is described as being in the “Meccan”
army, presumably referring to the Meccan recruits of doubtful loyalty.
he drew his sword, and turned towards the Prophet.

And when he came near the Prophet, he could not see anything, and his eyes went dark, and when he turned to the Meccan troops his sight returned, and because he was not able to do anything, he returned to his place in the ranks.

Illustration

As noted by Soucek, the scene at Hunayn emphasises the role of the Prophet, depicted here as rallying his troops in the face of defeat, and being protected by the bravery of 'Ali. The action in the painting is close to the description which abuts the top of the raised extension on the right-hand side of the painting. However, by the time the text reaches the line above the main section, the incident of 'Ali's bravery has given way to the next confrontation between the Prophet and the Meccans. The text which runs the major length of the image refers to the apostate Meccans, one of whom seeks to avenge his father's death at the Battle of Badr by killing the Prophet. However, God intervenes by darkening the apostate Meccan's eyes whenever he turns towards Muhammad. In both these incidents the Prophet's life was threatened, so it is easy to see how a misunderstanding could have arisen between designing the text and executing the painting. However, while in the first option 'Ali plays a heroic part, in the second he is not mentioned, and this may be relevant when considering the religious orientation of the manuscript in Chapter Three.

The image as it stands depicts the Prophet larger than the other figures, and shows him sitting on his camel, his right hand on the hilt of his sword that hangs from a baldric round his neck. The bridle of his camel is held by 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib, whose eyes are fixed on 'Ali smiting, with gusto, the hamstrings of the foolhardy Meccan's unfortunate beast, causing it to collapse beneath him. The Meccan is shown peering backwards and downwards in dismay over his camel's rump—an imaginative pose perhaps employed by the artist to keep the figure within the confines of the cramped space. The Meccan is depicted holding a bearded axe, rather than the bow and arrows of the text.

The Prophet has been depicted with spiky Mongoloid features, in contrast to a more Arab physiognomy as in the Badr paintings. The spiky features are close to the

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235 As will be suggested in Chapter Five, this painting may have been allotted to an assistant.
depictions of the Prophet and his family in the Edinburgh al-Biruni manuscript, for example in “The Day of the Cursing” and “The Investiture of ‘Ali at Ghadir Khumm” (Figs 90–91),196 than to his portrayal in other scenes of the Freer Bal‘ami. This points, yet again to the unsystematic portrayal of the Prophet in this manuscript, and also raises the question of how many hands may have been involved, which will be addressed in Chapter Four.

The lesson

Although the illustration depicts the incident preceding the painting, the lines of text immediately above and below it clearly point to the anecdote which follows the painting space, in which the ‘doubters’ among the Meccan troops revert to the religion of their forefathers for opportunistic reasons, and are ultimately confounded. In terms of the cycle as a whole, this would conform to the theme of conversion and the problems of the religiously divided community; topics which were initially addressed in the iconography of the frontispiece.

196 EUL, Arabic 161, fols 161a and 162a, Soucek (1975), figs 24 and 25.
Chapter 2

F47.19c, fol. 234a (53b), (Pl. 33a-b)

The death of Musaylima at the hand of the Ethiopian slave Wahshi.

Dimensions

Published: Blochet (1926) pl. 1

folio: 410 x 285mm
text block: 280 x 170mm
painting: 178 x 170mm

Condition

Some smudging and pigment loss; faces of Musaylima and the Ethiopians rubbed.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 232b (51b) “Information on Musaylima bin Habib, the Liar”

Musaylima ibn Habib of the Banu Hanifa, also claimed prophethood, and set up a rival state to Muhammad during his lifetime, in Yamama in mid-Arabia. Following Muhammad’s death in 11/632, Musaylima’s following increased, and Abu Bakr sent a large army, under the command of Khalid bin al-Walid, against him. A battle took place at al-‘Aqraba’, with its centre in a walled garden that came to be known as “the garden of death” because of the numbers on both sides killed there.²³³

Bal’ami describes how, at the end of a battle, Musaylima and his followers took refuge in a garden with high walls and a great gate. Khalid ordered that no quarter should be given to the enemy, and then sent his troops to scale the walls. Khalid himself stood by the gate and killed whomever of the enemy came through it.

When Musaylima saw that the Muslims were entering the garden in large numbers, he realised that he would not be able to leave on horseback. He dismounted, covered his face and head, and mingled with the soldiers in order to get out of the garden, [and Wahshi was also standing by the gate. Wahshi]²³⁹

was an Ethiopian slave who had become a Muslim at the hand of the Prophet after the Battle of Hunayn, and it was this Wahshi who had previously killed...
Hamza at the Battle of Uhud. On that [i.e. this] day, he had his sword in a baldric and was carrying the lance with which he had killed Hamza. And as Musaylima was passing through the door of the fortress and garden,

one of the Ansar recognised him, hit him with a sword, and felled him, but because Musaylima was wearing two layers of armour, he was not wounded. An Ansar called out: “Oh, Wahshi, this is Musaylima.” Musaylima got up to flee. Wahshi, by the garden door, struck him with a lance which passed through the two coats of mail so that it came out through his back and pinioned him to the ground. The Muslims killed whomever they saw in the garden, and Khalid and the army stood by the garden door and killed the unbelievers, then the door of the Yamama fortress was shut, the Muslims gathered there, and night fell. Khalid himself returned to the camp, and they dismounted. No one knew that Musaylima had been killed, and because of that, Khalid was upset that night thinking Musaylima was still in the fortress with the army and it was necessary to guard the gate, and the army had suffered losses and was tired. Then, in the morning, Khalid mounted and together with a part of the army and Muja’a, a Yamami leader, in shackles, went to the battlefield to identify the dead, and Muja’a also identified the dead among the enemy. When he reached to the gate of the garden, he saw a dead man pierced by a lance through his stomach and out through his back; a tall man, wizened and emaciated. Muja’a put his foot on his stomach and said: “This is the one who has done this to us”. Khalid said: “Who is this?” [Muja’a said: “This is Musaylima bin Habib, the Liar.” Khalid bin al-Walid said: “Who killed this unbeliever?” Wahshi said: “I killed him.” Khalid said: “You are right] because it bears the mark of your lance.” Then Khalid said: “Bakh, bakh, Wahshi! As an infidel you killed the best of the Muslims, the Prophet’s uncle, Hamza, and now as a Muslim, you have killed the worst of the unbelievers.”

The Prophet’s uncle.

This passage has been poorly written in a later hand over a patch across the foot of the folio, distorting the text and repeating part of the first line on folio 54a.
Illustration

The painting follows the lines immediately above and below the painting closely. Musaylima is falling to the ground at the feet of the ānṣār who felled him with a sword blow, prior to the Abyssinian convert, Wahshi, piercing him with his lance. Both the attackers are depicted as Abysinnians, although there is nothing in the adjacent text to suggest the swordsman was not an Arab. A cypress and deciduous, probably fruit, trees are shown rising in the space between the back and front walls of the garden-fortress, which has triangular crenellations and a metal door with rosette decoration. Five soldiers, with feet hidden by the parapet, man the wall. Owing to flacked paint, the preliminary drawing for a substantial sixth figure is now visible in a central position on the battlements. It seems that this figure was replaced by a tree in the final version. It is possible that Khalid, in Horatian mode, at the gateway of the ‘Garden of Death’, may have been part of the artist’s original plan but was later discarded. Perhaps this may have been to avoid falling foul of the somewhat confused narrative sequence in the text, or to avoid distracting attention from Wahshi, whose actions have been planned as the main focus.49

In his accession notes, Ettinghausen remarks on the attempt to show an action in two spatial planes, rather than simple ribbon development, and suggests that this sets it apart from Injuid miniatures.45 The wall is a variation on the architectural forms already met in this manuscript, but the diagonal pattern of the brick-plugs is new, and of Saljuq rather than Ilkhanid type. The solid green cypress tree on the left of the picture has been outlined in gold.

The lesson

The story in general may read as the fate of one who dared to challenge the Prophet. However, the painting’s placement in the text focuses attention on the colourful character Wahshi, the Ethiopian warrior convert, who, on this occasion, outshines even Khalid ibn al-Walid, the famed commander of the Prophet’s victorious forces. The message is summed up by Khalid himself in his admiration of Wahshi’s skill as a fighter both before and after conversion, perhaps indicating that such prowess is valued as much

49 It is worth speculating that this painting may have been adapted from an existing cycle, now lost, dedicated to Khalid’s military exploits, perhaps to accompany an oral tradition. A famous cycle, but of later date, exists for the Prophet’s uncle, Hamza who Wahshi killed, namely the Ḥamzā-nāma.

45 Ettinghausen (unpublished)(a), p. 3.

44 I am most grateful to Professor Robert Hillenbrand for pointing this out to me.
within the Muslim community as outwith it.

Raff notes that Ibn Taymiyya, goaded by a Mongol who vaunted Ghazan's right to rule on the grounds that he came from the seventh generation of the blue-blooded Chinggizid line, whereas the Mamluk Sultan was the son of a masala with no recorded ancestry, uses the example of Ethiopian converts to expatiate on the theme that a believing slave is better than an infidel prince—even than the sons of Hashim, the House of the Prophet himself. Ibn Taymiyya quotes the Prophet's own words:

"Hear and obey, even if an Abyssinian slave, whose head appears (as black) as a dried grape, has been invested with authority over you."

In the light of Mamluk jibes, it may have been useful for recent Mongol converts to be acquainted with the story of Wahshi.

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Chapter 2

The encounter at Amarth during the Battle of Qadisiyya.

Published: Marteau and Vever (1913), i, pl. 48, no. 53.
Schulz (1914), pl. J (upper)

Dimensions

- folio: 410 x 285mm
- text block: 280 x 170mm
- painting: 76 x 170mm with flag into right hand margin and limbs
- and a flag into left hand margin.

Condition

Some loss of pigment.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 242a (61a) "About the Battle of Amarth"  

Following the capture of Baghdad by the Muslims, the Persians retreated to Ctesiphon (Mada'in), and the Arabs to the countryside (the Sawad). The newly crowned Yazdijird confirmed Rustam bin Farrukh as commander of the Persian forces, and ordered him to launch a fresh offensive against the Muslims. Rustam commenced by ordering the people of the Sawad to kill any Muslim they came across, and this they did.

In response, the Caliph 'Umar sent Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas with reinforcements, bringing the total to thirty-five thousand men, encamped at Qadisiyya. Diplomatic parleys followed, in which Sa'd sent a party of forty of his close associates to offer the Persians the options of conversion, paying tribute or war. Yazdijird replied by sending them back with a sack of earth. However, the Arabs chose to interpret this as indicating the land of Iran was about to fall into their hands. Rustam, a skilled astrologer, foresaw the Persian defeat both in the stars and in a dream, but nonetheless decided to fight.

Rustam arrayed the Persian army in battle formation, with the elephants in the vanguard. Sa'd, who was ill, sat with difficulty on his horse, and told the Muslim forces that the Persians would fall.

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Note:  
148 The spelling "Armârth" is used throughout the passage, however, in RAS 22 and in Feidmann's translation of Tabari "Armâth", al-Tabari-Friedmann (1992), p. 81.
to keep their eyes on him, and to attack when they heard him say: “God is great!” After
a little time, Sa’d gave the signal, the Muslims repeated the battle cry, and the attack
commenced. However, since the Arab cavalry could not break the phalanx of the
elephants, the Muslims dismounted and attacked them with swords and lances, causing
them to turn away. A fighter named Khalid bin 'Utba came out of the ‘Ajami ranks
and he called for an opponent, and ‘Asim bin ‘Umar bin al-Khattab, May God
be pleased with them, came out from the Muslim forces, and Khalid came, and
he killed Khalid. And Qurra bin ‘Asim came out from the ‘Ajami forces, and
called for another fighter, and ‘Amru bin Ma’di Karib came out and struck and
died him. Then another fighter came from the ‘Ajami ranks, wearing a golden
belt and dress of cloth of gold, and he called for an opponent. ‘Amru bin Ma’di
came out and fought with him, and they struggled together, and that fighter hit
‘Amru on the head, and ‘Amru returned the blow, and put out his hand

and grasped his belt, and pulled him from the saddle and carried him off to his
own camp. Then the elephants attacked, and the Arab horses were frightened.
A thousand cavalry dismounted, and attacked the elephants with arrows and
swords, so that they turned their backs. And then night fell, and the armies
returned to their camps. . And this day was called “The Day of Amarth”. And
the next day, the war continued, and that place is called Aghwath. And that
battle [i.e. Qadisiyya] was [over] three days; Amarth, Aghwath and 'Imas.

Illustration

The incidents described in the adjacent lines of text appear in the painting.

On the left, ‘Amru bin Ma’di Karib is seen plucking the Persian popinjay from his
saddle. This Persian has been given a crown, not mentioned in the text, but perhaps it is
intended to draw attention to the fall of the Sasanian monarchy following the battle. In
the background are a Persian standard bearer and archer, each with a black mop of hair
with frizzed edging. However, those wearing helmets and armour, whether Arab or
Persian, are depicted indiscriminately as Mongol warriors. Two dismounted cavalrymen
are shown attacking the elephant with sword and lance. The configuration of the two
figures atop the elephant is difficult to disentangle; it seems that the black-booted leg and
green surcoat belong to the hinder of the two, who may be holding a sling and missile, as
well as linking his right arm through the left arm of the archer, perhaps to steady him, as
he looses an arrow at 'Amru over the elephant's head. Behind the elephant's rump is a mounted standard bearer, who appears to be turning his horse away from the mêlée, in a further example of a sympathetically rendered equine stance. The same may be said of the partially visible yellow-coloured horse, recovering its balance with nose shot forward and raised knee after the loss of its rider, and the black, wall-eyed, white-muzzled horse taking the strain on its shoulders. The soldiers are unexpectedly moon-faced and pretty.

The lesson

The battle that marked the demise of the Sasanian dynasty and the establishment of Islam as the dominant power in Iran is an obvious choice for illustration in a history of prophets and kings. However, although the transfer of power may have lain behind the initial choice, the message has become visually diluted in the painting, which depicts a comparatively minor incident. A more important lesson appears to be that even with God on your side, horses are still likely to be scarified by elephants, and cavalry tactics should be adapted accordingly.

The section on Amarth as a whole, however, does include the description of the diplomatic parleys and the famous incident of the Muslim reinterpretation, in their own favour, of Yazdijird's insult—sending a bag of earth instead of tribute. The passage also includes the Sasanian general Rustam bin Farrukh foreseeing in the stars the forthcoming Sasanian defeat.
Chapter 2

The election of 'Uthman to the caliphate.

Published: Anet (1912), p. 11, illus. D.
          Kühnel (1939), pl. 8:6B.
          Washington (1971), p. 4, cat. no. 9 and fig. 9.

Dimensions

 folio: 410 x 285mm
 text block: 280 x 170mm
 painting: 90 x 170mm

Condition

Faces of 'Abd al-Rahman, 'Ali and 'Uthman rubbed; some general pigment loss.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 263b (82b) "About the council held after the death of 'Umar, and the caliphate of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, and mention of the people's swearing of allegiance".

On his deathbed the second of the four Orthodox Caliphs, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab (r. 13/634-23/644), nominated a council (shura) of six electors\(^{49}\) from among the Prophet's closest surviving associates. The shura was to meet in 'A'isha's house to select the next caliph from among themselves; in the event, the number was reduced to five, as Talha ibn 'Abd Allah was absent. If they were unable to reach a decision within three days, then 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf should arbitrate on the fourth, and, if his selection was disputed, the dissenter(s) should be murdered rather than risk dividing the loyalties of the Muslim community. 'A'isha's house was guarded by fifty of the Ansar. No decision was reached within the appointed time of three days, so 'Abd al-Rahman asked each of the nominees in turn who, apart from himself, he would chose as Caliph. In this manner, the field was reduced to 'Ali and 'Uthman. Accordingly, 'Abd al-Rahman went to the mosque (mazzal), seated himself on the minbar and called 'Ali and 'Uthman before him. However, 'Amru ibn al-'As, one of the most distinguished of the surviving Companions of

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\(^{50}\) The members of the shura were 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam, Talha ibn 'Abdullah, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas and 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf.
the Prophet, an Umayyad and thus a supporter of 'Uthman, intentionally jeopardised 'Ali's chances of selection by advising him to answer 'Abd al-Rahman's questions with caution rather than appear consumed with overweening ambition for Caliphal office.

... 'Abd al-Rahman took 'Ali's right hand and put it into his own ['Abd al-Rahman's] left hand, and put his own right hand on top of 'Ali's hand, for taking the oath. Then he said: "Oh 'Ali, do you swear before God, may He be honoured and glorified, to direct the affairs of the Muslims according to God's Book and the sunna (customs) of the Prophet, and the conduct (siyad) of the two previous caliphs, who succeeded the Prophet?" Remembering what 'Amru bin al-'As had said, 'Ali replied: "This would be difficult, because no one can know all the laws of God Almighty's book and the law and customs of the Prophet, but to the limit of my knowledge, I shall try, and will call on God for help." 'Abd al-Rahman, while keeping 'Ali's right hand in his own left hand, lifted his own right hand to the minbar,

[Painting]

and said to 'Ali: "I do not like this weakness." Then he said: "Oh, 'Uthman, come forward." 'Uthman came with haste, and he ['Abd al-Rahman] said to him: "Oh, 'Uthman, do you accept the articles and conditions of God, and the law and customs of the Prophet and the custom of the two caliphs?" 'Uthman said: "I accept." 'Abd al-Rahman put his right hand, which had been on 'Ali's, on 'Uthman's hand, to swear the oath, and said: "God's blessing be upon you for accepting what is asked of you." And the people stood up, and they paid their allegiance, and 'Ali said to 'Abd al-Rahman: "Deceit! You have defrauded me, and how have you deceived me!" and 'Ali turned to go. 'Abd al-Rahman and 'Uthman said to him: "Where are you going? Are you not going to swear the oath? Has God, may He be honoured and glorified, not said: "He who turns away, turns away from himself." Have you not undertaken to submit to my opinion? And did not 'Umar say: "Kill anyone who opposes 'Abd al-Rahman's opinion?" When 'Ali heard this, he returned, and put his hand on 'Uthman's and took the oath. Then he went home, and all the people swore their allegiance to 'Uthman.

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\[Sura 48:10.\]
The composition has been divided vertically into two zones, which may indicate the interior and exterior of 'A'isha's house, or, more likely, different ends of the room in which the shi'a was held. On the right hand side, the heads and shoulders of three heavily veiled women appear above the balustrade of a balcony. Despite their veiling, the painter has conveyed a twitter of excitement amongst them. Below them, two men with swords, perhaps representing the posse of Ansar guarding the house, and two unarmed figures, perhaps the other two members appointed to the shi'a, sit on their heels awaiting the outcome.

The left-hand side of the painting, against a background of scrolling vegetal arabesques, depicts the very moment of 'Abd al-Rahman releasing 'Ali's right hand after his unsatisfactory reply, while 'Uthman, standing in the foreground, proffers his. 'Abd al-Rahman has been given a green robe, while 'Ali's is brown and 'Uthman's grey-white. 'Abd al-Rahman has also been scaled larger than the other figures to express his authority as arbiter.

It is often said that only Muhammad sat on the top step of the minbar. Bal'ami is not specific as to which step 'Abd al-Rahman seated himself upon before testing 'Ali and 'Uthman. This is in contrast to Tabari, who implies that 'Abd al-Rahman first delivered his questions to the two protagonists while still standing "in the qibla", where he had been praying, and then states that he mounted the minbar and seated himself on the top step, in the Prophet's seat, with 'Uthman seated below him on the second step. In the painting, therefore, it is not clear whether the designer has seated 'Abd al-Rahman on the topmost step from knowledge of other sources or from ignorance that in religious circles it was a matter of dispute.

If the designer was depending merely on a pictorial prototype, then illustrations to the Maqâmât would have provided examples of teachers, judges and charlatans all seated on the top step of minbars, for example in the Sulaymaniye Maqâmât, probably from the reign of the last 'Abbasid caliph, al-Musta'sim (r. 640-46/1242-58 (Fig. 56).

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252 Becker considers this report, as found in Ya'qubi and Diyarbakri, to be tendentious and indicates Tabari's account as being important in this respect, Becker (1906), p. 335, n. 4.
253 Fol. 264b, l. 24: "Pas 'Abd al-Rahman bar minbar shud wa khusha kard ... ."
255 SL, Esad Efendi 2916, fol. 71a; published in Grabar (1963), pp. 97-109. An interesting contrast may be made with the image of the Prophet standing at the top of a minbar to preach against intercalation, in the Edinburgh al-Biruni of 707/1307 (EUL,
The lesson

The exchange recorded verbatim in the lines adjacent to the painting changed the course of Muslim history. The text and its illustration identify 'Uthman's positivist approach, quick thinking and political acumen, compared with 'Ali's indecision and failure to recognise Machiavellian intrigue in the political arena. An obvious conclusion to draw might be that a Sunni rather than Shi'i loyalty is implied. However, since 'Ali has already been depicted as the one who outwitted 'Amru bin 'Abd-Wudd at the Battle of the Ditch, the message would appear to be associated more with politics and the problems associated with the transfer of power than with specific sectarian polemics. In terms of Islamic history the election of 'Uthman marks a very serious turning-point in Islamic history, and is therefore crucial to an understanding of subsequent events; significant developments resulting from the *shari'a* are illustrated in the next painting in the cycle, the Battle of Siffin.

In terms of the transfer of power, the election of 'Uthman provides an important paradigm for issues associated with selecting a ruler; legitimacy of claim, ability versus blood, risks of civil war and factionalisation, the need for speed to avoid a power vacuum, and a precedent, on 'Umar's advice, for ruthlessly disposing of rivals and counter-claimants.

Arabic (61, fol. 6b); Soucek (1975), pp. 104–107 and fig. 1 (Fig. 88). As Soucek has pointed out, the inclusion of a *minbar* and the fact that the Prophet and his hearers are shown wearing ordinary dress, rather than the white are incorrect, since this address to the faithful took place on the plain of 'Arafa during the Farewell Pilgrimage (*Hajj al-Wada*'). Nonetheless, however, the artist has shown he was acquainted with the Muslim literary traditions by depicting the Prophet clutching the knobbed spindle at the top of the *minbar*’s stairs thus indicating his increasing frailty. The Bal‘ami designer may be exhibiting a similar attitude to adapting iconographies to suit his purpose.
Battle of Siffin.

Published: Marteau and Vever (1913), 1, pl. 48, no. 54.
Schulz (1914), 1, pl. K, no. 2.

Dimensions
folio: 410 x 285mm
text block: 280 x 170mm
painting: 127 x 170mm

Condition
Patch with replacement calligraphy at bottom left of text block; much loss of pigment; possibly some later re-outlining; ʔaʔaʔ ʕaʔ written between lines seven and eight has been rubbed, perhaps accidentally.

Text
Chapter heading: fol. 276b (195b) “About the Battle of Siffin.”

In the year 37/657, 'Ali and his Iraqi supporters inflicted a defeat on Mu'awiya and his Syrian troops. The fighting continued through the night with heavy losses to the Syrians, so that it became known as “laylat al-harrir”, “The night of the howling”, and in the morning it was not possible to walk because the dead lay so thick on the ground.

... And when dawn came, 'Ali again ranged his troops for battle and they recommenced the attack, and what remained of the Syrian army was put to flight, crying out: “Not a mortal among us will remain alive!” Mu'awiya was aghast, and 'Amru bin al-'As said: “Our idea is that we should put the Qur'an leaves (masha) on the tops of the spears, and call on them to make peace, and, if not, dissension will spread among them. Mu'awiya

ordered the Qur'an leaves to be put on the lances, and then shouted, saying: “Oh, men of Iraq, if there is no one left in Syria and Iraq, who will there be to profess Islam? I call upon you to submit to God's book, in which we both believe.”

The Iraqi army replied: “We agree.” 'Ali stepped out from the line and said [to


\footnote{'Amr is used in the Freer text.}
his army: "Oh men, it is not religion that has prompted this act, but a last resort. Keep on fighting for a little while, because victory is near. 'Amru bin al-'As employed this stratagem so that you would stop fighting." But the men would not listen, and they ['Ali's troops] split into two groups, and they came out of 'Ali's forces and said: "We cannot ignore God's book, and we cannot dismiss what is in it, and we removed 'Uthman because he did not act upon God's book." And Malik Ashtar was there, and he was still fighting. And they said to 'Ali: "If you do not recall Malik and act on the book of God, we will kill you and Malik, as we did 'Uthman."

Illustration

There is some discrepancy here between the text and the illustration, since 'Ali and his troops are shown pursuing the Syrians in full battle order, despite the fact that they have already put the Qur'an leaves on their lances which forced 'Ali to halt the fighting and accept the arbitration.

'Ali, on a pale horse, wielding Dhu'l-Faqar over his right shoulder, is seen bearing down on the fleeing Syrians with his Iraqi swordsmen. The Syrians, Parthian-like, look back over their shoulders at the enemy and the tips of their lances, on which oblong objects, presumably Qur'ans, are impaled. An angel, not described in the text, is seen descending with arms extended in a gracious gesture towards the Syrians, to the apparent horror of an Iraqi and several of the horses. At the foot of the composition, an archer, leaping forward with a Jaziran stride, is loosing a flight of arrows which have already felled a figure in Arab dress, who lies prostrate and pincushioned. This single figure without armour may have been drawn over a previous, possibly armoured, corpse. Two decapitated heads also roll in the dust.

The lesson

In general terms, this painting depicts the mayhem and slaughter of the last phase of the Battle of Siffin, but also appears to have been conflated with subsequent incidents in a somewhat random fashion. It abuts the text which quotes Mu'awiya's "cri de coeur," ostensibly for unity under the authority of the Qur'an to ensure the survival of Islam, which was, in fact, intended to force a caesura in 'Ali's military success. The sequence of incidents at Siffin therefore provides a further example of ruse in warfare as well as another of 'Ali being outwitted and out-voted in arbitration, even though the day might have been his in military terms. He is, however, given primacy of size and space and cast in a valiant pose, in keeping with the iconography of the brave warrior afforded him
This is despite the fact that he is shown threatening those who hold aloft leaves from the Qur'an, and it is also notable that the leaderless Syrians, although in undignified retreat, are being blessed by an angel with arms outstretched in a gesture of protection. It is difficult to see the religious iconography of this painting as being other than confused.

As a historical landmark, 'Ali's compromise at Siffin paved the way for the Umayyad seizure of power, but it is noticeable that not even in the context of this battle is an Umayyad ruler actually depicted, even though it is Mu'awiya's words that head the painting. A chance has also been missed to depict the Qur'an as the bedrock of the Islamic state, since it is shown, if inaccurately, as in retreat before 'Ali and his forces. However, that the text addresses problems arising from division within the community cannot be denied, and the cautions are against Machiavellian motives and disastrous, if honourable, political gullibility.

From another point of view, "The Battle of Siffin" considered in tandem with "The Election of 'Uthman to the caliphate", may also be seen as visually encapsulating, with a minimum of sectarian polemic, crucial steps in the development of the Shi'i schism.

For example in the image of the Battle of Badr (Pl. 28), in addition to text and image for the Battle of the Ditch (Pl. 31) and the Battle of Hunayn (Pl. 32). This has been by Soucek (1988), p. 197. The possibility that this image owes a debt to an unidentified 'Alid cycle must also be considered.

In this respect it is not unlike the battle scene used to illustrate the execution of the worshippers of the golden calf, which is described in the text as an orderly, if extremely bloody, affair.
Chapter 2

F47.19f, fol. 339a (158a), (Pl. 37)

Abu’l-‘Abbas al-Saffah is proclaimed the first ‘Abbasid Caliph.

Published: Schulz (1914), 1, pl. J (lower).

Dimensions

folio: 410 x 285mm

text block: 280 x 170mm

painting: 95 x 170mm

Condition

Much pigment lost; some evidence of face rubbing.

Additional information

“Waif,” written between lines six and seven, has been rubbed.

Text

Chapter heading: fol. 338b (157b) “About the caliphate of Abu’l-‘Abbas al-Saffah

[bin] ‘Abdallah bin al-‘Abbas, May God be pleased with them.”

Supporters of the ‘Alid claim to the caliphate joined forces with the ‘Abbasids in
their revolt against the Umayyads, in the belief that, in the event of victory, the caliphate
would be returned to a descendant of the Prophet’s blood line. However, following the
fall of Iraq and Kufa in 132/749, Bu Salama Khallal, the vizier of the extended clan
descended from the Prophet’s grandfather, Hashim, summoned them all to the Great
Mosque, unarmed, unmounted and dressed in black, to elect the most suitable from
among them as caliph. Bu Salama then put forward the Hashimite claimant, ‘Abd Allah
bin Muhammad bin ‘Ali bin ‘Abd Allah bin al-‘Abbas [Abu’l-‘Abbas], rather than the
Shi’a choice of a direct descendant of the Prophet through ‘Ali and Fatima. Abu’l-
‘Abbas was elected caliph on a majority vote, and summoned for investiture. He arrived
riding a female camel,56 dressed in black, and wearing a black turban. As it was Friday,
‘Abul ‘Abbas mounted the minbar and delivered an eloquent sermon (khutba) on paradise
and hell, pious and evil deeds. He called on the people to be righteous, saying: “Oh
people, take the oath and do not object, because it is the first legitimate oath you will
have taken since the death of the Prophet, may blessings and peace be upon him and the

1042–1044, especially p. 1043; Bel’ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1993[b]), pp. 21–23 especially
p. 22.

56 The Freer text and Rawshan give “mada shurut” (female camel), while Zotenberg
gives a translation of ‘mule’, suggesting “satar” in the text he chose to follow.
imams who followed him. You have been subdued and oppressed, and we also, with you, were in defeat until God, may He be honoured and glorified, chose one of our faction in Khurasan to proclaim our right and avenge us. Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds.” Then he descended from the minbar and stepping forward, led the Friday prayers.

fol. 158a, l. 18

... When he had finished, he sat beside the minbar and extended his hand for the swearing of allegiance, and the crowd rushed forward in such numbers that they broke down the sacred door of the maqṣura. And this day was the 12th of Rabi' al-Awwal, in the year 132[H.]. And this was

[Painting]

the first ruler of the sons of 'Abbas, and his name was 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad bin 'Ali, bin 'Abd Allah bin al-'Abbas, and his mother was a woman of the Banu Hashim, of the descendants of Harith bin Ka'b. And Marwan bin Muhammad was staying at Harran that day, and when he heard that the people had sworn allegiance to the son of 'Abbas, he took Ibrahim bin Muhammad, the brother of 'Abu'l-'Abbas, prisoner and killed him, and decided to go to war with the Banu Hashim. He called Isma'il ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qushayri, and said:

fol. 158b

“Abu Muslim, with the Banu Hashim, has taken Khurasan, and 'Abd Allah bin Muhammad has taken Iraq, and the people have sworn allegiance to him. You are my deputy, what is your advice in this situation, and what should be done?” Isma'il said: “Tell me what your own wish is, so that I may advise what should be done” Marwan said: “My intention is to arise, with my own people, and go to one of the towns of Rum, and stay there, and then write to the King of Rum and ask him for help against the enemy.” Isma'il said: “May God hold you back from this plan of entrusting your children to the apostates. You know that this is not the right thing to do. If anything happens to you in Rum, your House will not be able to help you. I see it this way, that you should cross the Euphrates and go to Syria, and when they see you, no one will point at you, and you may stay in Syria as long as you wish. Otherwise, you should go to Africa, which is better than Rum.” Marwan said: “You are right. At the Hashims! [Ya bā ḥāšim]. I would like to strike a blow, to see what happens, and if it goes my way, so much the better, and if not, I will go to Syria.”
Illustration

Within a simple strip format, the throne itself has been off-set to the left, with the figure of al-Saffah scaled larger than those in the two ranks of supporters ranked around him.64 The front row of figures are all wear turbans and Arab dress, while three of the four guards in the second row wear Mongol hats, although the fourth is also turbaned. Ettinghausen noted that all the turbans are black, but only the Caliph wears a black garment.65 Only hints of the garment's colour now remain, and these suggest that a dark blue-grey may have been used here, rather than the pitch-black usual to this manuscript. To the Caliph's right, a vizieral figure, probably the Hashimite, Bu Salama Khallal, is stepping forward to place his right hand on the finialed pillar of the throne’s back rest, probably an indication of fealty. The figure to the Caliph's left is seated on a stool, of the type with curved legs jointed by globes.66 This would indicate he is of higher status than the two beside him, seated on their heels. These three indicate the throne with their left hands. The figure seated on a stool, gazing fixedly at the Caliph, cannot be identified from the adjacent text, but is probably intended as a symbolic ‘Alid, since an abbreviated version of Dhu’l-Faqar protrudes from beneath his left armpit. His left hand is half-raised in a somewhat lukewarm salutation, and his right is either behind the bolster supporting the Caliph’s back, or, more likely, in his lap, beneath the two-bladed sword. Either way, by comparison with Bu Salama, this figure’s pose suggests an oath of allegiance taken with reluctance. In addition, he has been given the profile of a grotesque.

The lesson

The two lines of text immediately above and below the painting identify the enthroned figure as al-Saffah, state his genealogy and progress immediately prior to the Umayyad response following the ‘Abbasid seizure of power. The positioning of the painting between these lines suggests that a positive decision has been taken to illustrate the fait accompli and its aftermath, rather than the dramatic incidents attending the election itself. A depiction of the “unanimous vote”, would have suited an overtly pro-’Abbasid image, and provided the artist with a chance to depict a mosque interior.65 These have

64 The similarities between the figure of the Caliph and the standing figure to his right, and Sulayman and his adiviser, Asaf, (Pl. ii), suggest that the same prototype may have been used for both.
65 Ettinghausen (unpublished)(a), P. 5.
66 The twelfth-century Iranian example of this type of stool, and depictions in Baghdad School and Jaziran illustrated manuscripts, have been documented in Kurz (1972), pp. 302-303, and illus. 5-6.
67 Beloved of illustrators of Hariri’s Majāma‘; see, for example, the St Peters burg manuscript (OIAS, S. 23, fols 256 and 250, illustrated in Ettinghausen (1962), pp. 106-107.
been eschewed, however, in favour of yet another exterior enthronement scene.

Following the usual formula of hierarchic scaling, the ‘Abbasid ruler is depicted as significantly more substantial than those around him. The out-manoeuvred ‘Alid, although honourably placed on the Caliph’s left, is portrayed here as comically obsequious, and al-Saffah’s enthusiastic Hashimite advisor, Bu Salama, scaled smaller than the ‘Alid figure, stands at the Caliph’s right with his hand on the throne, probably in a gesture of fealty. This image therefore provides a useful summary of the political and religious status quo following the crucial revolution of 132/749. It also may be seen as joining the select company of the frontispiece and the illustration to the Prophet’s genealogy as a symbolic rather than narrative image; this symbolic presentation of the transfer of power at a watershed of Islamic history is further clarified by the text which follows, describing the dilemma of the deposed Umayyad ruler, Marwan bin Muhammad.

The short passage which concludes the chapter on the accession of al-Saffah, deals succinctly with the choices open to Marwan bin Muhammad: fight or flight, and, if flight, how to decide where to seek protection. Marwan suggests first seeking refuge in Rum and then approaching the Byzantine Emperor for support. His advisor, Isma’il bin ‘Abd Allah al-Qushayri, greets this plan with horror, and advises him to go to Syria. The rationale behind this advice is that however bad things may be at home, to fraternise with the Dār al-Ḥarb, beyond the Islamic pale, puts kin at the mercy of apostates and risks political isolation within the Dār al-Īslām, rendering the internal rallying of forces far more difficult. Sage advice indeed!

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In this manuscript where enthroned figures are regularly positioned to the left of the composition seats of honour are ranged to the right, that is, on the ruler’s left. See for example Figs 11, 12, 13a, 15 and 22.

The section heading on folio 158b, “The coming of Marwan bin Muhammad from Haran to Mosul and his war with ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Ali”, which follows the enthronement scene of al-Saffah, is written in the largest size of characters employed for headings and across the whole width of the folio (Pl. 46). The possible significance of Mosul for this manuscript will be mentioned hereafter.
Chapter 2

Babak parleys with the Afshin Haydar, the Caliph al-Mu'tasim's general.

Published: Marteau and Vever (1913), vol. 1, pl. 47, no. 52.
Schulz (1914), vol. 1, pl. 11
Blochet (1926), pl. 2

Dimensions

folio: 410 x 285mm

text block: 280 x 170mm

painting: 93 x 170mm plus a single step extension at top right
115 x 118mm

Condition

Considerable loss of pigment; no intentional defacement.

Text 468

Chapter heading. fol. 359b (178b), “Concerning Babak al-Khurrami and his battles with the Afshin.”

The heresiarch Babak carried out a successful military campaign against the caliphate over a period of some twenty years, between 202-223/816-838. 469 The Caliph al-Mu'tasim (r. 218-227/833-842) assigned the renowned Turkic commander from Ushtrushana, the Afshin Haydar,70 together with his lieutenants, the Bukhara Khadiv71, and a Caliphal detachment of ten thousand men under Ja'far al-Khayyat, with orders not to return to Baghdad until he had extirpated Babak. After many reverses, the Afshin pinioned Babak in his mountain fastness in Azerbaijan.

fol. 181b, 1. 2

... The Afshin sent Ja'far, telling him to go to war with his supporters, and then he sent Bukhara Khadiv with his (Bukhara Khadiv's) own troops, and all the commanders with their armies lined up for prayer [before the fortress]. The


469 Browne (1906), vol. 1, p. 329. Babak was ultimately defeated by the by Afshin, and put to death by the Caliph al-Mu'tasim.

70 “Afshin” being a title, he was known both as “the Afshin” as well as “the Afshin Haydar”. There being no definite article in Persian he was also referred to “Afshin”.

71 Zotenberg uses the form “Bukhārā Khudā”, as does Bosworth, preceded by the definite article, al-Tabari-Bosworth tr. (1991), pp. 57ff.; Rawshan uses “Bukhārā Khadiv”, as in the Freer manuscript.
Afshin was there with his elite troops, and they stood prepared for war. The Afshin ordered the drummers to beat the drums, and the infantry, who had gone to sleep after the evening prayer, heard the drums,

[Painting: line above upper extension]
and knew that the Afshin had come, and they went into battle. The armies raised the banners, and all who were there went to the fortress and beat the drums, and went up the hill with the banners and set themselves in ambush.

And when the drums and banners came into view, the Afshin sent someone to Ja'far saying: “This is our ambush. Fear not, for I set them in place last night.” And those forces ambushed Adhayn” and they fought. And when Babak saw they had surrounded him on two sides, he knew that he was lost and went up to the battlements, and looking down said: “Oh, Muslims, tell the Afshin to come forward, so that I may tell him something.” The Afshin came forward to the wall of the fortress.

[third line above lower section]
When Babak saw him, he cried out saying: “Oh, Amir, grant me protection”. The Afshin said: “I will grant you protection. It would have been better if you had said this to me before, but since you are asking me today, it is better than tomorrow.” And Babak said: “I want the protection of the Commander of the Faithful, signed and sealed by him in person, and until it arrives, I wish to stay in the fortress.” And the Afshin said: “I will seek the the Commander of the Faithful’s protection for you, personally signed and sealed, but give me a hostage while I wait and send the letter to the Commander of the Faithful requesting the letter of protection for you.” Babak said: “The hostage will be my eldest son, and he is with Adhayn, who is still fighting. I will give him to you as hostage.” The Afshin responded, and retired, and sent someone to Ja’far, saying: “Do not kill but capture whoever you can, and if the son of Babak is there, do not kill him, since Babak has asked for protection. If we kill his son, he will regret asking for protection.” So the troops stopped their killing, and Babak’s son was taken as hostage and brought back to the camp. That night, [the Afshin] wrote a letter to Mu’tasim and gave him news of the battle, and asked him about his health, and requested a letter of protection for Babak, with the signature and seal of Mu’tasim. And those who sought protection along with Babak, scattered into the

Zotenberg uses the form “Adsin”, while Rawshan uses “Adhayn” as in the Freer text.
mountains, and no one came back to the fortification. And during the night, Babak escaped from the fortress and went towards Armenia.

Illustration

In his accession notes, Ettinghausen observes that the action is depicted on two levels, as in the "The death of Musaylima", but this time the main action is seen in the upper section of the painting. However, the text referring to the parley flanks the lower section and continues beneath the painting.

The pictorial narrative sequence therefore reads from the bottom upwards, with the ambush preceding the parley. This is logical in terms of the composition, as the engagement took place at the foot of the fortress. However, in terms of propinquity to relevant text, the lines describing Babak and the Afshin's parley are now above and below the depiction of the ambush, while the textual description of the ambush unfolds alongside the fortress scene.

Babak is portrayed as a turbaned and bearded Arab in the manner of Biblical–Qur'anic prophets in this manuscript. He is leaning forward over the battlements to speak with the Afshin, who, on his black horse, is cast as a Mongol warrior. The second figure on the battlements is probably Babak's brother, 'Abdallah, who is described subsequently as escaping with him to Armenia. This suggests that the small and sweet-faced but armoured figure in the doorway, on a diminutive mount with back turned head, with his hand raised to his mouth in a gesture of amazement or fear, is probably intended as Babak's eldest son, whom he offered as a hostage. The son, however, according to his father, is with Adhayn, Babak's commander who is still fighting at the time of the parley.

The architecture of Babak's mountain fastness, has been painted as yellow brick with pinkish brick plugs forming a diaper pattern, similar to the wall of the "Garden of Death" (Pl. 33). Zig-zag of parti-coloured crenellations, create the impression of a curtain wall snaking round a rugged mountain top. The topmost horizontal of the zig-zag forms the parapet on which Babak and his brother stand on either side of a blue dome. Behind the cresting of coloured crenellations, two corner embrasures, of unequal size, rise at each end of the parapet; it appears that the dome was an afterthought in the design process. The rider emerging through the doorway suggests a bent entrance, particularly

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as the horse is doubling back so sharply.\footnote{Ettinghausen notes the ochre background behind the figure, but offers no reason for it Ettinghausen (unpublished)(a), p. 5.}

In the lower section of the painting, two token posses of three cavalry a-piece, on unusually lack-lustre mounts, represent the confrontation between the troops of Ja'far and Adhayn; there is no way of differentiating between them. They have been interleaved between parallel ridges, one of grey-blue and the other ochre, but both with gold skylines and filled with loose, rippled striations. The cavalry at the foot of the composition appear unusually docile for this manuscript. This may reflect the prototype from which several features of this painting may have been drawn.\footnote{Features of architecture, mountains and animal drawing in this painting may be paralleled in the Syrian Jacobite Lectionary of 1260 (BA, Syriaco 599); this will be discussed further in Chapter Five.}

The lesson

Despite the fact that the pictorial narrative reads from the bottom upwards, it is the parley and its aftermath, immediately beneath the painting, which are clearly the focus of the attention here. The equally action-packed story of how Babak was finally run to ground, captured, transported to Samarra and executed has not been selected for illustration. Instead we have an example of the ethics and dilemmas facing the commander who is dispatched to capture an opponent of political importance. The Afshin's major error is shown in behaving in an honourable fashion and trusting Babak's word. This causes him to committed two major errors: first, he loses the initiative to Babak who plays for time by requesting a document personally signed and sealed by the caliph; second, he accepts as a hostage Babak's son who is neither with his father nor, as yet, captured. The Afshin behaved as if Babak was already in leg-irons, when in fact he was still foot-loose.

Overview of the lessons

The question of themes will be discussed in Chapter Four. However, although a story may carry more than one lesson, in broad terms, five main topics may be seen to have emerged:

i. Conversion to monotheism.
This category includes the subjugation of the spirit world, the conversion of rulers and nations, the support for the Omnipotent for His chosen people and the fate of infidels and apostates:

Hushang and the 

Ibrahim and Namrud; Musa and Fir'awn; the Banu Isra'il and the golden calf; Musa and the giant 'Uj ibn 'Anaq; Dawud and Jalut; Sulayman and Bilqis; Yunus and the whale; the exorcism of the Yemenite temple by the Jewish doctors; the miraculous preservation of the Ka'ba; the genealogy of the Prophet; Muhammad converts the 

ii. The transfer of power.

Although the transfer of power may be presented in terms of the Divine Will and God supporting His chosen ruler, the following lessons addressed modes of succession and the virtues expected of the ruler:

Hushang; Manuchihr; Kay Khusraw and Afrasiyab; Iskandar and Dara; Ardashir; Bahram Gur; Nushirwan and Dhu-Yazan; the Battle of Qadisiyya; the Battle of Siffin, the election of 'Uthman to the caliphate; the election of al-Saffah to the caliphate.

iii. Military affairs and tactics.

Bahram Gur in India; Abraha and Aryat; Nushirwan and Dhu-Yazan; Wahraz and Masruq; Khusraw Parwiz and Bahram Chubin; the Prophet's battles and the ultimate military success of Islam; the death of Musaylima; the Battle of Qadisiyya, the Battle of Siffin; the enthronement of al-Saffah.

iv. State administration and diplomacy, including judicial affairs.

Hushang; Yusuf and Zulaykha and Yusuf and his brothers; Manuchihr; Sulayman and Bilqis; Kay Khusraw and Afrasiyab; Iskandar and Dara; Bahram Gur; Nushirwan and Dhu-Yazan; Wahraz and Masruq; the election of 'Uthman to the caliphate; the enthronement of al-Saffah.

v. Rights of passage from youth to adulthood.

Hushang's killing of the lion; Yusuf and Zulaykha; Dawud's slaying of Jalut; Bahram Gur's hunting feat; the purification of Muhammad's heart.

However, the texts adjacent to the paintings in the Freer Bal'ami are the tip of a textual iceberg: what, then, of the other nine-tenths of the text?
Chapter Three

The Text'

Why it is necessary to look more closely at the text of the Freer Bal'ami

As mentioned briefly in the Introduction, in the year 352/963, in the city of Bukhara, the eighth ruler of the Samanid dynasty, Mansur b. Nuh (r. 350–365/961–976), sent an order via his mentor and faithful ally, the “kingmaker” Abu'l-Hasan al-Fa’iq al-Khassa, to his minister Abu ‘Ali Bal’ami, to prepare translations into court Persian (dāšt) of Muhammad b. Jarir al-Tabari’s “Great History” (Tarikh-i buzurg/kabir) and “Commentary on the Qur’an” (Tafsīr-i buzurg/kabir). In his two articles, Professor Elton Daniel has cogently raised the problems surrounding Bal’ami’s texts and the circumstances associated with their commission.

In “Manuscripts and Editions of Bal’ami’s Tanjamahi Tarikh-i Tabari”, published in 1990, Daniel focuses primarily upon the manuscript tradition and the identification, as far as possible, of Bal’ami’s original text. The alternative Arabic and Persian prefaces, three main redactions, and the disparities between them and Tabari’s original are discussed, and an annotated list of one hundred and sixty-one manuscript copies are listed.

In 1995, in “The Samanid ‘Translations’ of Tabari”, a paper delivered at the International Conference on ‘The Life and Works of Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabarī’ at the University of St Andrews and currently awaiting publication, Daniel presses his

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1 I am aware that in this chapter I am relying heavily upon Elton Daniel’s research which is still in progress and may undergo further refinement. I would like to express my warmest thanks to Professor Daniel not only for permission to mine his forthcoming article, but also for the copy of his database of section headings. The database records the section headings for the Muslim period from a sample of fifteen Bal’ami manuscripts, six of which bear fourteenth-century dates with a seventh datable to the fourteenth century. This information has enabled me to identify the redaction of the Freer text, and suggest where it is most likely to belong within the corpus. This would have been beyond the scope of this dissertation without Professor Daniel’s generosity.


3 Daniel notes that in the prefaces to the ‘translations’ Tabari’s works are not referred to by their full Arabic titles and that the use of the Persian or Arabic adjective varies, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [3] and n. [31]; in the preface to the Freer text the history is referred to, somewhat familiarly, as “Tarikhnāma-yi Pisar-i Jarir.” Professor Daniel’s forthcoming article will be referred to as “Daniel (forthcoming)”, with its temporary page and footnote numbers in square brackets. Meisami (1999) includes references to the same typescript but without the use of square brackets.

Chapter 3

researches further. The wording of the prefaces to the 'translations' are analysed and anomalies between the 'translation' programme, as described in the commission, and the end result of heavily revised and augmented texts are identified. Daniel seeks to explain these anomalies in terms of a specific political-religious Samanid agenda, primarily aimed at underpinning the regime at a period of crisis. It included 'hijacking' and radically reworking Tabari's texts as part of an educational programme designed to consolidate an ethnically and culturally diverse population within orthodox Islam and under Samanid rule. The result was a set of texts of considerable originality and historical importance in their own right.

The Freer Gallery's manuscript of Bal'ami's text is the only illustrated copy known to have survived from the fourteenth century, with the next illustrated examples, as far as I am aware, dating from the second half of the fifteenth. The lack of text and illustration studies, even for these later manuscripts, increases the need to place the Freer copy, as far as possible, within the corpus of fourteenth-century unillustrated survivals, before attempting to explain how and why it came to be illustrated.

As Daniel pointed out in 1990, the manuscripts of Bal'ami's so-called 'translation' represent "an exceptionally fluid textual tradition." It is no longer possible to identify with certainty the definitive form of Bal'ami's original text(s). However, the tradition as a whole is characterised by two distinct prefaces, one in Arabic and one in Persian, both

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5 Daniel (forthcoming), [p. 11].
6 Julie Scott Meisami has synthesised both of Daniel's articles and commented and expanded upon his argument in: "Manṣūr ibn Nuḥ and the Persian Ṭabarī", in Meisami (1999), pp. 23-37. The page numbers cited by Meisami for the St Andrew's paper are those of the typescript. Meisami has not clouded her synthesis with questions of which parts of Bal'ami's narrative may be associated with particular redactions of the text.
7 As mentioned in the Introduction, the next illustrated copy is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (CBL, Persian 144), dated 874/1469-70, Arberry (1962), p. 79. An undated copy, in the late-Timurid style, was sold in Paris in 1998, Drouot Richelieu (1998), pp. 73-79; I am most grateful to Laure Soulé for information on this manuscript. Text and illustration studies for these have not, so far, appeared in print. Also as noted in the Introduction, the Freer Bal'ami is cited in Daniel's list as: "Unknown, Kevorkian Manuscript. Date: 13thC? Comments: Another specimen of an illustrated manuscript of the work. See P.W. Schulz, Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei (Leipzig, 1914), p. 74 (plate H-K); Storey, 1/i: 63; Bregel, i: 284", Daniel (1990), p. 321. However, in his forthcoming article, Daniel amends this reference and cites Soucek (1988) in his bibliography. The Chester Beatty Library and Freer Gallery manuscripts are the only two illustrated versions included in Daniel's list. The implications of two illustrated copies in Daniel's total of one hundred and sixty-one will be considered in Chapter Five.
8 Daniel (1990), p. 299. The redactions and Daniel's rationales for them will be discussed below.
9 Daniel (1990), p. 303.
of which appear to date from the Samanid period and provide related, but not identical, information on the commission and Balʿami’s methodology. According to Daniel’s analysis, the surviving manuscripts fall into three broadly coherent groups. These have been designated by him as the “abbreviated”, the “full” and the “late” redactions. Within these groups, which were all current in the fourteenth century, there are also variants, and by that date the choice of preface was no longer invariably specific to a particular version.

The Freer copy opens with the Persian preface and, as I shall attempt to show, follows most closely the “abbreviated” redaction in the sequencing of its chapter headings and in the subject matter ‘excluded’ from the narrative.

Daniel suggests that whereas the “late” redaction may be Ghaznavid or Saljuq, the “full” and the “abbreviated” redactions probably relate to two Samanid versions of Balʿami’s original text. However, in terms of surviving copies, apart from one

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Daniel (1990) especially pp. 294–304: “Reconstruction of the text”. Daniel notes that although Zotenberg classifies the manuscripts used for his translation as “la rédaction primitive”, “nouvelle rédaction” and a composite version containing elements of the first two, “la rédaction remaniée”, he fails to clarify the criteria used to identify the categories, Daniel (1990), p. 296 and n. 44. While appreciating Zotenberg’s role in making a readable version available to a general public, Daniel regrets that Zotenberg’s principal reliance on inferior copies, and lack of appreciation of the underlying textual problems, now renders his version unsuitable for serious research, Daniel (1990), pp. 304–305. This is demonstrated by the texts for the first two paintings in the Freer cycle: Hushang and the disas and Ibrahim’s confrontation with Namrud. First, the story of Hushang and the disas is entirely absent from Zotenberg’s version, Bel’ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984(a)), p. 96. Second, in Zotenberg’s version the two incidents shown in the painting—Ibrahim’s trial by fire and Namrud’s flight to heaven—follow each other without a break. In the Freer text, however, the chapters describing the two incidents are separated by the substantial section (seventy-two lines of text) on Ibrahim’s exodus to Harran, Bel’ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984(a)), pp. 131–135 and pp. 136–141. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Zotenberg also provides a different version of the reasons why Namrud returned to earth from his celestial journey. These disparities are particularly baffling if Daniel is correct in identifying RAS 22, dated 701/1302, as Zotenberg’s Ms “E”, which includes the same variants as in the Freer text, Daniel (1990), p. 315; Bel’ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1867) vol. 1, p. vii; Morley (1854), pp. 17–20. Since Zotenberg does not identify his sources for individual passages there is no simple explanation.

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Daniel (1990), p. 298. A list of dated fourteenth-century copies, extracted from Daniel’s annotated list, will follow.

Daniel (1990), pp. 300–301.

Daniel (forthcoming), specifically p. [8]. Daniel has modified his view since 1990, when he considered that the “abbreviated” might be closer to the original. As the Freer text belongs to this group, it is worth noting his reasons at that time:

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fragmentary and problematic copy dated 586/1190, the earliest securely dated manuscripts of the *Tārīkh* come, in a clutch, from the Islamic period of Ilkhanid rule.\footnote{Mashhad, Astan-i Quds 129 (741).}

An overview of the history of Tabari’s and Bal‘ami’s texts and an identification of the redaction followed most closely by the Freer scribe are important because:

i. the subject matter included or excluded varies considerably between Tabari’s text and the Bal‘ami redactions; this affects the balance and emphasis of the historical narrative, and may affect the choice of illustrations;

ii. since the Freer manuscript is undated, the earliest dated examples of the text itself provide a tentative *terminus post quem* for its production;

iii. kindred manuscripts in the group provide comparisons for variables such as chapter headings, protocols, blessings and curses, which may offer preliminary clues to the place of production, religious and political orientation of the scribe or patron and even an intended readership or audience;

iv. Daniel’s analysis of the circumstances in 352/963 which prompted Bal‘ami’s commission, suggests that Tabari’s works were originally ‘edited’ for a society in religious and political transition. Although Bal‘ami’s originals clearly underwent changes over time, the redaction followed by the Freer scribe appears to correspond to the group which includes the earliest complete examples of the text. This, the most “abbreviated” of the redactions, may have been produced under Bal‘ami’s auspices shortly after the completion of his more lengthy original, for purposes of popular instruction.

\footnote{The possible implications of this will be considered in Chapter Five.}
It is not possible to prove that the redaction chosen for the Freer text was a specific selection from more than one available version. However, I hope to demonstrate that the "abbreviated" version was particularly well suited to a comparable political and religious situation at a major turning-point in Ilkhanid history—the years following Ghazan's conversion in 1295, aspects of have been discussed in Chapter One.\(^6\)

Schema of chapter

1. The authors and their Histories:

Tabari. The scholar and his Ta'rikh
   Tabari the scholar
   Tabari's Ta'rikh
   Tabari or Bal'ami? The Persian 'translation'

Bal'ami. The vizier and his Tarikh\(^7\)
   Bal'ami the vizier
   Bal'ami's Tarikh
   The prefaces and interpolated texts:
   The Arabic preface
   The Persian preface
   Interpolated texts
   The commission
   Subject matter
   Religious orientation
   The redactions
     The "late" redaction
     The "full" redaction
     The "abbreviated" redaction

2. The text of the Freer Bal'ami
   The redaction
   Hierarchies of emphasis
   Section headings emphasised by additional ruling lines
   Section headings assigned a full text line
   Colour in the section headings
   Size of calligraphy in the section headings
   Religious orientation

Summary

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\(^6\) Pointers towards this argument will be noted in this chapter and discussed further in an overview in Chapter Five. I am aware that each of the three sections in this chapter justifies a chapter in its own right, but this has not, alas, been possible within the scope of this dissertation.

\(^7\) The Persian spelling of Tarikh will be used hereafter for Bal'ami's work.
Chapter 3

1. The authors and their Histories

Tabari. The scholar and his Ta'rikh

Tabari, the scholar

"Abū Dja'far Muhammad b. Djarir b. Yazid al-Tabari, polymath, whose expertises included tradition and law but who is most famous as the supreme universal historian and Kur'an commentator of the first three or four centuries of Islam, born at Amul in Tabaristan in the winter of 224-5/839, died in Baghdad in 310/923."

Tabari, left home at the age of twelve to pursue his studies at Ray. In receipt of a modest but adequate income from the family's estates in Tabaristan, Tabari chose to remain a fiercely independent scholar all his life, declining offers of substantial court patronage apart from short periods of pressing financial need. After studying in Ray, he pursued his education in Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Egypt before settling in Baghdad around the year 256/870, and devoting the remaining fifty years of his life to teaching and authorship.

Tabari's output was prodigious: he was most famous as the author of Mukhtasār ta'rikh al-nusul wa'l-mula w'dal-bý, da'Ja-' (The short work on the history of the prophets, kings and caliphs), commonly referred to as Tabari's Ta'rikh (History), which spanned from the

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10 "In his continuation of Tabari's History, al-Farghani stated that some unnamed disciples of Tabari had figured out that if one took the number of folios of his works and divided it by the number of days from his puberty to his death at the age of eighty-six, one would find that he wrote fourteen (!) folios every single day (which would amount to roughly 350,000 folios), al-Tabari–Rosenthal tr. (1989), p. 32 (the exclamation mark is Rosenthal's). This arbitrary calculation by Tabari's admirers of the speed with which he composed and transferred great thoughts onto paper, should neither be compared with the output of a professional 'copyist', nor used as evidence that he penned all his own works.

11 According to Rosenthal, this is the most authentic of its titles, being indicated by Tabari himself in the colophon of one of the manuscripts, but he also refers to it as "The short work on the history of the prophets and kings", and variations on the title were used by other historians, even though its fame rendered the simple Ta'rikh entirely adequate, al-Tabari–Rosenthal tr. (1989), pp. 130-131.
Creation to the year 302/915, and for commentaries on the Qur'an, including his 
\textit{jam'i\textquoteright} al-bay\textacuted{\textacute{a}}n 'an tawd'ul ay al-Qur'an (The complete clarification of the interpretation of the verses 
of the Qur'an), commonly referred to simply as his \textit{Taj\textacute{u}}r (Commentary). These were 
the works of Bal\textquoteright ami's commission.

According to Rosenthal and Bosworth, Tabari's dogmatic beliefs were at base 
those of "orthodox" Islam as conceived by Ibn Hanbal (164–241/780–855), with whom he 
had hoped to study but who died shortly before Tabari's arrival in Baghdad. Subsequently he came to the opinion that Ibn Hanbal was important as a scholar of hadith 
rather than jurisprudence, and questioned the authority of Hanbalite legal decisions. 
This led to a rift between him and the madhhhab, which remained unreconciled. On 
questions of the imamate and leadership of the Muslim community, he was a "a stout 
defender" of the pre-eminence of all the first four caliphs, including 'Ali. This was even 
at a time when Shi'ism was gathering momentum and Shi'ite tendencies were likely to be 
construed even from mild expressions of admiration for the Prophet's family. As Rosenthal says:

\begin{quote}
"While Tabari's personal identification with "orthodox" attitudes cannot be 
doubted, he appears to have tried to be even-handed in an objective and scholarly 
manner, much to the embarrassment of later sunni authors."
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item According to the \textit{Fihrist} of Ibn al-Nadim (d. 380/990–1), he finished dictating in 
234, l. 24.
105–6, followed by a full description, pp. 106–111.
\item As exemplified in the \textit{Fad\textacute{u}}l Abi Bakr wa-'Umar (Virtues of Abu Bakr and 'Umar), 
the \textit{Fad\textacute{u}}l 'Abba\textacute{i}, in support of the ancestor of the 'Abbasid house, and the \textit{Fad\textacute{u}}l 'Ali, 
which remained incomplete, in which he argued in favour of the soundness of the 
tradition of Ghadir Khumm, when the Prophet was said to have appointed 'Ali as his 
\item al-Tabari–Rosenthal tr. (1989), pp. 61–63; Bosworth (1998), p. 12. For example, 
on his last reported visit to his family home, probably around 290/903, at a time when 
Tabaristan was under the rule of the Shi'i Zaydi dynasty, he was advised to leave in great 
haste after speaking out in defence of the first two caliphs, Abu Bakr and 'Umar; the 
old man who warned him was subsequently severely beaten, al-\textit{\c{T}}abari–Rosenthal (1989), 
p. 11.
\end{itemize}
Tabari's Ta'rikh

Rosenthal has pointed out that although the list of Tabari's writings indicates that the course of his scholarly life was primarily concerned with legal and religious affairs rather than history and biography, the outstanding significance of his Ta’rikh was already noted in his lifetime. Despite the length of the work, in the form in which it survives, he is said to have reduced it, reluctantly, to more manageable proportions out of consideration for his pupils, while regretting the lack of their intellectual stamina which required him to do so! Bosworth suggests that even if apocryphal, this anecdote points to Tabari’s concern with conveying essential information in a usable form for future generations. He founded his own, if short-lived, madhab, the Jaririyya, named after his father.

A contemporary view of the Ta’rikh is provided by Ibn Kamil, according to whom it began with an invocation (kinwba) summarising the significant aspects of the work, continued with the time and duration of the world according to divergent opinions both Muslim and non-Muslim—a chapter “the like of which could be found in no other work”—followed by: the creation of days and nights, arguing that God alone created them; the first object created, the “pen”; all that was created thereafter; Adam, Hawa (Eve) and Iblis (Satan), brief histories of each prophet, messenger and king down to the time of Muhammad, including the history of minor successor kings (mulik al-ta’awuf); the kings of the Persians and Rum (Byzantium); the birth of the Prophet; the Prophet’s genealogy and his male and female ancestors, his children, his wives, the origin of his prophetic mission, his raids and expeditions and his Companions; the first four caliphs;
the Umayyads and ‘Abbasids (in separate sections), initially down to the year 294/906–7 and later extended to 302/915. 34

The post-‘hijra period is treated in the ‘annalistic’ form, with the events described in chronological sequence under the year in which they occurred; 35 the account of the Biblical–Qur’anic prophets and rulers of the ancient kingdoms of Iran and Arabia up to the ‘hijra is ‘synchronic’, with the prophets dovetailed into broadly appropriate regnal periods of terrestrial rule. Tabari did not construct a continuous narrative for his History, but employed the traditional methodology of religious exegesis, citing all the versions of an event and their isnāds, using introductory formulae to indicate their reliability. He then analysed each version before deciding, with the high degree of independent judgement (ijtihād) for which he was renowned, which was the more correct. This method produced an invaluable, if ponderous, encyclopaedia of sources and traditions for scholars of the later fourth/tenth century and thereafter. 36 As summarised by Rosenthal:

“Al-Tabari brought to his work the scrupulousness and indefatigable longwindedness of the theologian, the accuracy and love of order of the scholarly jurist, and the insight into political affairs of the practicing lawyer-politician. All these were qualities which commanded enduring and ever-increasing respect in the intellectual circles of orthodox Islam. It was therefore only natural that his historical work never ceased to exercise a tremendous influence upon future historians as a model of how history should be written.... [However,] no notice is taken of the widening of the historical and cultural horizon which had taken place during al-Tabari’s time.” 37

Despite avoiding discussion of contemporary affairs, Tabari’s Ta‘rikh became the standard history of Islam for Muslims. 38 However, his meticulous detailing of sources and alternative versions, as required by the methodology of contemporary scholarly historical writing, necessarily fragmented his text and rendered it laboured, not to say opaque, for other than similarly trained readers. 39

35 As Rosenthal suggests, this form of history was probably fully developed by Tabari’s time, Rosenthal (1968), p. 71.
39 In his Fihrist, Ibn Nadim notes that a number of people abridged the work omitting the isnāds (chains of transmission), thereby suggesting that problems of readability was appreciated among Arab scholars at an early period, if not in advance of the Samanid translation project, al-Tabari–Rosenthal tr. (1989), pp. 133–4, Ibn al-Nadim–Dodge tr. (1970), p. 234; Daniel (forthcoming) p. [4] and n. 3[5-]
Tabari or Bal'ami? The Persian 'translation' and the West

Less than fifty years after Tabari's death in 310/923, the Samanid Amir Abu Salih Mansur I b. Nuh commissioned Bal'ami to 'translate' the Ta'rikh and Taj*, and also the catechism known as the Sawdd-i 'Azam.9 As Daniel has indicated, these translations largely replaced the Arabic original in the Turko-Persian world.41

In the West, Tabari's Arabic text was presumed lost42 until the publication of the Leiden edition by de Goeje and his team between 1879-1901.43 In the meantime, on the assumption that Bal'ami's text was indeed Tabari's work in a Persian translation, it was widely used as the best substitute for the 'lost' original—for example, Hermann Zotenberg's four-volume French translation, published between 1867-74 under the title "Chronique de Tabari".44 Subsequent to the publication of the Leiden edition, Bal'ami's text was largely dismissed as valueless.45 Nonetheless, a residual unease persisted among some scholars, for example, Dunlop, who noted that Bal'ami's text was not only considerably shorter but also contained substantial information not found in Tabari, taking as a particular example the expanded passages on the fighting between the Arabs and the Khazars.46

Daniel has now gone far to refute the claim of it being a 'mere' translation, and to reassess Bal'ami's editing, restructuring, enriching and often criticising of Tabari's original work.47 As Daniel says: "...such information, gleaned from the work of a man

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9 Daniel (1990), p. 286.
41 Daniel (1990), pp. 282-283. Daniel also notes that it was translated into Turkish dialects and even back into Arabic in the sixteenth century, as evidenced by a manuscript now in Leiden (Cat. cod. arab. 2: 825) dated 935-7/1528-31, translated by Khiz r b. Khizr al-Amidi, ibid. p. 282, n. 3; for a critique of published editions and translations, see ibid. pp. 304-308.
43 al-Tabari-de Goeje et al. eds (1879-1901); al-Tabar-i-Rosenthal tr. (1989), pp. 141-144, where Rosenthal also reviews the achievement of de Goeje and his translation 'committee'.
44 The full title reads: Chronique de Abou Djasir-Mohammad-Ben-Djasir-Ben-Yezid Tabari, traitée sur la version persane d'Abou-'Ali Mohammad Bal'amí, d'apres les manuscrits de Paris, de Gotha, de Londres et de Canterbury." The question of the recensions used by Zotenberg will be discussed below. The relevant passages from Zotenberg have been cited for each painting in Chapter Two.
45 Daniel (1990), pp. 283-284.
46 Daniel (1990), pp. 284; Dunlop (1960), pp. 984-985. See also Gilliot (1987), pp. 366-370. Daniel warmly commends Dunlop for his observation since he had been working with what Daniel has now shown to be late and inadequate copies of Bal'ami's text. Further examples of material added by Bal'ami will be mentioned below.
of Ba'ami's stature, who had access to the rich cultural resources of the famous Samanid library, and who was writing less than fifty years after Tabari's death, has to be taken seriously."

Daniel's reassessment of the information provided by the prefaces to the Tārikh and Tafsīr underlines the place of Ba'ami's works both among the oldest extant prose works in New Persian following the Arab invasions, and as a model for much subsequent Persian historical prose. It also identifies the anomalies present in the deceptively straightforward description of its commission, and explores the political and religious circumstances which they mask. These have led him to conclude that:

"[Ba'ami's Tabari] almost certainly constituted an effort to propagate a state-sanctioned "official" ideology of Islamic history and dogma, presumably in defence of the Samanid regime." 49

Meisami has summarised the political and social context:

"The Samanids had, as it were, several major political constituencies: the aristocratic dāqīqan class of Transoxania and Khurasan, from which they themselves had sprung; a mixed group which included individuals of Arab lineage (descended from the military conquerors and from emigrants to the towns of Khurasan and Transoxania) as well as Iranian converts to Islam associated with the Arabs as clients, whose culture was highly Arabised; and a third group made up of the large numbers of Turks brought into the Samanid realm as slaves (mamluks), many of whom rose to prominence and power in the Samanid court and military. All these groups were potential targets for various versions of history - and, indeed, for different versions of history. One version was represented by works in the Shāhīnma tradition; another was the Islamic narrative seen in Ba'ami's version of Tabari." 50

Who, then, was Ba'ami and to which political constituency was his text addressed?

### Ba'ami. The vizier and his Tārikh

**Ba'ami the vizier**

Abu 'Ali Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Ba'ami was the son of Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allah al-Ba'ami al-Tamimi, also known as Ba'ami Buzurg. The family were of Arab descent but it is uncertain whether the nisba "Ba'ami" derived from a

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50 Daniel (forthcoming), especially pp. [2–3].
51 Daniel (forthcoming), especially pp. [4–6].
52 Daniel (1990), p. 286.
town in Asia Minor, said to have been taken by the founder of the Bal'ami house in the
Umayyad period, while in the service of either the Umayyad prince Maslama b. 'Abd al-
Malik or Qutayba b. Muslim; or whether the name derived from the town of Bal'aman
near Marv. Nizam al-Mulk includes the family in his listing in the Sya'āt-nāma of
famous viziers.

The father, Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad Bal'ami, may have been vizier to the Samanid
ruler Isma'il b. Ahmad (r. 279-295/892-907), but is better known as holding that office in
the reign of the Samanid Nasr II b. Ahmad (r.301-331/913-942), probably becoming vizier
around the year 310/922. It was in the reign of Nasr, encouraged by his viziers, Abu
'Abd Allah Jayhani (between 301-310/913-922) and his successor Abu al-Fadl, that:

"Bukhara became a centre of Arabic learning, and the court, led by Nasr's
example, began to exploit the local Iranian cultural environment through its
patronage of Persian literature, particularly poetry."

According to the "Older Preface" of the Shāhān̄a, Nasr b. Ahmad ordered Abu
Fadl to translate Kitāb waq Dinna into Persian, and "the book fell into men's hands and
every man turned its pages." He was renowned, therefore, not only as a government
minister but also as a man of letters at this period of Persian cultural renaissance, and is
also specifically named as a supporter of the poet Rudagi. A gate in Bukhara was named
after him.

However, it is his son, Abu 'Ali Muhammad, also referred to by the diminutives
"Amirak" and Bal'ami "Kuchi", and the 'translator' of Tabari's works, whose name is now
the better known. His birth date is not recorded, but the most likely date of his death is
that reported by the Ghaznavid historian Gardizi, as Jumada I (February 27–March 27)
363/974, while still holding the post of vizier. According to Muqaddasi, he was twice

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54 Daniel (1990), p. 284, and Daniel (forthcoming), n. [64].
58 Minorsky (1956), p. 168. Daniel considers this version was clearly intended for
entertainment, Daniel (forthcoming), n. [65]; however, its multi-faceted role, as attested in
Ibn al-Muqaffa’s preface to his Arabic translation from the Pahlavi, which includes the
usefulness of the apologues put into the mouths of animals, Grube (1991), p. 4 and p. 6, n. 12,
should perhaps also be noted. The precedent set by the father, for rewriting a
standard didactic work for a broad public, may also not have been lost on his son.
59 The Bāb al-Shaykh Jalāl, known in later times as the Bāb al-Shaykh Jalāl, Dunlop
(1957), p. 984.
Memorial Series, 1928, pp. 42 and 46. Gardizi’s dates are unknown. His general
history was written at the court of the Ghaznavid ‘Abd al-Rashid (445-452/1049-52); see also Khaleghi Motlagh (1985), vol. 1, pp. 971-972.
vizier to al-Mansur I b. Nuh (r. 550–366/961–976), and it was from him that he received instructions in 352/963 to translate into Persian Tabari’s *Tārīkh-i buzurg* (Great History), and *Tafsīr* on the Qur’an.61

Opinions of him vary in the sources from incompetence 61 to warm admiration, as on the part of Nizam al-Mulk, who classes the Bal’ami family among the eminent viziers of history, such as Asaf b. Bahrki, vizier to Sulayman b. Dawud, Harun, Buzurjmihr and the Barmakids 63.

According to Daniel, while at a personal level both father and son held a fairly clear set of cultural, political and religious views—persophile in culture and professing an orthodox Islam of the Shafi‘i variety with close links with the religious establishment—at a professional level also had ties with the generally Hanafi Turkish military. A similarly pragmatic approach was followed by the Samanids, who, while cultivating the ‘ulama‘, generally supported the de facto position of Hanafi, and to a lesser degree Shafi‘i Islam as official state orthodoxy.64 Daniel suggests:

“... Bal‘ami would have been attracted to the works of Tabari, seeing him not only as a brilliant religious scholar (and one ... of Persian ancestry to boot) but also as one generally sympathetic to the Shafi‘i approach. It is also possible that part of Tabari’s appeal derived from the perception that he was a skillful opponent of Hanbali-style traditionalism and popular religion.”65

Bal‘ami’s *Tārīkh*

The prefaces

Copies of Bal‘ami’s *Tārīkh* usually begin either with an Arabic or a Persian preface; these are related but not identical. The Arabic preface reads as if composed by Bal‘ami himself, whereas the Persian, with its use of the first person plural, appears to have been written by another editor or editors. Daniel agrees with Griaznevich and Boldyrev that these two prefaces probably originally introduced different redactions of the text.66 However, as Daniel has shown, the introductions and redactions appear to have

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62 Daniel notes that the adverse comments of the Ghaznavid historian al-‘Utbi (350–427 [or 31]/961–1036 [or 40]), in *Kitāb-i Yamini*, are likely to have stemmed from family rivalry since al-‘Utbi’s uncle twice replaced Bal‘ami in the post of vizier, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [62].
64 Daniel (forthcoming), p. [6]. Daniel also notes that Abu’l-Fadl was a *muḥaddith* and associated with noted religious scholars.
become intermingled over time. The Tafsir also opens with a preface which shares the phraseology and statement of intent with the prefaces of the Tanakh.

The Arabic preface

As Daniel notes:

"... [it] begins with a salute to the Samanid Amir Abu Salih Mansur ibn Nuh, who must therefore have been alive at the time the translation was completed, and states that the amir, having recognised the great merits of Tabari's history, sent an order in the year 352/963 via his chamberlain, al-Fa'iq al-Khassah, for an abbreviated and simplified translation of the work."9

Then the translator, speaking anonymously and in the first person, explains how he prepared the translation, saying:

"I translated it into the Dari language so that subjects and authorities (al-ra'ayya wa'l-nilân) could share in reading it and learning from its knowledge ('ibn) and to facilitate studying it ... I translated this book; I compared it with the Tafsir al-kabir; I put the stories in the proper sequence; I cited every story in the proper way; I put each account in its appropriate place and I collated everything against its counterpart. I divided the book into chapters according to the accounts of the prophets and kings and I arranged them all in chronological order. I compared my book against the verses of the Qur'an and the accounts of the prophets, and I abbreviated the long citations of authorities (isnaâd)."

Giaznevich, Boldyrev and Daniel agree that the address to the patron, the absence of the name of the author and the use of the first person singular, strongly suggest this preface was written by Bal'ami himself. This contrasts with the more common Persian preface, with which the Freer text opens.

The Persian preface (Pl. 39):13

Following the bismillah, the Persian preface to the Tanakh opens with five lines of doxology, omits the salutation to Mansur b. Nuh and then continues:

"Know that this is the Great History (Tanakhmânah-ye buzurg) which Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir Yazid al-Tabari compiled, may God have mercy upon him. [The King (mâdâl) of Khurasan, Abu Salih] Mansur ibn Nuh ordered his minister (dastân) Abu 'Ali Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Bal'ami to translate this work of history of Pisar-i Jarir [into Persian] in the best manner so that nothing of value in


This preface will be cited only where immediately relevant to interpreting the background to the Tanakh. Daniel analyses this preface as a whole in his forthcoming article, Daniel (forthcoming), pp. [1–3].


Presumably this was to establish the credentials of the 'Bal'ami version'.

Daniel (forthcoming), p. [1].


Daniel has translated the first part of this passage, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [1]. However, since the Freer text includes minor variants this translation is my own, with destroyed or illegible text replaced from Bahar and Gonabadi's edition.
it would be lost. Then Abu 'Ali said: “When I looked into it I saw so much wisdom ( sûn) and argument (꾸시스템) and verses from the Qur'an and good poetry and good examples and accounts of the prophets and those kings (mulkân) and saw the great benefit in them, then I strove [and made every effort] and translated it into Persian (pöstrî), by the power of God, may He be honoured and glorified.” And we wished to record in this book the history of the duration of the world (şarâk-i rûdq, and what has been said by each astrologer from among the Muslims, Jews and Zoroastrians and each group we have mentioned in it, by the power of God, may He be honoured and glorified.”

Chronology of prefaces and redactions

Griaznevich, Boldyrev and Daniel consider that the following features indicate that the Persian preface, and accompanying interpolation, were added by another editor (or editors), who were familiar with the Arabic preface: the absence of praise for the patron; the naming of Bal’arni as the author in the third person singular, and the use of the first person plural to introduce material specifically stated not to be by Tabari. 14 However, similarities in the wording between the two Persian prefaces—to the Tafsîr and to the Ta'rikh15—together with references in the preface to the Tafsîr to activity of a committee associated with the translation project, also suggest that the two versions of the Ta'rikh were probably prepared:

Daniel (1990), p. 297 and n. 49; according to Daniel, Griaznevich and Boldyrev suggested that the Persian preface introduced a second redaction, by an unidentified editor who worked on it in Bukhara a comparatively short time after the completion of the translation, Griaznevich & Boldyrev (1957), p. 48, an opinion now shared and expanded by Daniel; see Daniel (forthcoming), pp. [i] and [10] and n. [6].

The preface to the Tafsîr is summarised by Daniel as follows:

“The preface to the Tafsîr begins in a similar fashion [to those of the Arabic and Persian introductions to the Ta'rikh], stating that a copy of Tabari's Tafsîr in forty volumes was brought from Baghdad and that the Amir Aba Salîh Mansûr ibn Nûh, finding it difficult to read, wanted it to be translated from Arabic into Persian. Mansûr therefore summoned the 'ulamâ of Transoxania and obtained a fatwa from them declaring that such a translation was not only lawful but highly desirable. ... It claimed that from the time of Adam to that of Ishmael the world's prophets and kings spoke Persian; Ishmael was the first to use Arabic. Muhammad also spoke Arabic and received the Qur'an in Arabic since he appeared among the Arabs and, as the Qur'an says, “[God] does not send an apostle except in the language of his own people.” A Persian translation was appropriate, however, since “in this land the language is Persian, and the kings of this realm are Persian kings.” Having obtained the fatwa, Mansûr then instructed the 'ulamâ to select those best qualified amongst themselves to carry out the project. According to some manuscripts, this order was again conveyed by the ruler's khâldim, Abû'1-Hasan al-Fa'iq al-Khaṣṣah. This is followed by a description of the work involved, noting again how the book was rearranged and updated and the bulk of the original reduced by dropping the isnad and abridging the narratives”, Daniel (forthcoming), pp. [1–2].
“more or less simultaneously and perhaps in conjunction with each other ... [and that] their production was a major innovation, which was introduced very carefully and deliberately, and at a very discrete moment in time.”

Meisami, on the other hand, while acceding that the manuscript tradition of the text presents many problems, suggests that the different wording may merely reflect different intended audiences.

Interpolated texts

The Persian preface is usually followed by an interpolation of two additional discussions rarely found in manuscripts opening with the Arabic version. The first is on the duration of the world, *ru'zgar-i 'alam*, according to the Greek philosophers. It includes: “a report of the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of creation, based on the exaltation points of the planets, which thus constituted a virtual “birth horoscope” for the world;” traditions preserved by the *dâhâqân* on the age of the world at the time of the Prophet’s appearance, and Persian, Jewish, and Arabian traditions on the possible dates for creation. It opens as follows:

[And moreover,] know what the astrologers say of Arsitutulis (Aristotle) and Buqrat (Hippocrates) and those learned masters of the past and what they say of the period that will elapse from the time of Adam, [peace be upon him, until the time of resurrection], and this tradition is not included in the book of Pisar-i Jarir, and we have included it so that whoever looks into it [the book] will easily find it. Know that [the astrologers] like Arsitutulis, Buqrat and Aflфин (Plato) and the masters of astrology, say that when God, may He be honoured and glorified, created the moon, sun and all the stars (*kawâlîk*), they all stayed in their places in the Houses of their Exaltation (*khanahâ-ye sharaf*) until the order came for them to move ...”

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77 As is regularly stated by Daniel in the course his arguments.
78 Meisami (1999), p. 27. The question of audiences will be discussed below.
81 Original text has been torn away and “*amâ ba'd*” written on a repair in a later hand (Pl. 39, l. 12).
82 i.e. Tabari.
83 The Freer text (fol. 1b, l. 14) is marked at this point with a red-coloured full stop, but the text of the *Ru'zgar-i 'alam* which follows is not identified by a separate heading as in the manuscripts used by Bahar and Gunabadi, Bal'ami/Tabari-Bahar/Gunabadi eds (1314/1962-3), p. 2, and n. 8.
84 Bahar and Gunabadi use “*nâmân*” with no note of a variant, Bal'ami/Tabari-Bahar/Gunabadi eds (1314/1962-3), p. 3.
This section of the text ends with the anecdote concerning Dawud, who, when questioned as to when the End of Days would come, replied with a parable indicating that it was beyond human reckoning and that God alone knew.65

The Rüzgar-i ‘ālam is followed by a second interpolated passage, recounting the test of Muhammad's prophethood by the Jews of Khaybar, Fadak and Wadi al-Qura. The pagans of Mecca requested the Jews to draw up a list of the most difficult questions, based on the Torah, for Muhammad to answer.66 Accordingly, they drew up a list of twenty-eight, designed to encompass all the knowledge that is necessary to understand creation, and beyond which no knowledge, such as astronomy and cosmology is necessary, thus displaying the extent of prophetic, and the limitations of human, knowledge.67

Bal'ami's commission

Daniel has pointed out that on closer inspection, and even allowing for the possibility that the somewhat patronising wording in the prefaces is partly literary convention, the prefaces nonetheless mask serious anomalies. The picture presented is that of an enlightened ruler selecting the works of a renowned scholar to be translated from scholarly Arabic into more accessible Persian, in a simplified and abridged form but true to the author's original text.68 As Daniel says, those inclined to read Tabari were unlikely to have been unable to read the Arabic; Persian was only one of the languages and dialects spoken at the Samarrid court, and why would they want to "vulgarise" and disseminate these texts anyway? However, the most misleading aspect of the information is that in no conventional sense are Bal'ami's texts 'translations' or 'abridgements'. Instead they read "an entirely different and highly enigmatic set of texts."69

65 Bel'ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984[a]), pp. 18–22; F57:i6, fol. 2b; Meisami (1999), pp. 28–29. The Rüzgar-i ‘ālam and this anecdote were mentioned in Chapter One, in connection with the frontispiece.
66 These questions are supplemented by others posed to the Prophet by ‘Ali and others. Daniel describes them as 'rambling', Daniel (forthcoming), p. [2]; on the other hand, Meisami considers that Bal'ami has restructured Tabari's "disjointed and rambling accounts of cosmology" into a more coordinated and dramatic format, Meisami (1999), p. 29. Translations of the Rüzgar-i ‘ālam and this passage are included in Zotenberg's translation, Bel'ami/Tabari–Zotenberg tr. (1984[a]), pp. 23–74. In the Freer text although the question and answer format and the role of the Jewish doctors has been retained, not all twenty-eight questions are included, and the text appears to differ from Zotenberg's in several respects. Since Zotenberg was relying primarily on "late" redactions, a comparison with other fourteenth-century copies is required before an assessment of its originality may be made.
Another major anomaly masked by the bland wording of the prefaces concerns the choice of Bal'arni for this weighty (in every sense) commission, in the context of the political events which immediately preceded it. In the brief succession struggle following the death of Mansur’s brother ‘Abd al-Malik, Bal’arni supported the claim of Nuh b. ‘Abd al-Malik, ‘the king for a day’. Nuh’s claim was also supported by the prince’s Turkish manlïk guardian, the chief hajib and commander-in-chief of Khurasan, Alpïgin⁹⁰, and at court by Buktuzun, the Turkish amir in charge of the court pages. Mansur, supported by his hajib al-Fa’iq al-Khassa and supposedly pro-Batini factions at court, was ultimately successful. On Mansur’s succession, Bal’arni and Buktuzun were imprisoned and Alpïgin fled to Ghazna.

Daniel has reassessed the sources and adjusted an erroneous chronology in Nizam al-Mulk’s account. This has shown that a major factor in the succession struggle was a resurgence of influence, at court and among the populace, of the Persian aristocratic dihqani class, and also Isma’ili heterodox ideas such as those of the Qarmatis.⁹¹ This was counter to the interests of the predominantly Turkish manlïks with their traditionalist religious inclinations, as represented by Nuh and his supporters. However, following his accession, Mansur was persuaded by the qadi of Bukhara that his position was likely to be in greater jeopardy from the old Persian aristocracy and popular heterodox movements than from the Turkish and religiously traditionalist faction. He therefore forged a rapprochement with his nephew’s erstwhile supporters, thus uniting the judiciary, the chancery, the military and the madrasa in a formidable cabal.⁹²

Daniel sees the ‘translations’ of the Ta’rikh and the Ta’did as part of an ideological offensive, possibly the brain-child of Bal’arni himself, aimed at shoring-up the Samanid state through promulgating a Persianised orthodox Islam with the support and sanction of the ulama. This was to be achieved, in part, through versions of Tabari’s texts, with his Ta’rikh rewritten in the more accessible and familiar Persian narrative form. Bal’arni’s Tabari was to have an Iranian, particularly Khurasanian, view point; be aimed at counteracting a current spate of heterodoxy; distance the Samanids from the caliphate in Baghdad without jeopardising the legal basis of their rule within the Durr al-Islam; and

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⁹⁰ On Alpïgin’s role in establishing the power base for later Ghaznawid independence, see Bosworth (1973), pp. 37–38.
define them more precisely against their rival neighbouring states, particularly the Shi'i Buyids. As Meisami says:

"Bal'ami presents a unified narrative of Islamic (and pre-Islamic) history which leads directly (if only implicitly) to the Samānids. He restructured Tabari's discrete accounts into a continuous narrative, omitting some, correcting others and adding yet others — all in a style which is simple, straightforward and entertaining, and accessible to a broad and relatively unsophisticated audience."

At its broadest, therefore, the 'constituency' at which Bal'ami's history was targeted was a heterogeneous Iranian, Arab and Turkish community; the Iranian one retaining a strong sense of its independent aristocratic and bureaucratic traditions, the Arab one a strong sense of its religious and cultural heritage, and the Turkish one, drawn as it was largely from nomadic societies recently converted to Islam, its military, traditionally ghāṣib, role. As far as possible these heterogeneous groups were to be consolidated under the banner of orthodox Islam; this would ensure the cooperation of the Arabised 'ulama and intelligentsia, without jeopardising the Samanid bid for independence from an all but nominal caliphal authority.

It was not surprising, therefore, that in contrast to the history of Tabari—the religious scholar who saw Islam and the Muslim umma (community) as the logical culmination of the Biblical-Qur'anic and Iranian regal tradition—Bal'ami, the civil servant, synchronised Tabari's material into a broader Iranian framework, presenting it as a narrative of the rise and fall of dynasties under an on-going (and transferable) Divine dispensation.

**Style and content of Bal'ami's text**

Meisami summarises the style and content of Bal'ami's text as follows:

"In the case of the Ta'rīkh, the isnads have indeed been omitted, repetitive and variant accounts have been dropped, and the work has been much abridged and rearranged. There remain recognizable fragments taken from Tabari's history, but they are imbedded in a work that is quite distinct in many respects. In some instances the translator claims to be quoting material from Tabari which is not to be found in the extant Arabic text; in other cases he openly and repeatedly admits that he has inserted material of his own, cited a different set of authorities,

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93 Daniel (forthcoming), pp. [5–6].
94 Meisami (1999), p. 27.
96 Meisami (1999), p. 27. For a discussion of the Islamic and Iranian approaches to history, see particularly Meisami (1993), pp. 247–275, and "Types of historical writing" in Meisami (1999), pp. 9–14. The criteria of history writing will be discussed further when considering the subjects chosen for illustration in the Freer Bal'amī.
or explicitly discounted what Tabari had to say as wrong or unacceptable. A substantial amount of the narrative has no counterpart in the Arabic text.97

Meisami has also noted that besides overriding Tabari’s method of presentation by coordinating pre-Islamic history with a Persian chronology, and largely from a Khurasanian perspective,98 Bal’ami often contradicts Tabari, adds or substitutes material, quotes from alternative oral as well as written sources and from accounts in ‘Persian books’.99 Thus, information on events in Khurasan under the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphates, including the treatment of Abu Muslim and the Barmakids, receives greater attention, but it is noticeable that any reference to the early Samanids as vassals of the ‘Abbasids and their victories over the Turks is absent.100

In addition to the material on the campaigns of Qutayba b. Muslim and Maslama b. ‘Abd al-Malik against Armenia and the Khazars,101 Daniel cites the following as examples of other subject matter expanded in Bal’ami’s version:102 a detailed history of Bahram Chubin;103 additional material on the Battle of Badr and Qutayba’s wars in Central Asia; Hasan b. ‘Ali and his death; and an overall different handling of ‘Abbasid history104 which includes a lengthy digression on the history of the Zanādāqe.105

102 The length at which a subject is dealt with may vary, and a subject may indeed be omitted from certain redactions of the text. This sample is therefore by way of an overview against which the Freer text will be considered.
103 Daniel notes that the Samanids claimed descent from Bahram Chubin, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [8], and Meisami gives careful consideration to this topic in Meisami (1999), pp. 33–35.
105 Daniel (forthcoming), p. [10]. By way of further examples of additional material in the pre-Islamic sections of the Tafsīr, Daniel mentions sections on ‘Ayyub (Job), ‘Aziz (Jeramiah) and ‘Isa (Jesus), Daniel (1990), p. 284. With regard to the ‘translation’ of the Tafsīr, Daniel notes that it bears even less resemblance to the original that does the Tafsīr, and cites two representative examples:

(i) the replacement by Bal’ami of Tabari’s lengthy analysis of the Hadith on who is intended by “those who earn Thine anger” and “those who go astray”, Sura 1:7, by, simply identifying these peoples as the Jews and Christians;
(ii) Tabari’s detailed analysis of the nature of the forbidden tree of Paradise, and his conclusion that the species is not known, has been replaced by a statement that the tree was “wheat” and that was the reason why Adam subsequently learnt to plough, plant, harvest and make bread, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [3]. It is noticeable that he
(i) avoids internal Muslim sectarian polemics, and
Religious orientation of Bal'ami's text

Daniel notes that Bal'ami is more unrestrained than Tabari in his affection for the family of the Prophet, but this does not equate with Shi'ism since strong pro-'Alid tendencies were also widespread among the Central Asian Turks, who were staunch Hanafis and anti-Batinis (esotericists). Daniel also suggests that Bal'ami's largely ahistorical account of Zanadaqa activity at the 'Abbasid court—material which appears in the both his Tarikh and Tafsir—indicates his positive hostility to heterodoxy. This version presents the Zanadaqa as atheists and materialists in Muslim guise, and treats their beliefs as a heresy in which members of the 'Abbasid family were implicated. However, as Meisami has pointed out, Bal'ami's treatment of the heresies which burgeoned in the East is unexpectedly patchy. He omits any mention of Bihafarid and refers only to the factual events of Sunbadh's revolt, with no mention of the nature of his dogmas.

Daniel also notes that the interpolation of cosmological material, largely concerned with predicting the End of Days, is unequivocally traditionalist—"God alone knows." This was probably to counter the Isma'ili concepts of cyclical history and the return of the Mahdi, and also "the notion of privileged knowledge on the part of the Imams." Although Bal'ami's standpoint regarding the unknowability of the duration of the world is similar to Tabari's, Daniel points out that Tabari's discussion nonetheless implications of Bal'ami's additions and excisions for his intended audience in the tenth century is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is the general nature of the end product, as a text selected for copying and illustrating in the Ilkhanid period, which is of relevance here, and its characteristics will be summarised below.


"In the ninth and tenth centuries, Manichaeism lost ground in Islamdom and everywhere. The Arabic name for it, Zanadaqa, became a word for every sort of socially abhorred heresy; anyone suspected of cloaking an esoteric faith beneath his profession of Islam was called a Zanadaqa," Hodgson (1974), vol. 1, p. 291.

Daniel (forthcoming), p. [10]. Daniel also suggests that Bal'ami may have been using it to defame the 'Abbasids; to remind the reader that the term had been applied to holders of Isma'ili and other heterodox beliefs at the Samanid court in the reign of Nasr ibn Ahmad, and to draw a contemporary parallel between them and the resurgence of these tendencies at the period of al-Mansur's accession and Bal'ami's commission, ibid.

Meisami (1990), pp. 32-33. Meisami mentions that the account of Muqanna' and the "Saptā-jamāgān" (Wearers of white) also lacks an account of his teaching. However, in Daniel's opinion the account of Muqanna' was probably not part of Bal'ami's original text, since it appears only in the "late redaction" and as an alternative to other sections on 'Abbasid history, Daniel (1990), pp. 299-300.

implied that the end of the world was imminent. Tabari includes, for example, the report that the Prophet said his umma would survive for four hundred to four hundred and fifty years, that is, to around the turn of the fifth century of the hijra, the period at which the 'translations' were being made. Daniel concludes that such a view, likely to be rife at the time, would clearly have been counter-productive to al-Mansur's intentions of presenting the Samanids as just and rightful rulers with a future.

The impression provided by Daniel's and Meisami's overviews of the religious aspects of Bal'ami's text is one of a broad-based Islamic orthodoxy, laced with 'Alid sympathy for popular appeal, and anti-'Abbasid propaganda to justify the Samanid bid for all but nominal independence from the caliph. In this way, sectarian divisions and heresies were shorn of discussion of potentially attractive heterodox notions. Instead, they were presented as part of a substantially comprehensive, but nonetheless sanitised, narrative version of the history of the Muslims, recounted in much the same doctrinally bland manner as similar incidents in the pre-Islamic past. As Daniel says:

"The translations provided standardized, officially approved, and carefully designed versions of prestigious religious texts which could be used to instruct unsophisticated believers in a uniform way and avoid the dangers of ad hoc responses to heterodoxy by local religious leaders. At the same time, they served as important tools for the further Persianization of frontier areas and the acculturation of the new Turkish military elite."

If Daniel has identified the criteria underlying Bal'ami's commission correctly, then the problems faced by the Samanids in the 960s, arising from the need to convert remaining non-Muslim elements among the largely Turkic military communities; and the need for an over-arching policy of religious and cultural coalescence within a broadly orthodox Islamic, but non-caliphal, framework, appears remarkably similar to that faced by the Ilkhanid state at the time of Ghazan's official conversion in 1295.

The earliest dated survivals of substantially complete texts date from Ghazan's reign, and follow the version of the text identified by Daniel as the "abbreviated" redaction. This redaction is very close to the version copied by the Freer scribe. Since there were other options available to him, an overview of the redactions seems justified

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Daniel (forthcoming), p. [11]; see also Meisami (1999), pp. 27–29. This situation calls to mind the messianic rumours at the turn of the seventh century of the hijra, as reported in Banakati, and already mentioned in Chapter One, Melville (1990), pp. 159–160; Banakati-Shi'ar ed. (1948/1969)p. 454.


Daniel (forthcoming), p. [12].
before listing the dated copies from the Ilkhanid period and looking more closely at the redactions and Freer text itself.

The redactions

As already mentioned briefly, in his efforts to reconstruct Bal'ami's 'original' text, Daniel has identified three broadly coherent groups within the corpus of surviving manuscripts: the "abbreviated redaction", the "full redaction" and the "late redaction".\footnote{Daniel (1990), especially "Reconstruction of the text", pp. 294-304. Daniel notes Zotenberg's classification of the manuscripts used for his translation as "la rédaction primitive", "nouvelle rédaction" and a composite version containing elements of the first two, "la rédaction remaniée", but fails to clarify the criteria he used to identify the categories, Daniel (1990), p. 296 and n. 44.} Within these groups, which were all current in the fourteenth century, there are also variants. Originally, the Arabic and Persian prefaces may have introduced alternative versions. However, by the fourteenth century the prefaces were no longer specific to particular redactions, although broad patterns may still be observed.\footnote{That this was not always so will be mentioned in the further description of the prefaces below.} Following the order in which Daniel analyses the groups, his first "and most coherent" is the "late" redaction, which represents the last and least authentic recension of the text.\footnote{Daniel (1990), pp. 298-300.}

i. The "late" redaction

The "late" redaction is characterised by a Persian doxology and preface (with individual variants). Its text, despite the extension of the narrative to the reign of Mustazhir (r. 487-512/1094-1128) and the fact that it follows the broad outlines of other manuscripts, is nonetheless greatly abbreviated overall; much of the material on the early 'Abbasids is replaced by a unique and extensive account of the heresy of al-Muqanna',\footnote{Muqanna' (the veiled one) claimed prophethood and inspired a socio-religious revolt in the reign of the caliph al-Mahdi (r. 158-169/775-785). His followers, who became known as the "sapākšāmagān" (wearers of white), were still active at the period of Bal'ami's commission; nonetheless, Daniel considers this part of the text to be a later addition, Daniel (1990), pp. 299-300. The revolt itself began c. 160/777 and spread through Khurasan and Transoxiana. Claiming divinity and prophetic inheritance through Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, 'Ali, Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya and Abu Muslim, he preached a socially subversive mixture of Mazdakism and esoteric Islam, including the transmigration of souls, which attracted a following among the merchant, artisan and agricultural classes. He died in 166/783, either by poison or by throwing himself on a pyre while under siege from caliphal forces in a fortress near Kish, [Ed.] EF (1993), p. 500; Amoretti (1975), pp. 498-503.} the Arabic poetry present in other redactions is generally omitted, Arabic vocabulary is replaced by Persian and Persian grammar and orthography is greatly increased. In Daniel's opinion
this is the last and least authentic redaction of the text. At least twenty manuscripts fall into this group, with considerable uniformity of text among them. This group exhibits an emphasis on jihād abroad and suppressing heretics at home, along with a concern for playing down the less attractive aspects of ‘Abbasid rule. Daniel considers this version “reveals a way of thinking more at home in the twelfth than the tenth centuries”, and suggests a Ghaznawid or Saljuq origin for it.

ii. The “full” redaction

This version is characterised by a Persian doxology and preface plus an interpolated text on the duration of the world, the Rūzgar-i ‘alam; however, examples of it introduced by the Arabic preface are also known. It contains a greatly expanded treatment of Islamic history as a whole for both the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid periods, including expanded entries on the early conquests of Syria and Iraq, al-Hajaj’s governorship of Basra, and additional unique accounts not found in the other redactions. This redaction usually terminates during the caliphate of al-Muktafi (r. 289–295/902–908) or al-Muqtadir (295–320/908/932) but may also contain appendices. On the grounds of its comprehensiveness and the variety of its contents, Daniel considers this redaction as probably closest to Bal’ami’s original.

iii. The “abbreviated” redaction

According to Daniel, early manuscripts in this group open with the Arabic doxology and preface. It omits much material on the first Islamic conquests outside Arabia, abbreviates or omits material about Umayyad activities in Syria and Iraq in favour of matters concerning Khurasan, gives a condensed account of ‘Abbasid history and concludes with the death of al-Muktafi in 295/908; it is also more archaic in its language. The earliest dated examples of this group include the earliest complete manuscripts of Bal’ami’s text currently known; the Royal Asiatic Society’s copy, [RAS

Daniel (1990), pp. 300–301. This is the redaction largely followed by Zotenberg for his translation.
Daniel does not specify whether the “twenty-eight” questions posed to Muhammad, or a version of this passage, is also generally included.
Daniel (1990), pp. 300–301.
Daniel (1990), p. 301.
However, the Sulemaniye Library’s copy, Fatih 4281, dated 21 Rabi‘ I 725/1325, indicates that at least by that date the Persian preface was introducing the “abbreviated” redaction.
22), dated 5 Shawwal, 701/1302\(^{15}\) and the Süleymaniye Library's Fâlîh 4285, dated 1 Shawwal 702/1303.\(^{16}\)

As already mentioned, Daniel has now argued that the "full" and the "abbreviated" redactions probably relate to two Samanid versions of Bal'ami's original text. However, apart from one fragmentary and problematic copy dated 586/1190, the ten earliest securely dated texts of the Târîkh come from the fourteenth century prior to 1355, with no further securely dated copies known before the fifteenth century.

\(^{15}\) Daniel (1990), p. 315. The tasbîr of the genealogy of the Prophet from this manuscript has been discussed in Chapter 2.

\(^{16}\) Daniel (1990), p. 312
Chapter 3


* MSS in Daniel’s ‘control group’ for the “abridged” redaction

1. Mashhad, Astan-i Quds 129 (741); scribe: Miskawayh b. Muhammad Miskawayh
   preface: missing
   redaction: fragmentary text; problematic but probably originally “full”; 11
   Muharram 586/1190

2. London, Royal Asiatic Society 22 (Morley 9) 5 Shawwal 701/1302
   preface: Arabic
   redaction: “abbreviated” 12

3. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 4285 1 Shawwal 702/1303
   scribe: Ahmad b. al-Najm al-Khattat al-Akhlati (sic)
   preface: Arabic
   redaction: “abbreviated” 13

4. Gotha, Landesbibliothek 24–5 12 Muharram 713/1313
   preface: Arabic
   redaction: “late” 14

5. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Aya Sofya 3050 Rajab 713/1313
   scribe: ‘Uthman b. Ahmad b. Abi Bakr, known as Khalawayh
   colophon also names: Ustadar al-Khilati and Fath Allah Shirwani
   preface: Persian
   redaction: “full” 15

127 According to Daniel’s Annotated List, Daniel (1990), 309–321.
128 This copy, described by Daniel as “The oldest, and one of the most problematic, of the manuscripts.” Copied either in Zanjan or Erzinjan it appears to be closer to Tabari’s original and does not correspond to any of the three major groups; Daniel (1990), pp. 295 and 316. In addition, it is only a fragment of the whole, running from the conquest of Syria in the caliphate of ‘Umar to events immediately following the Battle of the Zab and the fall of the Umayyads. Daniel lists the next dated example as Bursa, Genel Kuruphane 1602(16), 692/1292–3; “An important fragment of 217 folios, in need of further investigation, ibid. p. 309. However, it seems this manuscript is in fact a section from Bal‘ami’s ‘translation’ of the Tafsir and is dated 562/1166; I have therefore not included it in this list. I am most grateful to Professor Zeren Tanrıddi for checking this manuscript for me. According to Professor Tanrıddi, it includes illumination.
129 Zotenberg’s “E”; Rawshan’s “masbah-yi asâd”. “The oldest most complete manuscript, representing one of the most important redactions of the text”, Daniel (1990), pp. 301 and 315.
130 Rawshan’s “Fâ”, text virtually identical to Royal Asiatic Society 22, Daniel (1990), pp. 301 and 312.
131 Daniel notes that although it follows the “late” redaction, this manuscript begins with the Arabic preface, Daniel (1990), p. 299, n. 54; Zotenberg’s “G”; Rawshan’s “FB” (identified incorrectly by him as Fath 4281), Daniel (1990), p. 310.
6. Istanbul, Sûlemaniye Library, Aya Sofya 3051
   Dhu'al-Qa'da 718/1319
   scribe: Mahmud b. 'Umar b. Abi Bakr, known as Khalawayh
   preface: Persian
   redaction: "full"133

7. *Istanbul, Sûlemaniye Library, Fâtih 4281
   21 Rabi' I 725/1325
   scribe: 'Abd Allah b. Sa'd Allah b. Abi Ghabb al-Isfahani
   patron: Nizam-i Iran Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Din Amir Ghazan
   preface: Persian
   redaction: "abbreviated"134

8. London, British Library, Add. 7622
   Rajab 734/1334
   scribe: Husayn [or Ahmad?] b. 'Ali b. Husayn al-Bahmani [or al-Husayni]
   known as Anushirwan135
   preface: Arabic
   redaction: "full"136

9. Istanbul, Evkaf Müzesi (? )2171
   preface: not recorded
   redaction: not recorded137

10. Patna (Bankipore), Oriental Public Library 119-20
    Safar 740/1339
    preface: missing
    redaction: not recorded138

11. *Leiden, Universitätsbibliothek Cod. 1612
    Jumâdâ I 754/1353-4
    preface: Persian
    redaction: "abbreviated"139

133 Rawshan’s “SB”; perhaps Bahar and Gunabadi’s “KM”; "Essentially identical to
   Aya Sofya 3050 but more carefully written; the copyists were relatives probably working
   from the same original", Daniel (1990), p. 311.
134 Shi‘ite curses have been added after names of Yazid and prominent chapter
   headings for events of Shi‘ite significance (eg. fol. 335a on Zayd b. 'Ali), Daniel (1990), p.
   311.
135 As noted by Rieu, this calligrapher also copied the Shâhnâma dated 731/1330
   (TSM, H. 1479), Rieu (1879-1883), vol. i, pp. 68a–70a. The illumination style of the
   British Library manuscript is close to that of the Topkapi Shâhnâma, thus supporting a Fars
   provenance for both manuscripts, Wright (1998), pp. 15-17 and figs 4-5.
136 The scribe was probably Sunni, going out of his way, for example, to laud 'Umar;
   Daniel also notes that the contents of the text differs from other early copies, Daniel
137 Daniel (1990), p. 311.
139 Daniel notes this text does not end with al-Mustazhir, Daniel (1990), p. 299, n. 54,
   and that Umar's titles have been effaced, presumably by a Shi‘ite reader, Daniel (1990), p.
   313.
2. The text of the Freer Bal‘ami

2.1 An annotated list of section headings

As noted in the Introduction, the Freer manuscript consists of three hundred and sixty-eight text folios, beginning on folio 1b and ending with a cropped folio 368b (Pls 39a–b). The end folio includes a description of the death of the caliph al-Muktafi in 295/908. Unless subsequently cropped or damaged, each text block contains thirty-three lines of text. The text is divided into some four hundred and thirty-five sections, which may vary in length from ten or eleven lines to three or four folios.

As a method of identifying the major redactions of the text, Daniel created a database of section headings from fifteen Bal‘ami texts which included numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8 and 11 on the above list of fourteenth-century copies. Of these, Royal Asiatic Society 22, Süleymaniye Library Fatih 4285 and Fatih 4281, and Leiden Codex 1612 follow the "abbreviated" redaction. Since it is in the treatment of the caliphal period that the texts vary most dramatically, Daniel included only the headings from the accession of Abu Bakr onwards. The database displays in graphic form the remarkably consistent sequencing of section headings for each of the three major redactions.

In order to demonstrate the coverage of subject matter in the text as a whole; the redaction followed by the Freer scribe; and the positioning of the illustrations within the narrative, all the section headings in the Freer copy have been listed in Appendix 1. Sections of text omitted or condensed by comparison with the "full" redaction have also been marked.

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140 For example, incidents in the conquest of Syria on folio 244a.
141 For example, from the heading on fol. 359b, marking the Afshin Haydar’s campaign against the heresiarch Babak, to that for the death of the caliph al-Mu’tasim on folio 364a.
142 In his 1990 article, Daniel suggested that the text for the pre-Islamic period appeared to be comparatively uniform; however, in his forthcoming paper he notes that variants in the pre-Islamic sections may be greater than he originally thought, Daniel (forthcoming), p. [15].
143 It is clearly unsuitable that I should reproduce Professor Daniel’s unpublished database in full. As already expressed, this part of my dissertation would not have been possible without Professor Daniel’s generous cooperation.
144 Since the text block dimensions of the British Library’s “full” redaction, Add. 7622, are adequately comparable to those of the Freer manuscript (BL Ms., 245 x 167mm; FGA Ms., 280 x 170mm) and both have thirty-three lines per page, by comparing the number folios (a and b) in Daniel’s database with those of the Freer copy, it has been possible to ascertain where text has been radically condensed.
Although the choice of section headings is likely to reflect the version being copied, some latitude in wording and presentation falls within the remit of the scribe or patron. Such seemingly minor matters may become disproportionately significant as indicators of how the text was intended to be read; the religious and political orientation of the scribe or patron; and where and when it was produced.\textsuperscript{145} As will be discussed, Daniel has noted evidence of sectarian bias and later religious tampering in some Bal'ami manuscripts.\textsuperscript{146} With this in mind, the list of section headings has been annotated to mark blessings, caliphal protocols and later sectarian tampering. In addition, marks of emphasis such as headings ‘boxed’ within ruling lines; headings permitted to extend the length of a whole line and the use of colour will also be observed. The life of the Prophet has been used as a sample for observing the size of calligraphy in headings: for clarity, these have been listed separately in Appendix II.

An analysis of section headings is a broad-brush approach and may be modified by subsequent closer textual analysis. However, bearing this in mind, and also that variants exist even within Daniel’s most closely matched manuscripts, the sections in the Freer copy appear to follow those of the “abbreviated” group. Similarly, the sections heavily edited in the Freer text correspond with those of the “abbreviated” group, namely:

- Khalid ibn Walid’s conquest of Iraq and Syria;
- al-Hajjaj’s governorship of Iraq;
- the activities of Abu Muslim and the ‘Alids prior to the ‘Abbasid seizure of the caliphate;
- the political and religious disturbances following the murder of Abu Muslim;
- the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma’mun; and
- abbreviated accounts, without section headings, for the caliphs al-Wathiq (r. 227-232/833-842) to al-Muqtadir (r. 295-320/908-932).\textsuperscript{147}

Thus, versions of the first Islamic conquests outside Arabia and Umayyad activities in Iraq and Syria have been edited in favour of material on Khurasan; however,

\textsuperscript{145} For the database, Daniel has used shortened headings, with no caliphal titles or blessings. It has not been possible, therefore to compare them to the Freer versions in all respects.\textsuperscript{146} Daniel (1990), pp. 294-295.
\textsuperscript{147} As previously noted, RAS 22 includes a continuation, clearly not by Bal'amī, to the death of al-Mustarshid (r. 512-529/1118-1134); SL, Fatih 4285 and 4281 both end with al-Muqtadir and the Leiden Cod. 1612 ends earlier, with al-Mustā‘īn (r. 248-252/862-866) but includes an appendix with brief accounts of dynasties down to the Saljuqs, and also several folios on early Mongol rulers, Daniel (1990), pp. 312-313.
much dissident activity in Khurasan has also been removed. The history of the ‘Abbasid period has been generally condensed. This list also brings into focus another factor: that a significant amount of text centred upon generalissimos and governors of overweening ambition has also been edited or omitted. These factors, together with a reduction in the accounts of dissenction within the Muslim umma, and a general downgrading of the ‘Abbasid caliphs after al-Mu‘tasim, could indeed suggest a bureaucratic perspective. Whether this perspective was focused for Samanid, Ghaznavid (or possibly Ilkhanid) purposes is not at present entirely clear. However, the end product was a simplified version of Islamic history, a little economical with the truth but well suited for educating a newly-converted élite destined for government or military office.

From a purely textual point of view, therefore, the Freer manuscript would appear to belong to the earliest cohesive group of Bal‘ami texts, for which the Royal Asiatic Society’s copy dated 101/1302 provides a tentative starting point.

Although they do not appear to be written by the same hand, the Freer Bal‘ami and RAS 22 also share archaic aspects of orthography—an additional criterion used by Daniel for identifying the “abbreviated” group. Its dâls are often marked with a diacritical point, like dhâls, when following alâf, waaw or yi, including those words, such as khoudâ (God) which originally included a “waaw” after the “kha”; kâ meaning “who, whom, what, which, that etc.” is often written with a yi, rather than as kâh, with a hârooz, and kâf always represents both kâf and gâf. In its section headings, it also shares with RAS

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148 Although not stated in print, this fact has not escaped Professor Daniel’s notice, (personal communication).
149 The Freer Bal‘ami raises the question of whether some of the editing of the “abbreviated” redaction occurred in the Ilkhanid period. Particularly interesting in this regard is the comment apparently interpolated by the scribe on folio 239a, where, before cutting the accounts of Muhajir and ‘Ikrima’s activities in the Yemen, he says: “We know the tradition of Muhajir and ‘Ikrima in Yemen which follows after this.”
150 The question of the intended ‘audience’ for the Freer volume will be returned to in Chapter Five.
151 Daniel (1990), pp. 294 and 301.
152 Steingass (1892), p. 448.
153 Sir John Malcolm noted these archaic uses in RAS 22, remarking that they are only found in manuscripts of considerable antiquity, Morley (1854), p. 20. Charles Rieu remarked on a similar use of the dotted dâl and kâ in the British Library’s Shâhnâmâ dated 675/1276-7, remarking that they denote archaic spelling and an early date, but without elaborating further, Rieu (1881), p. 534. Rieu also notes the archaic wording and spelling in the British Library’s copy of Bal‘ami Tânh, Add. 7622, dated 734/1334, Rieu, 1879-1889 Z3758vol. 1, p. 69. Some of the section headings in this copy, which is by the same calligrapher as the Topkapı’s 1330 Shâhnâmâ (H. 1479), are in Arabic rather than Persian, and not only the Arabic but also the Persian headings appear, most unusually, to
22 a preference for Arabic rather than Persian vocabulary such as *khabar* rather than *guslar* and *hab* rather than *jang*. However, the definite article is regularly, but not always, dropped from Arabic names. This could reflect either a Persian or Turkish background for the scribe.

2.2 Section headings. Hierarchies and religious orientation

The scribe or designer of the manuscript may draw attention to particular headings through ‘boxing’ them within additional ruling lines; expanding the calligraphy through size or *mashq* (elongation of individual letters) to fill the length of a complete line; varying calligraphic style; illumination and the use of coloured inks or pigments.

In the Freer manuscript the heading in the frontispiece and ‘tunawar’ on folio 1b, at the start of the text, are the only illuminated headings. It appears that the text was written first, with gaps left for the headings which were subsequently filled in. Section headings are in *naskh* with *mashq* used where necessary to fill an allotted space, but are otherwise elaborated only with an occasional modest calligraphic flourish. Since the text is also in *naskh* and the vast majority of the headings are ‘embedded’ rather than beginning a fresh line of text, additional ruling lines, size and/or colour are of considerable assistance as bookmarks to the reader. However, although, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, ruling lines and some full-line headings appear to have been thoughtfully selected, colour and script size seem to have been used in an erratic fashion with no consistent logic.

2.2.1 Ruled section headings

Pre-Islamic period

1. fol. 28a Concerning Lut (Lot), his people and the birth of Ishaq.

2. 70b Concerning Yusha' bin Nun (Joshua) and the Banu Isra'il's leaving Tiyya and their going to fight the Jabaran and the destruction of Bal'am Ba'ur.

Islamic period

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22 The rare occasions when *guslar* or *jang* appear in a section heading have been noted in the list. Both Arabic and Persian words are used in the body of the text but are less likely than the headings to have been altered by the scribe.

25 Full lines are used. While this requires further investigation, it may point to the volume having been used for reading practice.

This is indicated by the calligrapher’s obvious efforts to squeeze some headings into the space available.
3. 157a The commencement of our Prophet Muhammad Mustafa and ... [next section obliterated; probably “and his family”] may God be pleased with them (Pl. 44a).

4. 239a (58b) Concerning the death of Abu Bakr and the appointing to the caliphate of Amir al-Mu’minin [obliterated: ‘Umar bin al-Khattab], may God be pleased with them both (Pl. 44b).

5. 263b (82b) Concerning the council held after the death of ‘Umar, and the caliphate of ‘Uthman bin ‘Affan, and mention of the people’s swearing of allegiance to him.

6. 265b (84b) Concerning the amirs and army sent out by ‘Uthman and what this shows of his character.

7. 270a (89a) Concerning the people’s swearing of allegiance to the Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, may God be pleased with him, and the beginning of his caliphate over men.

8. 270b (89b) Concerning the governors sent to the cities by ‘Ali, peace be upon him, and the opposition of Talha, Zubayr and ‘Aysha.

9. 314a (133a) Concerning the death of Walid bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan and the reign of his brother Sulayman and the number of his wives and children, and the genealogy of Walid.

10. 338b (157b) Concerning the caliphate of Abu'l-'Abbas al-Saffah, ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Abd Allah bin al-'Abbas, may God be pleased with him.

11. 342a (161a) Concerning al-Mahdi’s deposition of ‘Isa bin Musa as heir in favour of Mahdi and after him Harun.

With the exception of the two ruled headings in the pre-Islamic period, the main subject matter of the passages is largely expressed in the headings.  

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156 This is a scribal error and should read al-Hadi.

157 Summaries of the texts for the pre-Islamic stories are as follows:

1. fol. 28a, Concerning Lut (Lot), his people and the birth of Ishaq.

Text

This version of the story of Lut, sent by God as a prophet to convert the people of the five cities, including Sudum (Sodom) and ‘Amurra (Gomorrah), from their licentious sexual behaviour, is essentially the same as the Biblical version (Genesis 18–21). Due to the people’s intransigence, and in answer to Lut’s prayers for deliverance for him and his family, God decided to destroy the cities. Ibrahim pleaded for the cities but since not even ten righteous men could be found God sent the archangels Mika’il and Jibra’il to carry out his instructions, sparing only Lut and those of his immediate family who will accompany him. Lut’s wife, described here as a native of the town and having remained an unbeliever, disregarded God’s instructions not to look back at the destruction, and when she did was hit by one of the rocks being rained upon the cities.
The story also includes the episode of the angels' visit to Ibrahim and the conception of Ishaq by Sara, and the prophecy that Ishaq would beget Ya'qub who, in turn, would be the progenitor of the many.

The lesson
This story is an archetype both of God's vengeance upon the wicked both for disbelief and the nature of their sins, which are described. The salvation of Lut exemplifies God's protection of the righteous, and the fate of his wife that commitment to God's will must be single-minded and complete. In terms of the illustrative cycle, the birth of Ishaq provides the genealogical link between Ibrahim, illustrated on folio 24b and Yusuf ibn Ya'qub, the next in the sequence, on folio 37b.

2. 70b Concerning Yusha' bin Nun (Joshua) and the Banu Isra'il's leaving Tiyya and their going to fight the Jabaran (a race of giants) and the destruction of Bal'am Ba'ur.

Text The story of Bal'am differs in some respects from the Biblical version (Numbers 22–25). Following the death of Musa and Harun, Yusha led the Banu Isr-a'il against Jericho and then against the unbelievers of the city of Balqa. One of their number, Bal'am bin Ba'ur, was already a believer, and the people of Balqa asked him to pray on their behalf for deliverance. Bal'am refused to do this, even when requested by the king, since he would then be praying for the defeat of God's chosen people. However, the king suborned Bal'am's wife with riches, so that she pestered him night and day until he agreed to pray for the defeat of the Banu Isra'il.

Mounted on his ass, Bal'am set off to the mountain to pray. When they reached the mountain the ass refused to go further. God granted the ass the power of speech and it asked Bal'am why he was waging war against God. Bal'am repented and set off for home. However, Iblis met him on the road and persuaded him that the ass was in the power of a demon, and that he should carry out his intention to pray for the downfall of the Israelites and to God for the gift of prophethood, so that he might spend the rest of his life revered among his people. Bal'am returned to the mountain and prayed, and the battle began to go against Yusha and his army. Yusha, much aggrieved, questioned God as to why, having followed His orders in coming to this place He was now deserting them. God replied that He was answering the prayer of a true believer among the enemy. Yusha then asked that God having answered that believer's prayers, should now answer Yusha's. Yusha prayed that those who were believers among the enemy should lose their faith. Accordingly, true religion exited from Bal'am's mouth in the form of a dove.

Bal'am, deprived of his favoured position with the Almighty, had recourse to guile. He suggested to the king that he should send all the women to the enemy camp to tempt them into fornication, and then attack while they were otherwise engaged. The king followed Bal'am's advice, but the situation was saved by Finhas (Phinees) who terrified the licentious soldiery in the Israelite camp by impaling a couple, in flagrant delicto, on his lance and parading them before the tents. To ensure that the message had been well taken, God then sent an outbreak of plague among them, but in the wake of the plague He also sent an earthquake which destroyed the enemy fortress allowing the Banu Isra'il to capture it. Much booty was taken which Yusha burnt, in accordance with the Jewish law. However, only those among the Banu Isra'il were saved who begged forgiveness from God for their iniquities, and those who cared only for worldly affairs were struck down by fire from heaven, thus cleansing the community of unbelievers.

The lesson
The first part of the story makes clear that all believers are the same before God, but also illustrates the conflict of loyalties and temptations which may beset a solitary believer in an infidel society, and in the end teaches that the one may be sacrificed for the greater good of the 'amma. The second part is a timely lesson on the break-down of military discipline through...
2.2.2 Thematic unity of ruled section headings

It is noticeable that only one of the ruled headings is closely associated with a painting—that of the enthronement of the first ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Saffah. The two stories selected for ruled headings in the pre-Islamic period largely address problems associated with conversion, and may be seen as operating as a pair; Lut represents the one saved from the destruction of many, while Bal‘ami is the one from whom God withdraws his favour for the ultimate good of the Chosen People as a whole.

The ruled heading introducing the prophetic mission of Muhammad (no.3), requires no justification. The remainder all mark incidences of the transfer of power from one caliph to another, most importantly between Abu Bakr and ‘Umar (no. 4), Umar and ‘Uthman (no. 5), ‘Uthman and ‘Ali (no.7). That the Prophet’s appointment of Abu Bakr was not selected for ruled emphasis suggests it was not seen as controversial, whereas the elections of the next three caliphs were seen as important for an understanding of the precedents they had set and their effects on Muslim history.

The choices of ‘Uthman’s and ‘Ali’s appointments of officials and policies on becoming caliphs (nos 6 and 8) may also be seen as operating as a contrasting pair. No. 6 is a section of some twenty-three lines. The phraseology of the heading appears to draw the reader’s attention to ‘Uthman’s instructions, delivered to ‘Abdallah ibn Mu‘thim before dispatching him to Sistan to continue the policies and regulations established by ‘Umar. However, according to the text, after the lapse of a year and when his control was firmly established, he then began a systematic replacement of government officers and revision of administrative practices. The section continues with a litany of ‘Umar’s successful campaigns in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Africa and Spain, including a defeat of the Byzantines, thus implying praise of his political and administrative acumen.

‘Ali, by comparison—albeit he inherited a particularly complex political situation following the murder of ‘Uthman—attempted to secure the situation by a series of immediate new appointments. This shortly led to the Zubayrid bid for the caliphate and

licentious behaviour, and that although God will stand by his people, each individual will nonetheless be accountable for the sincerity of his personal beliefs.

94 It occurs on line 33 of folio 223a, but since the ruled heading for the election of ‘Uthman occurs on line 32 of folio 263b, its location is unlikely to have been the reason. Although the passing of the caliphate to Abu Bakr rather than ‘Ali proved crucial for later events, it was uncontested at the time and therefore not an obvious paradigm for problems associated with the transfer of power.

95 The phraseology of this section heading needs to be checked against other examples of the “abbreviated” redaction to establish if the phrase “and what this shows of his character” is particular to this manuscript.
their attempt to re-establish the role of the Quraysh, which ‘Ali’s election was likely to inhibit. As with the two emphasised passages in the pre-Islamic period, therefore, the appointments made by ‘Uthman and ‘Ali may be seen as contrasting approaches to similar situations. The Zubayrid revolt may also be seen as falling well within the rubric of issues associated with the transfer of religious and political authority in the formative years of the Muslim polity.

The reasons for the choices of al-Walid and al-Mahdi (nos 9 and 111), from the wide range of examples of problematic succession struggles in Umayyad and ‘Abbasid history, are less easy to identify. Al-Walid attempted, unsuccessfully, to buy off his brother Sulayman’s succession to the caliphate in favour of his son ‘Abd al-'Aziz, and ‘Isa bin Musa was twice deprived of his right to rule. Perhaps these circumstances provided examples deemed relevant to the time and place of the manuscript’s production. However, a practical approach to the government is indicated by the selection of all eleven sections.

2.2.3 Section headings assigned a full text line

All eleven headings with additional ruling lines occupy a complete text line. Seven unrulled headings have also each been allotted a line, or more. Four of these, on fols 59b, 68a, 92b and 175a, are particularly long headings which required the space. Two of the remaining three, on fols 22b and 27b, fall within the history of Ibrahim; the first introduces the story of Ibrahim, and the second refers to Ibrahim’s visit to Isma'il. All the section headings in the Ibrahim cycle have been awarded generous space and the

\[161\] ‘Abd al-Malik had settled the succession so that al-Walid should be succeeded by Sulayman. For comparative text see Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenberg (1983(a)), p. 173; Kennedy (1986), p. 104.
\[162\] Al-Saffah designated as his successors his brother, Abu ja’far (al-Mansur) and after him his nephew ‘Isa ibn Musa; in 147/764 al-Mansur forced his resignation in favour of his own son, al-Mahdi, who in turn diverted the succession from ‘Isa ibn Musa to his own sons al-Hadi and Harun. For comparative text see Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenberg (1983(b)), pp. 33 and 93-101; Kennedy (1986), pp. 130 and 137.
\[163\] A certain sensitivity to kingmakers has already been noted as typical of the “abbreviated” redaction. It may be worth noting, therefore, that the section on the death of al-Walid includes the report of al-Hajjaj’s reaction to an erroneous rumour of the caliph’s death. The general, at that time governor of Iraq, is said to have leaned against a pillar, wept and prayed to God that he might die before the caliph, because he knew he would not be permitted to live long after his patron and protector’s demise. The caliph survived and al-Hajjaj is said to have granted freedom to all his slaves by way of thanksgiving for the caliph’s and his own reprieve. For comparative text see Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenberg (1983(b)), p. 172; Dietrich (1971), p. 42.
largest of the calligraphy sizes, which suggests that although this level of consistency was not observed throughout the manuscript, some idea of hierarchy may have been present from the start.

Only one other full-line heading occurs in the manuscript, namely:

- 399b (158b) Concerning the coming of Marwan bin Muhammad from Harran to Mawsil and his war with 'Abd Allah bin 'Ali. (Pl. 46).

This section describes the defeat of Marwan at the Battle of the Greater Zab. Even though it was an event of the greatest importance, marking the destruction of Umayyad military might in the field, nonetheless, the generosity with which it has been treated attracts attention. It dwarfs both the enthronement of the first 'Abbasid caliph, al-Saffah, which precedes it, and the death of Marwan which follows it, and which, in terms of the cycle of dynasties as a whole marks the final collapse of Umayyad power in the central Islamic lands. In addition, the opportunity to bless an 'Alid has been missed, suggesting that Shi'i sectarian partisanship was not the reason.

The same heading in RAS 22 reads simply: "Khabar harb-i 'Abd Allah bin 'Ali b. Marwan al-Himār" (Concerning the war between 'Abd Allah bin 'Ali and Marwan the Ass), with no reference to Mosul. Although the heading on folio 245b, for the capture of Takrit and Mosul by the Arabs, has not been given any special treatment, it is possible that this banner headline may betray a local interest in the Battle of the Zab on the part of designer, scribe or patron.

2.2.4 Colour in section headings

From folios 2a to 10a the headings were originally coloured in a copper-containing green, which has since rotted the paper (Pl. 45a); from folios 10b to 12b they are in black, and thereafter to the end of the text all section headings are in a bright red ink, except for one heading on folio 108b: "Concerning Ḥadrat Jirjis, [followed by the abbreviation for 'aleyha al-salām]" (Pl. 45b). This heading has been written, probably with a brush rather than a pen, in the same deep plum red as is used in the illuminated panels at the head of the frontispiece and on folio 1b.

While the change from green to black occurs three-quarters of the way through the sections on Adam, the change from black to red occurs at the second heading in the

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64 The laqab of 'al-himār' originally referred to his strength, but was later intentionally misconstrued by enemies.
history of Kayumarth: “The khutba of Kayumarth” on folio 14a. It is impossible to be sure what prompted these changes, but perhaps an original plan to use green for the Biblical–Qur’anic prophets was abandoned for reasons of expense or shortage of pigments for such a lengthy commission. It is noticeable that the only other occasion where copper-containing green was used in this manuscript, the background to the panel containing the genealogy of the prophets at the foot of the painting on folio 157b, the paper has also rotted. Since red is used for headings from the history of Kayumarth onwards, the use of black appears to have been a stop-gap. This apparent shortfall in colour planning suggests experimentation and perhaps a commission carried out in haste.

Whatever the circumstances, however, it is difficult to believe that a single heading treated in a different manner in the body of the text, as with the story of Had-raj Jirjis, was anything other than calculated. Had-raj Jirjis (St. George) was martyred in Mosul in the reign of Diocletian (r. 284–305), and was particularly venerated by Christians and Muslims in that city and its environs.66

Taken on their own, the Jirjis heading and the inclusion of a mention of Mosul in a banner headline for the Battle of the Zab, are scant evidence for locating the manuscript in Mosul. However, these factors will be included with other in a broader consideration of context in Chapter Five.

2.2.5 Size of calligraphy in section headings

Appendix II67 lists the section headings for the life of the Prophet by way of a representative sample, together with the other headings in the sequence and with the placing of illustrations noted.

This list shows that the size of calligraphy does not reflect a predictable hierarchy for headings associated with the life of the Prophet. Neither is there evidence of care in the placing of headings that might normally be expected to attract respect or interest. For example, the heading marking the Hijra (Pl. 47a), the first of the two headings marking the death of the Prophet (Pl. 47b) and the heading for the accession of Abu Bakr to the caliphate are on the very last lines of their respective folios. A very little forethought and judicious use of mashq could easily have preferred them into prime positions, without disturbing the quota of thirty-three lines per text block. Rather, the

66 See, for example, Fiey [1959], pp. 118–120.
67 See below p.
calligrapher appears to have pursued his task with the unremitting deliberation of a
metronome. This is in sharp contrast to some shorter headings which are among the most eye-
catching, such as the battle roll beginning on folio 175a and continuing through fol. 187 (Pl.
48). An interest in military history may figure, but the lack of consistency even within
the battle sequences suggests that calligraphy size was governed more by whim than
master-plan and the scribe responded to spaces roughly calculated first time around.

Summary of degrees of emphasis in section headings

It would appear, therefore, that additional ruling lines have been used with
discretion to identify specific headings, focusing mainly upon the transfer of political and
religious authority, in the first instance from God to the Prophet and thereafter through
the first four caliphs to the ‘Abbasids. Space for extended headings, colour and size of
calligraphy appear to have been employed in a more arbitrary fashion. However, even
within this heterogeneous corpus, two headings stand out as ‘maveriks’ in regard to the
use of colour contrast in the one and a particularly disproportionate allocation of space in
the other, and both imply association with Mosul.

2.2.6 Religious orientation expressed in section headings

Daniel has observed that one of the more substantive and subtle ways in which
Bal‘ami manuscripts differ from each other is in their overtly Sunni or Shi‘i religious
orientation. This is expressed by scribes and later readers through the interpolation of
blessings and curses in both section headings and text as well as blatant defacement. For
example, in the early “abbreviated” group Daniel cites RAS 22, SL, Fatih 4285 and 4281
as originally including curses after the names of ‘Umar, Mu‘awiyya, Yazid and others
which have subsequently been defaced, presumably by a Sunni reader, or conversely in
other copies.69

The following table lists the occurrence of the title “caliph” and term “caliphate”
associated with a name in the section headings, plus where “blessings” have followed

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68 This is in contrast, for example, to the Edinburgh–London Jami‘ al-sawārikh,
(London, Khalili, MSS.727, fol. 67a), where the text prior to the illustration of
Muhammad leading Hamza and other Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqa' (Fig. 104) has
been written in a v-shape, like a colophon, at the foot of the folio in order to place the
illustration and its text at the top of the following text block, Blair (1995), p. 71.
69 Daniel (1990), p. 294 and n. 39, in which he also notes the “use of gilded headings
for events of Shi‘i significance such as the death of Zayd b. ‘Ali” on fol. 335a of Fatih
4281, and the inclusion of “al-‘a‘la’” after practically all the Umayyads in the fifteenth-
century copy SL, Fatih 4282, dated 850/1446.
names or where blessings are absent where they might normally be expected to have been included. These headings have also been coded and marked in the comprehensive List of Section Headings, where the incidence of later defacement has also been recorded. The later defacements will be mentioned hereafter.
### TABLE

Incidence of inclusion or absence of caliphal protocols and blessings in section headings from the accession of Abu Bakr (11/632) to the accession of al-Muqtadir (295/908).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caliph/'caliphate'</th>
<th>Caliph/'caliphate'</th>
<th>Blessings</th>
<th>Name but no blessing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prophet's family</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fol. 157a</td>
<td>282b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rashidun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Bakr</td>
<td>223a</td>
<td>223a</td>
<td>223a 164a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>224b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>239a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>279b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Umar</td>
<td>239a</td>
<td>239a</td>
<td>165a 247a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>239b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>243b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>261b</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>262a</td>
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<td>262a</td>
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<td>263a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>263b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Uthman</td>
<td>263b</td>
<td>263b</td>
<td>265b 263b</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>265b</td>
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<td>267b</td>
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<td></td>
<td>268b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Chapter 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>caliph/</th>
<th>caliphate</th>
<th>blessings</th>
<th>name but no blessing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amir al-m.</td>
<td>fol.</td>
<td>fol.</td>
<td>fol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ‘Alid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Claimants</th>
<th>283a</th>
<th>284a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hasan b. ‘Ali</td>
<td>283a</td>
<td>284a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husayn b. ‘Ali</th>
<th>287b</th>
<th>292b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. ‘Abi Talib</td>
<td>287b</td>
<td>292b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zayd b. ‘Ali</th>
<th>332b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. al-Husayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. ‘Ali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yahya b.</th>
<th>334a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zayd b. ‘Ali</td>
<td>334a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. al-Husayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Caliphate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amir al-m.</td>
<td>fol.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Umayyads**

Yazid (I) b. | 285a | no blessings |
Mu'awiya | | no curses |

Yazid (II) b. | 323b |
‘Abd al-'Aziz |

Hisham | 327b |
al-Walid b. | 334b |
Yazid |

Yazid (III) b. | 335a |
al-Walid |

Marwan b. | 335a |
Muhammad |

**Abbasids**

Abu'l-'Abbas | 338b |
al-Saffah |

Musa al-Hadi | 345a |
Harun al-Rashid | 347a |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Caliphate</th>
<th>Blessings</th>
<th>Name but no blessing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibrahim b. al-Mahdi</td>
<td>357b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Mu'tasim</td>
<td>359b</td>
<td>364a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-Muqtadir</td>
<td>364a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammad b. Abi Bakr</td>
<td>279b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Muslim</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodrat Jirjis</td>
<td>108b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There appear to be no interpolated curses either in the headings or the text.

The table of protocols and blessings shows that in the section headings all four of the Rashidun are cited with caliphal titles and blessings. However, the scribe has not rigorously availed himself of every opportunity to invoke the mercy of the Almighty upon those he might be expected to bless. The high incidence of blessings accorded to 'Ali is in large part due to him being blessed as progenitor of descendants who play notable roles in later history. That Yahya ibn Zayd ibn 'Ali has not been blessed, in contrast to other 'Alid claimants, is probably more oversight than design.

The Umayyads are not blessed, and only al-Saffah among the 'Abbasids is so honoured. On the other hand, as previously mentioned, I have so far found no curses whatsoever added to the text by the Freer scribe; indeed, even Yazid I, the 'murderer' of 'Ali, is acknowledged as caliph and not vilified.198

It is very difficult to read this table as one expressing either a clearly defined Shi'i bias, as identified by Daniel in RAS 22 or Fatih 4281, or a Sunni one as in Fatih 4282. As already mentioned, the text produced by Bal'ami, perhaps with the assistance of a committee, was designed to appeal to a largely Hanafi audience which also held 'Ali in high regard, and neither had Tabari been narrowly orthodox in outlook. It would appear, therefore, that the Freer scribe felt very little incentive to quibble with a very even-handed version of Islamic history.

This was not so, however, with the manuscript's later readers. Clearly this moderate approach was deeply offensive to later Shi'i readers, who thumbed, scored but did not curse their way through the headings for all members of the Rashidun except for 'Ali, whose name was, in turn, defaced at some stage by a Sunni devotee. Also, for example on folios 269b, the murder of 'Uthman, and 292b, concerning revenge for the blood of Husayn ibn 'Ali, some attempt has been made to replace defaced headings. It is difficult to assess with accuracy when the sectarian tampering was perpetrated. Even attempts at replacing defaced headings often display an effort to match the original naskh. However, such sectarian meddling demonstrates how an attempt to please all is as likely to raise hackles as being overtly partisan. This is not say that the artist(s) of the illustrative cycle necessarily held similar views: this will be looked at in Chapter Five.

198 Since the Freer text appears to be curse-free, it is not possible to compare the wording of curses with other manuscripts.
Chapter Four

The Illustrations

Themes

1. Résumé

Chapter One attempted to demonstrate that the iconography of the frontispiece may express the welding of the religious and cultural dichotomy of the Ilkhanid state during Ghazan’s reign, at the turn of the eighth/fourteenth century.

An overview of “lessons” at the end of Chapter Two suggested that although one story may carry more than one moral, or be read at more than one level, the cycle as a whole appears to fall into six broad topics: i) conversion to monotheism; ii) the transfer of power; iii) military affairs and tactics; iv) state administration including judgements, judicial affairs and diplomacy; v) rites of passage from youth to adulthood.

Chapter Three, part 1, considered the history of Bal’ami’s text and in particular the “abbreviated” redaction copied some three-and-a-half centuries later by the Freer scribe. It was suggested that Daniel’s conclusion that this redaction was designed as part of a Samanid teaching programme for a society including a high proportion of new converts was similar to the Ilkhanid situation following Ghazan’s conversion in 694/1295.

In part 2, an analysis of the section headings in the Freer copy showed that from a total of eleven headings picked out for emphasis by the additional of ruled lines, two were associated with conversion to monotheism; one marked the commencement of the Prophet’s public mission; six identified transfers of caliphal power, and two described the appointment of provincial governors by the caliphs ‘Uthman and ‘Ali at the time of their respective accessions. These headings, therefore, appeared to complement the themes already suggested by the overview of “lessons” in Chapter Two. It was also noted that apart from a heading marking the start of Muhammad’s prophetic career—the most important of all the transfers of power in the history of Islam—no other heading in the Prophet’s life was picked out for emphasis.

In addition, an analysis of the distribution of protocols and blessings in the section headings, failed to identify a strong sectarian bias in the treatment of the Freer text. This accorded with the nature and purpose of Bal’ami’s text but nonetheless contrasted with some other ‘customised’ early fourteenth-century copies.
It seems appropriate, therefore, to attempt to clarify the specifications to which the designer of the Freer manuscript may have been working. The following this résumé, numbered as "i", some aspects will be overviewed before discussing themes in more detail:

Schema of chapter

2. Rate of illustration in the Freer Bal'ami


4. Unexpected lacunae in the painting cycle of the Freer Bal'ami

5. Themes in the Freer Balami's cycle of illustrations

   Conversion to monotheism
   Subjugation of the spirit world
   Conversion of rulers and nations
   God supports His chosen people
   The fate of unbelievers and apostates
   The transfer of power
   Military affairs and tactics
   State administration including judgements, judicial affairs and diplomacy
   Rights of passage from youth to adulthood

6. Parallel stories in Muslim and Mongol culture

   The ruler as armourer and the discovery of iron
   Trial by fire
   Skills of horsemanship and marksmanship
   Dogs of the underworld
   Healing through evisceration

7. History as didactic literature

8. Mirrors for princes. A spectrum
2. Rate of illustration in the Freer Bâ'âmi

The integrated list of section headings and illustrations shows that the paintings are not regularly spaced throughout the text as a whole. For purposes of assessing the rate of illustration the text will be divided into three major historical periods: pre-Islamic, the public life of the Prophet and the caliphal period, with the Prophet's childhood falling within the pre-Islamic period, for which the rates of illustration are as follows:

i. pre-Islamic period, fols 1b–157a
   24 paintings in 157 folios (approx. 1:6)
   illustrations: Hushang – Khusraw Parwiz and Bahram Chubin

ii. the Prophet's public life, fols 157b–223a
   7 paintings in 66 folios (approx. 1:9)
   illustrations: the Prophet's Genealogy – Battle of Hunayn

iii. the caliphal period, fols 223b–368b
   6 paintings in 145 folios (approx. 1:24)
   illustrations: Death of Musaylima – the Afshin Haydar and Babak

This shows that the prophets and kings of the pre-Islamic era received a higher proportion of the illustrations than either the life of the Prophet or the period of the caliphate, and the caliphal period is sparsely illustrated compared to the other two. However, it seems likely that even among the prophets and kings an effort was made to avoid dense clusters of pictures. For example, there is no illustration between folio 14b, Hushang fighting the dragos, the first painting in the cycle, and folio 24b, depicting Ibrahim and Namrud. This is despite the reign of Jamshid, the record of the Prophet Nuh, the reigns of Dahhak and Faridun and the account of the Prophet Salih occurring within these folios, all of which were selected for illustration in the Edinburgh–London Jami' al-Tawârikh. Other reasons may have played a part in the absence of, for example, Dahhak and Faridun; as will be mentioned below, availability of existing cycles, time and economics may also have influenced decisions.

More will be said of these possible factors in Chapter Five.
Chapter 4


EUL, Arabic 20:

Qism 1: Ancient kings of Persia and Arabia (folios 3–41a)

fol.

1-2 missing

3a The magnificent city of Iram

3b The Prophet Salih produces a camel out of a rock

4a Hushang enthroned as King of the World

4b Tahmuras, the fully armed

Jamshid develops the crafts

5a Dahhak enthroned

5b Ibrahim cast into the fire by Namrud (Fig. 95)

6b Manuchihr enthroned with Rustam in attendance

7b Musa found among the bulrushes

10a Musa hears the voice of God

10b Musa watches the Egyptian army drown in the Red Sea

11a Musa watches Qarun and his tribe swallowed up by the earth

11b Moses slays the giant ‘Uj b. ‘Anaq (Fig. 96)

12b Yushi’ orders property taken at Jericho to be destroyed

12b Sultan Luhrasp enthroned

13b The Prophet Armia (Jeremiah)

* In the absence of comprehensive text and illustration studies for any of the fourteenth-century copies of Rashid al-Din’s jami’ al-tawārīkh, comparable subject matter, rather than exact textual parallels, have been identified in bold. The folio numbering for the following list is taken from Blair’s Appendix II, “The Reconstructed Manuscript”, in Blair (1995), pp. 116–118; identifications of the paintings are based on Blair (1995) and Talbot Rice (1976). A study of the exact location of spaces left for illustrations in the earliest and most complete Persian copy of the text, Istanbul, TSM, H. 1654, dated 717/1317 has yet to be carried out. Blair has noted that the illustrations in the section on the History of the Jews in TSM, H. 1654, are not identical to those in the Edinburgh–London manuscript. For example, a space was left for an image of Musa appointing Yusha’, which does not appear in the Khalili fragment, Blair (1995), p. 86 and Rashid al-Din–Jahn ed. & tr. (1973), folio 286a and pl. 29. A full text and illustration study may also provide information on whether Rashid al-Din and his team were using Bal’ami’s or Tabari’s texts, or both. An earlier study has shown that Rashid al-Din’s text includes material from other histories quoted virtually word for word, Fitzherbert (1996), pp. 63–69. I have not yet compared Bal’ami’s text with the section of H. 1654 published by Jahn.
16b Gushtasp enthroned, who accepted the religion of Zoroaster
17b Shaghad kills Rustam
18b Ka'us with the widow of Siyawush and her son
19a Dawud judges between two brothers
21a Iskandar extends his realm into northern regions perpetually shrouded in fog
24a The Annunciation
25a The seven sleepers of Ephesus
25b Yunus beneath the gourd tree having been regurgitated by the whale (Fig. 99)
26a Jurjays (St George) miraculously protected from torture by the King of Mosul for refusing to worship idols
36a Humrizd son of Anushirwan enthroned

Qism 2: Muhammad and the Caliphate (folios 41b-154)

43a 'Abd al-Muttalib and al-Harith about to discover the well Zamzam
44a Birth of Muhammad
45b Muhammad is recognised by Bahira, the Christian monk
47a Muhammad solves the dispute over lifting the black stone back into the Ka'ba
47b Muhammad receives Divine revelation through Jibra'il
50b Torture of the the early converts to Islam
54a The Negus of Ethiopia refuses to give up the Muslim refugees
56a The Quraysh in consultation over the proscription of the Banu Hashim and Banu 'Abd al-Muttalib
57a The mi'raj of the Prophet
61a Muhammad, Abu Bakr and the herd of goats during the hajja from Mecca to Madina
62 missing

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1 This is the story from Sura 38 quoted in the frontispiece to the Freer Bal'ami.
2 In the Freer text the name of the saint is followed by the abbreviation for a blessing and is inscribed in a different colour of red from that of the other section headings.
Chapter 4

Khalili Collection (MSS 727):

66a Muhammad exhorts his family before the battle of Badr (Fig. 102)
67a Muhammad leading Hamza and the Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqa
68-70 missing
72a Muhammad receiving the submission of the Banu'l-Nadir
73-107 missing

History of the Children of Israel

282a Blank shamsa
282b 'Uhwân
283a Nuh in his Ark
287b Ya'qub (Jacob) and his family
288a Yusuf before the husband of Zulaykha
289a Yusuf and his brothers
292a Musa and the faithful beheading the apostate worshippers of the golden calf
294b Death of Musa on Mount Nebo
299a Yunus being regurgitated by the whale (Fig. 100)
301-303 missing

This list shows that there is no major gap in the extant folio sequence of the Edinburgh-London manuscript until well into Qism 2. The latter part of the life of the Prophet and all record of the caliphate are now missing, since fols 73-107 are lost. The structure of Rashid al-Din's text differs from Bal'ami's in that the "History of the Children of Israel" is treated as a separate section. However, some of its main protagonists also feature in the earlier section on the ancient kings and prophets, thereby accounting for two images of Yunus and the whale.

Illustrations in the Bal'ami from the Creation to the Battle of Uhud number twenty-nine. Illustrations in Qism 1 and 2 plus the "History of the Children of Israel" in the Rashid al-Din number forty-seven. Between the two manuscripts only eleven overlap

Blair has noted that the subject of this painting is debatable. It occurs at the top of the folio with only one line of text above it; the text preceding it at the bottom of folio 65b describes the demand of 'Utba and Shayba for Qurayshi opponents who are their equals; the line above the painting describes Muhammad exhorting his family to fight and the line below it refers to Hamza, 'Ali and 'Ubayda stepping forward, followed by the fighting, Blair (1995), pp. 69-70. In the Bal'ami the hand-to-hand (camel to camel) fighting is illustrated.

in subject matter. This is not a high ratio, particularly in view of the wealth of incidents covered by the more heavily illustrated Edinburgh–London text. Although not conclusive evidence, this suggests that, expense apart, the designers of the two manuscripts were probably not selecting illustrations according to identical criteria.

\[7\] I.e. forty-seven paintings in sixty-seven extant folios.
Chapter 4

4. Unexpected lacunae in the Freer Balʿami's painting cycle

The Prophet Nuh

Even if density of illustration, time or economics played a part in thinning the Balʿami cycle, the absence of a picture of the prophet Nuh, his Ark and the Flood is unexpected and disappointing. It is surprising since it is one of the most widely known examples of God punishing unbelief and saving the elect in the Qur'anic-Biblical tradition; it is also pictorially beguiling, and the Balʿami artist was at his best when drawing animals.

Nuh was also considered as one of the major progenitors of mankind, as demonstrated in the tasbihs included in the Royal Asiatic Society and Marciana Library manuscripts (Figs 41-43). In the Freer version of the Genealogy of the Prophet (Pl. 26) the space which would have been occupied by the descendants of Nuh has been allocated to the painting. Since Hushang and the dīwān falls on folio 14b and the section on Nuh runs from folios 15b to 17b, a fear of clustering too many images within the opening folios may explain Nuh's absence.

Dahhak and Faridun; Faridun and his sons

Scenes depicting Dahhak’s confrontation with Faridun, or a scene of Faridun and his sons, are staples of Shāhnāma cycles in the fourteenth century. Although the stories as told by Balʿami are not identical in every detail to the versions in Firdawsi’s text, which post-dates Balʿami’s commission by some fifty years, they nonetheless provide important examples of the transfer of power. The overthrow of the wicked Arab ruler, Dahhak, by Faridun and the blacksmith, Kava, leads to the reinstatement of the Iranian Pishdadian dynasty and the just rule of Faridun. Faridun’s fateful decision to divide the kingdom among his three sons generates enduring enmity between Iran and Turan.

Dahhak is the first of a trilogy of wicked ‘Arab’ kings—Dahhak, Namrud and Firʿawn—whose stories all occur within ten folios of the text. It is possible that

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8 It is noticeable that in the Edinburgh-London jamʿ al-tawārīkh, the picture of Nuh at sea does not include the animals, Blair (1995), p. 81, fig. 45 and Facsimile fol.285a (K28).
9 See, for example, Simpson (1979), Appendix 5, p. 383 and Grabar and Blair (1980), pp. 62-73.
10 The Shāhnāma was completed in the year 400/1010, whereas Balʿami’s text was commissioned in 352/963.
11 Although the pharaohs were not Arabs, it is possible that in the Islamic period inhabitants of Egypt were popularly equated with them. In an appendix to the Chronography of the Syriac historian and divine, Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), the Mamluk
emphasising all three in this cluster by illustrating them, and at an early stage in the cycle, may have been seen as suggesting unintended anti-Arab bias, unhelpful at a period when Ghazan was seeking to unite Arab and ‘Ajami. Also in contemporary terms, Faridun’s division of his kingdom may have appeared uncomfortably similar to Chinggiz Khan’s division of his empire among his sons, which, by the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was in a state of advanced bellicose fragmentation.

Rustam

Rustam has also been left in the wings. In Bal’ami’s text he plays an important, but secondary, role to the kings for whom he acts as general and champion, and is not credited with a heroic sequence such as his heft khwarân (seven feats) in the Shahnāma. This presentation of Rustam would have been in keeping with the commission for the “abbreviated” redaction. For Bal’ami to appear as an apologist for a Sistani hero, when the Saffarids were a rival state on the Samanid southern flank would not have been politic; also, cutting generalissimos down to size appears to have been part of the editorial agenda for the “abbreviated” redaction, and Rustam was, par excellence, a generalissimo.

If the Small Shahnāmas were indeed produced around the year 1300, the absence of Dahhak, Faridun and Rustam from the Freer cycle suggests that the choice of illustrations for Bal’ami’s text was not being heavily influenced by current Shahnāma cycles.

incursions into Ilkhanid territory during Ghazan’s reign are described as “the Pharaonic tyranny”, and the Mamluks themselves as “the soldiers of Pharaoh”, Bar Hebraeus–Budge tr. (1932), vol. 2, Appendix, pp. xxvi–xxix.

a Folios 17a–26a, with Ibrahim cast into the fire on folio 24b.


Chapter 4

The Life of the Prophet

Of the eight paintings illustrating the life of the Prophet, five are concerned with military affairs, one with the purification of the Muhammad's heart, one with his genealogy and one with his conversion of the People. Absent is any attempt at a mini-cycle exalting crucial events in his life, such as his birth, the revelation of the Qur'an through Jibra'il, the hijra from Mecca to Medina, the conquest of Mecca or the Prophet's death. Even in its cropped state, the life of the Prophet in the Edinburgh-London Jami' al-tawriikh includes his birth, the revelation of the Qur'an and the hijra.

Soucek has explained the choice in the Bal'ami as focusing on moments of action and high drama in the life of the Muslim community, emphasising Muhammad's triumph over enemies of the faith through his own heroism and with angelic assistance, and incidents demonstrating his Divine mission. These actions are weighted in favour of action in warfare, but Soucek does not suggest this may be due to an overall concordance between the Prophet's mini-cycle and the cycle as a whole. Soucek contrasts the Bal'ami with the Edinburgh-London manuscript, seeing the illustrations of the life of the Prophet as presenting the superiority of Islam over Christianity and Judaism. The ratio of battle to less bellicose aspects of his biography in the two manuscripts—five out of eight in the Bal'ami versus three out of nine in the extant Edinburgh-London cycle—clearly suggests a choice favouring military affairs in the case of the Bal'ami.

The rule of 'Afi In Abi Tafib

Soucek notes that in the Bal'ami 'Ali appears to be represented as a hero in the early battles for the faith but less successful as a political leader. The absence of an illustration of 'Ali's greatest success as warrior-hero at Khybar is a curious omission if any.

The illustrations have been listed together with the section headings for the life of the Prophet in Chapter Three.


Soucek (1988), p. 195. There is no mention in Bal'ami's text of the Prophet's investiture of 'Ali as the Prophet's successor at Ghadir Khumm, as illustrated in the Edinburgh Athar al-baqiya of al-Biruni, dated 707/1307 (Fig. 91); see also Soucek (1975), pp. 154-155 and fig. 25 and al-Biruni-Sachau tr. (1879), p. 333.
overtly pro-'Afid criterion was an intention of the programme. The Battle of Hunayn presents another anomaly: as pointed out in Chapter Two, it is not entirely clear whether 'Ali's heroic defence of the Prophet was the subject matter originally intended for illustration, or whether it was the Prophet's life saved from a Meccan's vengeance by an act of God. This could indicate either a pro-'Afid proclivity or a misunderstanding on the part of whoever carried out this particular illustration. Both options will be considered for their thematic relevance.

Summary

The absence of illustrations depicting fourteenth-century favourites such as the feats of Rustam and crucial moments in Iranian and Turanian kingship; together with selective presentations of the life of the Prophet and the exploits of 'Ali, strongly suggest that the cycle in the Freer Bâl'ami was selected according to a particular, rather than more haphazard agenda.

The five broad categories suggested by the lessons will now be considered.

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" It will be suggested in Chapter Five, that the Battles of Uhud, the Ditch, Hunayn and Qadisiyya may have been left to an assistant.
" This does not exclude the possibility of existing cycles were being used as models where appropriate. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.
5. **Themes in the Freer Bal'ami's cycle of illustrations**

The major themes identified in the cycle do not operate as discrete entities but often overlap and interact with each other. For example, transfers of power may preface exemplars of state administration, as with Manuchihr's seizure of power followed by his speech from the throne; or Nushirwan's harbouring of the exiled Dhu-Yazan which provides lessons in royal magnanimity, political acumen, diplomacy and military tactics. In addition, pairs of images may provide contrasts in sub-text; for example, the domestic disharmony caused by Zulaykha's pursuit of Yusuf is followed by Yusuf forgiving his brothers to restore family unity. However, to explore all the permutations provided by each lesson in the cycle risks clouding, rather than clarifying, the main issues.

The purpose of looking at themes is to seek a broad understanding of how the manuscript and its illustrations were originally intended to be read. To this end the lessons will be drawn from the adjacent text rather than from how the painter has chosen to present the scene, for the two are not always identical.  

5.1 **Conversion to monotheism.**

This category includes sub-sections such as the subjugation of the spirit world, the conversion of rulers and nations, support by the Omnipotent for His chosen people and the fate of infidels and apostates.

5.1.1 **Subjugation of the spirit world.**

This group may be seen as comprising Hushang's defeat of the *diwos*; Sulayman's authority over the *diwos* who summon Bilqis; the exorcism of the evil spirit from the Yemenite temple through the power of the Torah and the mediation of the Jewish doctors and Muhammad's conversion the *parsi*. Listed in this fashion they represent a chronological and typological progression:

Hushang, represents the ancient Iranian kings and also the primordial battle between good and evil, light and darkness.

Sulayman, from the Biblical-Qur'anic prophets, is the prime example of the king who not only holds the spirit world in thrall, but puts it to the good service of securing Bilqis and her realm for Islam, as well as for himself.

The Jewish doctors, as custodians of the all-powerful Word of God in the Torah, fulfil a bridging role between the Old Testament prophets and Muhammad. They also exorcise the evil spirit from the temple and convert the king of Yemen to Judaism.

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22 The painter's point of view will be considered in Chapter Five.

23 Christianity appears in the painting cycle only in the negative form of the Ethiopian general, Abraha, who threatens the Ka'ba. However, it is more likely that the
Muhammad then demonstrates that power over the spirit world has passed to him by converting the *paris*.

Viewed in this way, the choice provides a satisfactory overview of the subjugation of the spirit world over time.

### 5.1.2 Conversion of rulers and nations

Conversion and fidelity to the true faith, the advantages of having God on your side, and, conversely, the destruction that will ultimately overtake disbelievers or apostates, are leitmotifs which recur throughout the cycle. This is not surprising since both Tabari and Bal’ami were writing, or rewriting, histories of the “*muslims*” (lit. those who have surrendered [to God] from Ibrahim onwards.)

The two rulers selected to epitomise earthly potentates called to accept the one true God, but who are ultimately destroyed for their obstinacy, are Namrud, king of Babil, and the ruler of Egypt, Fir’awn. Namrud not only casts God’s messenger, Ibrahim, into the fire but also flies heavenwards to challenge God in person; Fir’awn spurns Musa’s call to believe despite the miracles God has empowered him to perform. Both rulers consider themselves as gods and are therefore guilty of the ultimate sin of pride and are destroyed. Tellingly, however, they are also humiliated before their people: God foils Namrud’s attempt to publicly incinerate Ibrahim; the trip to confront God proves a non-event, since all Namrud sees is darkness, and he is finally killed by a gnat bite to his lip. Fir’awn is given a Divine warning in the form of an attack of violent, if not fatal, diarrhoea, when Musa turns his staff into a dragon.

These examples show that while to challenge God is to dice with death and damnation, it is also to risk appearing very foolish indeed before your subjects—a powerful deterrent. The absence of any image depicting the destruction of idols suggests attention is being focused more on hubris rather than idolatry.

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scene was included as an example of God protecting His own rather than primarily for anti-Christian motives, since the king is shown as an Indian and no Christian symbols are present. Although Bal’ami’s account of the life of Jesus is more extensive than Tabari’s, it does not provide suitable examples for the categories of lessons suggested for the Bal’ami. The Christian scenes in the Edinburgh *Āthār al-baḍayya*, dated 707/1307, and the Edinburgh–London *Jami’ al-sawā'īkh* are evidence that in the Ilkhanid period there was little reticence in this regard, see Soucek (1975), pp. 146–148 and figs 21 and 22; Talbot Rice (1976) p. 85, no. 23.

Here again, this is in contrast to the Edinburgh *Āthār al-baḍayya* of al-Biruni, in which Ibrahim is shown smashing Buddha-like figures (Fig. 93), see also Soucek (1975), pp. 114–118 and fig. 5. In the Christian context, Bal’ami’s text describes how all the idols crashed to the ground at the birth of Jesus (fol. 96a), however this opportunity has also
Other aspects of conversion to monotheism include: examples of rulers who accepted monotheism and then brought nations into the fold of the "Chosen", for example, Bilqis and her people of Saba were converted by Sulayman; and the power of the Torah converted not only the ruler of Yemen but also his people—at least, some of them and for a while.

Yunus was sent by God to convert the people of Nineveh. When they paid no attention he deserted them, in the belief that Divine retribution would destroy them; to his surprise, God sent a sign to persuade rather than to chastise and they all believed and were granted complete forgiveness. The whale swallowed Yunus while he was in a state of blameworthiness but God preserved him and sent him back to Nineveh, thus demonstrating that it is not so easy to get off the Divine hook.

The Genealogy of the Prophet also contributes to the theme of conversion, in that it plots the family trees of the Qur'anic prophets and kings who transmitted the monotheistic message.

5.1.3 God supports His chosen people

God is shown to support both those who practice the arts of dialectic and persuasion in His name as well as those who employ the arts of war.

Ibrahim emerges unscathed from the fire into which he has been cast.

Musa is given the power to turn his staff into a snake and make his right hand shine like the moon to amaze Fir'awn.

Musa kills of the giant 'Uj bin 'Anaq, and the weakling Dawud slays the champion, Jalut; both these events foreshadow military victories for the Banu Isra'il.

The duel between 'Ali and 'Arnru bin 'Abd Wudd at the Battle of the Ditch is also an example of the younger, and ostensibly weaker, party outwitting the more experienced fighter, in this case famed for ingenuity as well as military prowess.

The Battle of Badr is described and depicted as being won with assistance from three thousand of the heavenly host, and the adjacent lines of text are specifically concerned with the salvation promised for those who die as warriors for Islam.

Subsequent to the Muslim defeat at Uhud, the Prophet's response to the challenge from Ubayy bin Khalaf: "God will protect me from you, but will not protect you from me", is shown so to unnerve Ubayy that he later dies from a minor wound.

Angelica assistance was again provided at the Battle of Hunayn, but is not shown in the painting. The scene depicts 'Ali heroically saving the Prophet's life; however, as mentioned in Chapter Two, it is also possible that the subsequent scene described in the

That incident concerns the Meccan fighter who sought to kill the Prophet in revenge for the death of his father at the Battle of Badr. God protected the Prophet by darkening the Meccan’s eyes whenever he approached, clearing them only when he turned away. This account would fall within the theme of God protecting his own, and provide a further example of the Almighty’s protection of the Prophet and enfeeblement of his foes.

A variation on the theme of Divine intervention to forestall disaster, is the marshalling of the war elephants and birds to preserve the Ka’ba from attack by the Ethiopian ruler of the Yemen, Abraha.

5.1.4 The fate of unbelievers and apostates

This section also includes problems associated with mass and personal conversion. The first example of conversion resulting in divided loyalties is Ibrahim, whose father, Azar, a sculptor of idols for Namrud, refuses to convert to monotheism. Namrud refrains from arresting Ibrahim until after his father’s death.

The worship of the golden calf by the Banu Isra’il is the archetype of apostasy. In terms of themes it overlaps with state organisation and judicial affairs. It is not the destruction of the idol that has been selected for illustration but the execution of the apostates by their own kin, according to God’s order. This demonstrates, unequivocally, that the relationship with God overrides all blood ties. However, the anguish caused in human terms is also addressed since the Almighty, moved to compassion by the prayers of Musa and Harun, orders the killing to cease at noon, grants life and forgiveness to those not yet executed and forgiveness to the dead who had repented. By contrast, the ring-leader, Samiri, is spared but condemned to eternal ostracism with no possibility of ultimate forgiveness. Apostasy is therefore shown not only as leading to eternal damnation but also as destroying the fabric of society at both community and family levels. In addition, the story implies that it is the responsibility of all true believers to purge their own community of apostasy.

The two incidents selected from the Battle of Badr cover the promise of paradise for warriors of the faith, the fate of those who remain obdurate in their old beliefs and also social and personal ramifications associated with conversion, and the problem of divided loyalties. In the first of the two paintings of the Battle of Badr the Meccan warrior ‘Utba is killed by ‘Ali and his uncle, Hamza. The text between the two paintings, describes how the loyalty of ‘Utba’s son, Abu Hudayfa, already a respected Muslim, becomes torn between his wish to revenge his father’s death according to Arab codes of chivalry, and his duty to uphold the Muslim community. Abu Hudayfa is
angered by the Prophet's decree that members of his own family who had fought with the Meccans against the Muslims should be spared if taken prisoner, on the grounds that they had fought against him only under duress. 'Umar suggests that Abu Hudayfa should be killed as no longer trustworthy, and his disaffection may spread to the ranks. The Prophet, however, counsels patience.

The second Badr illustration concerns the fate of the incorrigible Abu Jahl at the hands of his erstwhile shepherd, the weakling 'Abd Allah bin Ma'sud. It provides an example of the undignified fate of one who places tribal loyalty above Islam. It also raises other important personal and social questions. The text immediately adjacent to the right hand painting relays the bawdy repartee between the dying Abu Jahl and 'Abd Allah bin Ma'sud. Finally, Abu Jahl says he would prefer death, in the company of noble Quraysh, to life among victorious Muslims. In the left hand painting the corpses of the Meccan dead are then cast into the dry wells, beside which the Prophet stands and laments, calling upon the souls of those kinsmen who had cast him out.

The text then proceeds to the dénouement of the story of Abu Hudayfa, who is now shown as reconciled to the fact that the greater good of the community must prevail over all other considerations, including revenge for his father's death. The Prophet then consoles him and praises his father, 'Utba, as an honourable, if misguided, man.

The text above the main section of the painting depicting the Battle of Hunayn, refers directly to the two thousand Meccans who, on seeing the battle going against the Muslims, scoffed at them and reverted to their old beliefs. As already mentioned, one of them sought to revenge the death of his father at the Battle of Badr, but God darkened his eyes whenever he approached the Prophet. Apart from displaying God's protection of the Prophet, it also shows that apostasy leads to frustration rather than satisfaction. This incident also justifies Abu Hudayfa's decision to support community over clan.

Musaylima meets his end on the poniard of the Ethiopian slave, Wahshi, while attempting to escape from the "Garden of Death." The dispatch of this adventurer-prophet provides a salutary warning of the ignominious end in store for such presumption.

The sentences meted out to the worshippers of the golden calf and Abu Jahl; the heart-searching at Badr and the lessons of Hunayn constitute a formidable body of advice relating to personal and corporate salvation, and also to aspects of religious and social consolidation at periods of conversion.
5.2 The transfer of power

Lessons associated with the transfer of power may also include the virtues expected of a ruler such as astuteness in matters of practical politics.

Hushang was chosen by his grandfather, Kayumarth, to succeed to the throne. His virtues of courage and ingenuity are clearly contrasted with those of his wayward father, Siyamak, killed by the diseas.

Manuchihr, grandson of Faridun and son of Iraq, revenges the death of his father, seizes the throne and unites the kingdom. He is an archetype of the just king who orders his empire according to a Utopian vision of perfect co-operation in a strictly stratified society. He also secures the safety of the kingdom through a peace treaty with Turan.

Dawud's defeat of Jalut leads to his marriage with the daughter of the ruler of the Banu Isra'il and, eventually, to his own accession as king.

Afrasiyab contributes to his own destruction at the hands of Kay Khusraw by failing to control his sons and secure the succession. By contrast, Kay Khusraw first appoints Luhrasp as his successor and then abdicates at a time of his own choosing.

Iskandar provides a paradigm for the Mongols of transition to foreign rule in Iran and Iraq through military conquest. He is the man of destiny, whose qualities of leadership justify his right to rule the lands he conquers. The painting has been positioned with care to ensure that it falls within Dara's dying requests to the victorious Iskandar, who is shown to fulfill them to the letter. They include securing the Iranian royal blood line through marrying Dara's daughter, Rawshanak, and treating the Persian nobles with respect. Through Iskandar's honourable behaviour Dara's defeat is given a mask of mutual agreement to make the transition more palatable for Iranians and safeguard the stability of the state.

The accession of Ardashir offers a version of sibling rivalry in which the younger brother, Ardashir, proves more popular with the army than the elder, Shapur, from whom he seizes power. Ardashir then secures his position by killing all his brothers.

All three images of Bahram Gur provide examples of the transfer of power to he who displays not only the greatest physical strength and bravery but also ingenuity and appropriate guile. The first lesson exemplifies skill and courage in the hunting field: the traditional training ground for war. In the second, Bahram seizes the crown from between the two hungry lions, thereby winning not only the crown but also acknowledgement from the defeated Kisra that Bahram is the better man for the role. He kills the rogue elephant while travelling incognito to assess the power of the neighbouring King of Hind, a feat of strength and courage which proves his passport to

A spurious Iranian genealogy was nonetheless concocted for him.
the King's favour, marriage with the King's daughter and the addition of Sind and Makran to Iranian domains.

The Battle of Qadisiyya, marking the Arab defeat of the Sasanians, is an obvious choice to mark the transfer of power from Iranian Empire to Muslim rule. However, the text adjacent to the illustration is concerned more with military tactics than with politics. The preceding passage refers to the Sasanian general, Rustam bin Farrukh, foreseeing the Sasanian defeat written in the stars. It is possible, that the Battle of Amarth may have been chosen to draw attention to the role of astrology in the transfer of power, which is a topic otherwise absent from the cycle.

The election of ‘Uthman to the caliphate provides the first example of the transfer of caliphal power by election, and draws attention to its enduring effect on subsequent Islamic history.26 The text chosen to fall immediately above the painting is ‘Abd al-Rahman’s trenchant criticism of ‘Ali: “I do not like this weakness”, drawing attention to the need for quick thinking and political astuteness in a ruler.

The enthronement of the first ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Saffah, arguably marks the most important power shift in the history of mediaeval Islam. However, the illustration does not deal with the election itself but with its aftermath. The text chosen to abut the painting is al-Saffah’s genealogy followed immediately by the Umayyad declaration of war.

In a general history of prophets and kings it is not surprising to find paradigms for the transfer of power as a major theme. Nonetheless, the spectrum of permutations earmarked by illustrations is impressive, culminating with the ‘Abbasid claims of blood and ability which effectively subsume them all.

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26 As already mentioned, the accession of the first caliph, Abu Bakr, was uncontested and this may account for it attracting neither ruling lines nor illustration.
5.3 Military affairs and tactics

Insights into qualities of leadership or strategy may be gleaned from most, but not all, of the battle scenes, and a clear series of lessons drawn from them.

Bahram Gur assesses the resources of his powerful neighbour, the King of Hind, through reconnaissance in disguise behind enemy lines.

The duel between the Ethiopian generals Abraha and Aryat, in which Abraha arranges for his Ethiopian slave to attack Aryat from the rear and kill him, provides a lesson, repeated elsewhere: never assume chivalrous conduct in your opponent. Since 'Ali plays a similar trick on 'Abd Wadd at the Battle of the Ditch, survival rather than sportsmanship appears to be the lesson. The outrageous behaviour of the assassin in the dénouement to Abraha’s victory teaches that military assistance should never be bought with unconditional promises.

Nushirwan’s generous harbouring of the exiled Dhu-Yazan, but judicious procrastination in offering military support to restore him to the Himyarite throne of Yemen, is a lesson in both honourable behaviour and good judgement in assessing when and in what manner to become embroiled in the affairs of another kingdom. Only after Dhu-Yazan’s death does Nushirwan take a gamble with the Himyarite’s promising son, Sayf. Even then, Nushirwan is shown to be a paragon of prudence: he chooses a brilliant but aged general, Wahraz, to lead the force, and commits to the expedition only condemned prisoners he can afford to lose.

Wahraz, in his turn, conducts a masterly campaign. He plays for time thereby resting and reprovisioning his troops, and swelling his force by encouraging Himyarites to desert to Sayf’s cause. In the first engagement the Persian win through use of the bow, previously unknown in the Yemen; Wahraz’s son is killed in pursuit of the famed Yemeni cavalry—a lesson in knowing where your own and your enemy’s strengths lie. Before the second engagement, Wahraz gives his troops everything to fight for by ordering the Iranian boats to be burned and all but one day’s rations thrown into the sea. He also checks the loyalty of his men by giving them the option, which they decline, of leaving before the battle. Finally, he realises that he is unlikely to have more than one chance to hit his prime target. Wahraz therefore lulls the Ethiopian ruler, Masruq, into false security, waits until he is close at hand and riding on the slowest of the beasts of war, a mule, and then tells him with a single arrow thus throwing the whole Yemeni force into disarray. Wahraz’s patience, forward thinking, man-management and a cool nerve are

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7 The choice of a free-for-all to illustrate the execution of the worshippers of the golden calf, is at total variance with the orderly procedure described in the text.

8 Presumably this is intended as an insult to Wahraz and his force of foot archers.
contrasted with Masruq's under-estimate of his opponent, slow response, over confidence and fatal swagger. The Ethiopian defeat is also a lesson in the necessity for a hierarchy of command in case the supreme commander meets with mishap.

Khusraw Parwiz demonstrates the wisdom of knowing when to fight and when discretion is the better part of valour. He avoids a personal confrontation with Bahram Chubin, which he judges would be fatal to himself. He chooses to risk being labelled a coward rather than lose the war. However, he seizes an opportunity to demonstrate his bravery before his troops by fighting within his strength, taking on three Turks single-handed, killing two and putting the third to flight. The lesson is reinforced by the foolhardy hazārnārī, who says he will rid Khusraw of the turbulent pretender his sovereign will not face. Bahram promptly cleaves the hazārnārī and his horse in two. Khusraw's shrewd assessment of his own strengths and limitations is shown to be a virtue in a commander, who should never needlessly put his own life at risk. Again, shrewd assessment of your opponent is shown as essential to survival and success.

The Prophet's occupation of the wells at Badr may be seen as a smart tactical move which forces the Meccans to camp in the steep and sandy dunes. However, as already pointed out, the text adjacent to the battle scene is more concerned with single combat and the Prophet's assurance of paradise to the mortally wounded 'Ubayda.

After the defeat at Hunayn, the Prophet's response to the challenge from Ubayy bin Khalaf: “God will protect me from you, but will not protect you from me”, after which Ubayy dies of a minor wound, may also be seen as an example of psychological warfare.

At the Battle of the Ditch 'Ali fools his opponent, 'Amru bin 'Abd Wadd, into glancing over his shoulder, on the pretext that 'Amru has broken their pact by bringing supporters. 'Amru's momentary lapse of concentration costs him his life. Mortally wounded, he accuses 'Ali of playing a deceitful trick, 'Ali responds by saying: “War is deception.” Placing an illustration near an epigram or succinct quotation occurs several times in this cycle.\(^9\)

The description of how 'Ali and a small group of the Muhajirun and Ansar protected the Prophet at the Battle of Hunayn, is associated with the text which caps the raised section at the right-hand side of the painting.\(^9\) It is an example of 'Ali's personal bravery and of the group who protected the Prophet in a tight corner, but is not otherwise rich in tactical information.

\(^9\) For example, Bahram Chubin (see above) and Khalid ibn al-Walid (see below).

\(^9\) As already mentioned, the lines of text which run the length of the image refer to one of the apostate Meccans attempting revenge on the Prophet.
Chapter 4

The death of the false prophet, Musaylima, is described in the lines immediately adjacent to the painting. However, it is Khalid bin Walid's admiration for the skill of the Ethiopian spearman, Wahshi, who delivered the coup de grâce, which prompts the best military punch line in the sequence: “Bakh, bakh, Wahshi! As an infidel you killed the best of the Muslims, the Prophet's uncle Hamza, and now as a Muslim you have killed the worst of the unbelievers.” Wahshi provides an example of how military reputation is in no way diminished by conversion.

The text closest to the image of the Battle of Qadisiyya provides two potentially life-saving pieces of tactical information: first, do not wear a belt which may provide a hand-hold for your opponent in battle, and second, horses unused to elephants will panic. If faced with a phalanx of elephants, cavalry should dismount, attack on foot and inflict blows to the elephants' legs to make them turn around.

The confrontation between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah at Siffin, focuses on the ruse concocted by 'Amru ibn al-'As to wrong-foot 'Ali, whose forces were poised for victory. By putting Qur'an leaves on their lance tips, Mu'awiyah compelled 'Ali to choose between fighting the Word of God or agreeing to arbitration based on the Qur'an. 'Ali is described as seeing through the trick and making the correct decision, namely, to press his advantage and carry on fighting, but unable to convince his followers to do likewise. Generating a dispute in the enemy ranks was part of the Syrian stratagem. As in the contest with 'Uthman for election to the caliphate, 'Ali is shown as losing the initiative at a crucial moment and providing another example of "he who hesitates is lost".

Important lessons are imparted to the defeated Umayyad, Marwan II, by his adviser, Isma'il bin 'Abd Allah al-Qurayri, following his defeat at the Battle of the Zab. Marwan suggests seeking refuge, together with his family, in Byzantine territory and seeking assistance from the Emperor. Isma'il says that however bad things may be at home, putting yourself at the mercy of apostates in the Dār al-ḥarb renders rallying troops within the Dār al-islām far more difficult, and places the safety of your own family in jeopardy at home as well as abroad.

The major lesson in the story of the Afshin Haydar and Babak is "first catch your rat." It illustrates the danger of confusing prevarication with protocols, and allowing a foe to slip through your fingers by becoming enmeshed in military and bureaucratic formalities. The situation involves ambush and siege, but the kernel of the story lies in

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3 This is an example of the artist not accurately depicting the events as described in the text. 'Ali and his troops are shown pursuing the Syrians in full battle order, despite the fact that they have the Qur'an leaves on their lances which, according to the text, forced 'Ali to accept arbitration.
Afshin being hoodwinked by the wily heresiarch. Babak's request for a document of safe conduct signed and sealed by the caliph himself, faces the Afshin with a dilemma likely to face many a successful commander who finally corners a skillful foe. He deals with it strictly according to honourable precedent and the book, acceding to Babak's request in return for an appropriate hostage. Babak offers his son, but the son is not with his father at the time, and the Afshin therefore accepts a flawed bargaining chip. The following night Babak escapes. The story raises important questions concerning the autonomy of a supreme military commander, particularly in matters of taking prisoners and hostages and also safe conducts.

**Generalissimos**

It may also be noted that apart from the victorious but aged Wahraz, who was brought out of retirement by Nushirwan, the non-royal generalissimos who feature in this cycle are all depicted as men with feet of clay: Abraha's plan to destroy the Ka'ba is foiled by a stubborn elephant and a flock of birds; the slave Wahshi upstages Khalid bin al-Walid and Babak runs rings round the Afshin Haydar. It is difficult not to see in this choice of illustrations, something of the attitude towards military grandees already noted as characteristic of the "abbreviated" redaction.

5.4 **State administration including judgements, judicial affairs and diplomacy**

State administration, judicial affairs and diplomacy are often inter-connected. Judicial decisions may also include examples of winking truth from fiction.

5.4.1 **Judgements and judicial affairs**

Hushang is given the name of law-giver (Pishdād) and credited with the invention of prisons.

Zulaykha's testimony against Yusuf is examined and found wanting. By withholding incriminating evidence against his brothers, Yusuf demonstrates how more may sometimes be gained by holding one's tongue and securing harmony than through unmasking the guilty and the satisfaction of revenge.

The execution of the worshippers of the golden calf provides a precedent for internecine killing justified according to the Mosaic law.

Sulayman's ingenuity uncovers the truth about Zulaykha's hirsute legs.

Kay Khusraw's sentences Afrasiyab to be killed in the same way as Siyawush was murdered, on the principle of "an eye for an eye".

Iskandar manipulates the judicial system for the ultimate good of the state as well as himself. He first suborns the ḥajbās into killing Dara for him, then grants them their
promised rewards. Having kept his word and handed over the gifts he has them
executed, on the grounds that they have shown themselves capable of treachery to their
king. Iskandar thereby remained true to his word, upheld the law and disposed of a
potential threat to the stability of the kingdom.

5.4.2 State administration and diplomacy
Yusuf provides a paradigm for viziers at Muslim courts, who through ability may
rise from the slave market to rank and wealth; and he becomes a power for good in the
land by husbanding the resources of Egypt in advance of famine. He also experiences
some of the potential pitfalls associated with such a meteoric rise.

Manuchihr provides a blue-print for a well structured society with the co-
operation of the Great Mubid, while also securing a border treaty between Iran and
Turan.

Sulayman extends his domains through diplomacy and peaceful conversion. He
is ably assisted by his vizier, Asaf.

Ardashir acts under the advice of his wise vizier, Sam bin Zahqar.

Nushirwan provides an example of diplomatic problems associated with providing
sanctuary to an exiled monarch.33

Khusraw Parwiz enjoys a fruitful alliance with the Byzantines.

The election of ‘Uthman provides an example of political manoeuvring associated
with that system, the danger of factions and the risks of a power vacuum. It also
provides a precedent (if one was needed) for the ruthless disposal of rivals to preserve the
unity of the state.

The election of the first ‘Abbasid caliph, al-Saffah, carries many of the same
messages. It shows the advantages of acting not only with speed and decisiveness but
also with a judicious use of public display to inspire popular support. This election may
be contrasted with the quasi-domestic environment of the shura which elected ‘Uthman.

5.5 Rites of passage from youth to adulthood
Five lessons are closely associated with youthful tests of courage and strength of
mind. This group provides a context for the unusual image of the purification of
Muhammad’s heart by the three Divine messengers.

Hushang’s slaughter of the lion persuades his grandfather, Kayumarth, of his
potential ability as a ruler;

Yusuf’s encounter with Zulaykha tests his morals;

Dawud, the boy, slays Jalut, the warrior, with Divine assistance;

33 His famed vizier, Buzurjmihr, is not mentioned in the text adjacent to the
painting.
Bahram Gur's feat on the hunting field demonstrates that his education is complete and he is trained for the field of battle; the purification of Muhammad's heart cleanses him for prophethood.

Summary

Many of the classic tales, particularly from the pre-Islamic era, such as Ibrahim and Namrud, Dawud and Jalut, Yunus and the whale, are obvious choices for illustration. However, considered as a whole, concern is significantly weighted towards state and military affairs. In addition, the approach is practical: pragmatism is favoured over heroics, and ability over primogeniture and blood lines. A sobering selection of blunders is also included, as is a piquant seasoning of guile. In matters of religion the illustrations draw attention to aspects of conversion rather than idolatry, heresy or sectarian divisions within Islam.

Although it may be fortuitous, the paintings allotted most space also appear to form a thematically balanced sample of the whole:

fol. 24b Ibrahim and Namrud - call to conversion and destruction of the infidel king
157b Genealogy of Prophet - dramatis personae for the history of Iran and Islam
182b Battle of Badr - God is on the side of the Muslims
235a Death of Musaylima - non-Arab convert as slayer of the false prophet
362b The Afshin duped by Babak - beware heresiarchs and generalissimos

As with the iconography of the frontispiece, the lessons appear particularly apposite to the period associated with state consolidation following Ghazan's conversion and accession in 694/1295. Also noteworthy in this regard, is that although conversion is stressed, overt criticism of Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism or shamanism is minimal. The exorcism of the black dog from the Yemenite temple, shown with a pseudo-Buddhist figure in the niche, and the image of the Christian Ethiopian, Abraha, attacking the Ka'ba, devoid of any Christian symbols and depicted as an Indian, are the nearest this manuscript moves in such a direction. Here, too, the cycle lacks a polemical stand.

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34 This would accord with the third phase of Fletcher's analysis of the transmogrification of Turco-Mongolian monarchic traditions: phase 1, the ruler's power predicated primarily on nomadic tribal elites; phase 2, its predication on surrogate nomads recruited primarily from the agricultural populations; and phase 3, the dissolving of the grand khanship and its replacement with a bureaucratic institutional monarchy, Fletcher (1979-1980), p. 243.
6. Parallel stories in Muslim and Mongol culture

In Chapter One the possibility of cultural synchronism was suggested, in particular between the Qur'anic citation of Dawud, as God's caliph and judge, and the image of the enthroned Mongol with the hawk as signifying Chinggisid Divinely ordained rule. If an attempt was being made to bridge cultural gaps, then the following small group of Mongol myths and ideals may have found unexpected resonance in Bal'ami's text.

6.1 The ruler as armourer and the discovery of iron

Hushang, Dawud and Ghazan are all lauded for their skills as armourers. In the text above Hushang fighting the *dalis*, Hushang is credited with bringing forth iron from the mountain and forging it into weapons. Similarly, Sura 34:10–11 refers to Dawud's skill at manipulating iron and making coats of mail:

> And assuredly We gave David grace from Us, (saying): O ye hills and birds, echo his psalms of praise! And We made the iron supple unto him, / Saying: Make thou long coats of mail and measure the links (thereof). And do ye right. Lo! I am Seer of what ye do.”

Sura 57:25, *al-Ḥadīd* (Iron), speaks of the gift of iron:

> “We verily sent our messengers with clear proofs, and revealed with them the Scripture and the Balance, that mankind may observe right measure; and He revealed iron, wherein is mighty power and (many) uses for mankind, and that Allah may know him who helpeth Him and His messengers, though unseen. Lo! Allah is Strong, Almighty.”

The fourteenth-century Byzantine historian, Pachymeres, records that Ghazan:

> “was very fond of the mechanical arts; no one surpassed him in making saddles bridles, spurs, greaves, and helmets; he could hammer, stitch, and polish, and in such occupations employed the hours of his leisure from war.”

The skills of the smith were prized as a craft essential to warfare, and the Mongols had their own myth describing the discovery of iron. The legend ran that at a period when the Mongols were all but decimated by Turkic enemies, two families took refuge in an enclosed valley. They became too numerous for the pasture, and unable to find a way out remembered an exposed seam of iron. This they heated with fires and bellows, and escaped through the fissure left by the molten ore. According to Rashid al-Din, this

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8 Polo–Yule/Cordier tr. & ed., Polo et al. (1993), vol. 2, p. 478, Note 2. It is not clear whether this should be taken as truth or topos.
event continued to be celebrated annually as an *tu* (festival).*

### 6.2 Trial by fire

There are two instances of trial by fire in the Freer cycle: Ibrahim cast into the fire by Namrud; and prior to exorcising the black dog, the people of Yemen test the veracity of the Jewish doctors and the Torah by casting them into fire, from which all emerge unscathed.

DeWeese has noted the role played by Ibrahim in myth patterns associated with conversion to Islam. In particular, Ibrahim personifies the prophet who broke with his own family to do God's will. Breaking with the traditions of their ancestors was clearly an important issue for Mongol converts. With particular reference to the conversion of the Golden Horde, DeWeese discusses Ibrahim and the concept of trial by fire together with parallels in Inner Asian and Islamic societies. The custom of purification by passing between fires is described by Ibn Shaddad (613-84/1217-85), sent to Hulagü with a mission from the last Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo and Damascus in 657/1259:

> “A group of Mongols came upon us, and with them were shamans *(qānāl).* They inspected all of our people, and the beasts with us. Then they set up fires on two sides and passed through them with us, while beating us with sticks.”

### 6.3 Skills of horsemanship and marksmanship

Bahram Gur's legendary skills in the hunting field will have been warmly appreciated by the Mongols. For example, on a hunting expedition in the spring of 1301, Ghazan is reported as having shot a doe as she leapt into the air, by pinning all her feet together with a single three-pointed arrow.*

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* DeWeese (1994), especially p. 24 and pp. 244-45.

* Amitai-Preiss cites, for example, the feat of casuistry required to accommodate Ghazan's conversion and the Mongol custom of his having married his father's widow, Amitai-Preiss (1996), pp. 2-3. Apart from Ibrahim, other examples of divided loyalties, such that of Abu Hudayfah, have already been mentioned.

* DeWeese (1994), pp. 244-262; An example of incineration to test religious veracity is recorded for the late fifteenth-century, DeWeese (1994), pp. 249-250.


* Howorth (1876-1888), Part III, p. 456.
6.4 Dogs of the underworld

In certain shaman traditions of Central and North Asia, the entrance to the underworld to which the shadow and mortal remains of a man are consigned after death, while his soul mounts to the sky, is guarded by dogs. This is not unlike the exorcism from the Yemenite temple of the black dog which disappears into the ground.

6.5 Healing through evisceration

The cleansing of Muhammad's heart in preparation for his prophethood may also have found an echo in shaman practices in Central and North Asia. A cure for illness and "the rape of the soul", was said to lie in opening up the body and removing the offending part, after which the wound would heal instantly.

Such cultural overlaps are more likely to have been happy coincidences than major factors in the selection process of illustrations for the Bal'ami. Precedents and prototypes for the themes are more likely to be found in Islamic literature.

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I have not yet found a reference to his belief among the Mongols of Ilkhanid Iran.
7. History as didactic literature.

Whatever status history may have held within the hierarchy of the Islamic sciences, or whether this varied at different periods, there can be no doubt of its importance for both authors and audiences. Rosenthal suggests that even if it was not included in the curriculum of the mosque or the madrasa:

"... it always was, in some form or other, the favorite reading matter for boys and an important element in their intellectual formation. ... [Even if] the scarcity of references to the teaching of history in works on elementary education shows that it was not a widely taught subject.

A knowledge of history was generally acquired under less formal circumstances than, for example, the religious sciences and mathematics. Nonetheless it was considered important in the general education of princes, military leaders, viziers, secretaries and nādīms (royal boon companions). As Rosenthal says, a knowledge of history was the hallmark of anyone who wished to be considered educated, even if it was more commonly acquired through private reading or storytellers. The twelfth-century Jewish scientist, and subsequent convert to Islam, al-Samaw'al ibn Yahya al-Maghribi, records that his reading, at the age of twelve and thirteen, progressed from: stories and anecdotes, to long fanciful tales and big novels, then, in a quest for purer historical information to the Taqīrāt al-umām (Experiences of the nations) of al-Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), Tabari's history and other historical works. Through them, he says, he became acquainted with the history of the Prophet, his raids and the miracles God wrought for him.

Apart from history's obvious role in "inspiring loyalty and enthusiasm for the religious and cultural heritage of Islam at an age in the life of an individual when other
intellectual influences would have been far less effective"; certain themes have remained remarkably constant over time.

The importance of history as constituting more than a chronology of rulers or an omnium gatherum of a nation's myths and memories, was a matter of discussion from at least the mid-tenth century. Ibn Farighun, in his Jawâmi' al-`ulûm, classifies history as "wisdom" ('ilm al-`ulûma) and categorises historical information under the following headings:

i. rare events of far reaching significance such as deluges, earthquakes, epidemics and famine;
ii. the succession of dynasties and rulers according to the climates in which they lived and the number, days and length of each reign;
iii. the beginning of Creation and the events surrounding the Resurrection, as well as the physical and intellectual conditions of past generations, (bearing in mind that this material may be corrupted, and it is so extensive that only God knows all);
iv. the biography of the Prophet Muhammad, which is instructive for political and military activities;
v. the biographies of the Qurayshi caliphs, their conquests, administration and the revolts which took place during their reigns, as well as
vi. the history of the transfer of power from the Umayyads to the `Abbasids, which is illustrative of the time;

vii. Bedouin (i.e. pre-Islamic) history including poetry;
viii. Persian books and biographies such as the Covenant of Ardashir Babakan, the speeches of Anushirwan, the Kārnhâma;
x. the main events, stories and actions connected with individual rulers, and
x. the history of persons of noble birth, scholars, secretaries, poets, eloquent men, kind men, generous men, gentle men, moderate men and faithful men.53

Speaking generally, Rosenthal has noted:

"The absence of any reference to the later dynasties and, above all, the absence of any specific theological elements as well as the comparatively minor position assigned to the history of Muhammad and to that of scholars and cities would seem to be characteristic of the tenth century."54

This would includeBal'ami's text.

52 Ibn Farighun's use of the tasbîh format has been referred to in Chapter Two,
53 Rosenthal (1968), pp. 35-36, also summarised, based on a slightly variant text, in Meisami (1999), pp. 8-9.
54 Rosenthal (1968), p. 36,
Within the hierarchy of the court, whether vizier, secretary, nadim or soldier, all were expected to quote examples from history for political precedent, rhetorical ornament for correspondence, witticism for conversation or military tactics. From at least the tenth century onwards, the role of history as a source of ethical and moral paradigms was also commonly discussed. Mas'udi (d. 345/956) considered history as the fountainhead of all wisdom, jurisprudence and eloquence as well as a rich source of analogy. He also saw it as a source of popular knowledge, precepts of the wise and rich in examples of high morality and the rules of government, as well as providing entertaining stories suitable for both Arab and non-Arab, the ignorant and the well informed.

As Meisami has pointed out, the lessons of history also became closely linked with the ruler's virtue, and with the study of individual rulers as exemplars for the present and the future. In the words of Miskawayh:

"When I perused the accounts of peoples and the lives of kings, and read the histories of (diverse) lands and the books of history, I found therein material which furnished an experience of matters whose like continues to be repeated, and the similitudes and likenesses may be expected to recur: such as mention of the origins of states and the growth of kingdoms; of the intrusion of some flaw thereafter; of the efforts of those who repaired and put (this flaw) to rights ... and of the negligence of those who ignored and rejected (such flaws) until they led to destruction and ruin ... for the world's affairs are similar, and its conditions resemble one another; and all that a man observes of this sort of events becomes as if it were his own experience."

Indeed, Miskawayh was so concerned that examples in histories should be relevant to ordinary mortals, that he refrained from reporting the miracles and achievements of the prophets, since the miraculous was outwith normal human experience.

It is not surprising that Bal'am's Tabari, as a general annalistic history from the period some fifty years after Ibn Farighun and before Miskawayh, should hold much in common with them. The illustrations to the Freer text may also reflect traditional choices for a classic text: speeches from the throne, a concern with the succession of dynasties and particularly the transfer of power between the Umayyads and 'Abbasids all find parallels in Ibn Farighun's pro-forma for history; Miskawayh's preoccupation with learning from the mistakes of others is also there, as is Ibn Farighun's preference for the Prophet's battles rather than his biography.

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55 Rosenthal (1968), pp. 52–53.
However, by the thirteenth century history writing had moved on in some respects, and the Freer manuscript was copied and illustrated for an Ilkhanid-period audience. If the manuscript is to be grounded in its own time rather than treated as an anachronism, developments in the presentation of history over the intervening three centuries need to be briefly considered.

Meisami has shown that the rise of local dynasties in the eleventh century stimulated the composition of dynastic rather than general histories in the manner of the Tabari–Bal’ami *Tarikh*. In these histories certain themes, already present in the selection and presentation of subject matter in general histories, attracted additional emphasis. These themes included, not surprisingly, concerns with legitimacy and the rightful transfer of power. This concern with the rightful transfer of power reinforced the idea that the rise and fall of states was part of an on-going Divine purpose that would culminate with the archetypal ‘just ruler’ in preparation for the End of Days. In the *Tarikh al-Yamini* of al-‘Utbi, the author is at pains to stress the legality of the Ghaznawid seizure of power from the Samanids. Bayhaqi, in his dynastic history written for the Ghaznawid Mas‘ud I ibn Mahmud (r. 421-432/1030-40, *Tarikh-i Mas’ud*), is concerned not only with the transfer of power but with the ethics of the ruler, and provides moral as well as political commentaries on events of Mas‘ud’s reign.

The right to rule based on personal qualities of moral authority, rather than solely on the power to coerce, nonetheless usually required a caliphal *imprimatur*, and this carried with it the duty to propagate the faith, suppress heretics and spread orthodox beliefs. Closely associated with the transfer of power was the transfer of knowledge—of which the Samanid appropriation of Tabari’s history was an early and spectacular example.

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60 Meisami (1999), pp. 53-54; for an analysis of the period see pp. 47-140. Annalistic history was in contrast to the Isma‘ili concept of cyclical history.
61 Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Jabbar al-‘Utbi (330-427/941-1036) was a descendant of a Samanid vizier who had vied for office with Bal’ami. ‘Utbi’s history of the Ghaznawids spans the rise of Subuktigin to the year 412/1021. It was composed in an ornate, chancery style of Arabic for the edification of the people of Iraq and probably a court audience where Mahmud of Ghazna was lauded as the caliph’s ally against the Buyids. It became a model of Arabic prose style and was translated into Persian by Abu al-Sharaf Nasih ibn Zafar Munshi Jarbaddhqani in 609/1206-7, Meisami (1999) p. 54 and 956.
62 Treadwell (1991), p. 10. Barthold notes that the letter from Mahmud of Ghazna to the Caliph al-Qadir, informing him of his victory, affirms that the sole cause for his war against the Samanids was their refusal to acknowledge the caliph, Barthold (1977), p. 266.
63 Abu al-Fadl Muhammad ibn Husayn Bayhaqi (385-470/995-1077), a high-ranking civil servant at the Ghaznawid court under Mas‘ud I (r. 421-431/1031-1041), Meisami (1999), pp. 79-108.
Dynastic histories tend to be propagandistic, with a message aimed at an audience far broader than the patron or other dedicatee. Meisami has argued that in the Saljuq period, when few if any of the Sultans were able to read, a literary communication gap developed between ruler and historian, with the historian increasingly speaking, as it were, over the head of his patron to his peers in the administrative corps d’état. This was the era in which Rawandi composed his “Rāḥat al-sudūr wa-ayāt al-sunūr” (Ease of Breasts and Marvel of Happiness), completed around 601/1204–5 and dedicated to the Saljuq ruler of Konya, Kay Qhusrw ibn Qilij Arslan (r. 588–592/1192–1196 and 601–607/1204–1210).

Although, as Meisami has shown, the Rāḥat al-sudūr was intended as an edifying compilation rather than specifically as a history, nonetheless, two thirds of it are historical text closely based on Nishapuri’s Saljuq-nāma. The other third is devoted to an exordium, an excursus on justice, chapters on etiquette, wine, chess and backgammon, horsemanship and hunting, court protocol, battle and feasting, calligraphy, prognostication based on the 4yid, medicines and jests, and an epilogue. Rawandi also embellishes his ‘history’ with apocryphal anecdotes; for example, the investiture by jns of Sultan Tughn Beg at Hamadan, and the incident said to have occurred at the Battle of Dadanqan, in which Tughnl persuades his brothers to swear loyalty to each other through demonstrating to them that three arrows held together were harder to break than one. As Meisami points out:

“These early accounts, carefully structured and employing a rhetorically sophisticated style, constitute not merely a record of things past, but a multilayered evocation of the past both to explain the present and to provide admonition with respect to the future.”

Rawandi’s ‘history’ incorporates subject matter and themes from other literary genres, and most obviously from mirrors for princes. As Meisami says:

“It covers all the characteristic topics of such works—piety and good works, good repute, justice; the ḥadīth, wine, chess, and so on—with the historical section constituting a sort of ḥisāb al-sulṭān illustrating issues relating to government and kingship. The connection between history and adab is one of long standing in both Arabic and Persian, and to find it in a work described both as a compilation and as intended to be of benefit to a ruling prince is scarcely surprising.”

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69 Meisami (1999), pp. 243–244.
70 Meisami (1999), pp. 243–244.
71 Meisami (1999), p. 239.
Rawandi's *Rāḥat al-sudūr* is evidence of an increasingly flexible approach to the presentation of history in the early thirteenth-century. His 'compilation' is not unlike an temptingly flavoured multi-vitamin pill designed to achieve maximum educational boost in a single dose.
Chapter 4

8. Mirrors for princes. A spectrum

"Mirrors for princes", or compilations specifically addressing the ethical and practical problems of kingship and good government, were common to the major literatures of the Near East. In the pre-Islamic period collections of wise counsels for Sasanian rulers and their advisors, usually termed "ārin-nāma, pand-nāma or andarz-nāma, were widely known, and these are generally considered to have played an important role in the development of this genre in Persian, Arab and Turkish mediaeval literatures. In the Islamic period, also termed nāhil, tadbir or sīyāsat al-mulûk, the genre has been defined by Bosworth as follows:

"... advice to rulers and their executives on politics and statecraft; ... the ruler's comportment towards God and towards the subjects or rā'īya whom God has entrusted to his charge; the conduct of warfare, diplomacy and espionage; etc. ... In their more theoretical aspect, these Islamic works overlap the fields of practical ethics (akhlāq) and of the testament (wasiyya) of a chief ruler. ... Many have a distinctly practical aspect ... The emphasis here is often on Realpolitik as a mainspring of political action, so that contemporary pragmatic attitudes to the exercise of power are revealed; and, in the later Persian mirrors for princes there is often a considerable amount of historical information conveyed as anecdotes or as illustrative, practical examples of general principles. They thus contain material of value to students of Islamic history and of Islamic administration and its institutions."

The subject matter of mirror literature was not only presented in the form of individual works, or used to feed a Persian passion for compilations of popular wisdom. It was also presented in general histories, such as Bal'ami's, through speeches put into the mouths of particular kings and their viziers. Manuchihr's speech from the throne provides an example. The fabled wisdom of Anushirwan and his vizier Buzurjmihr fed...

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73 Since the Bal'ami is a historical text rather than fiction, I shall not be comparing it to surviving Ilkhanid-period illustrated animal fables such as Kātīla va Dīmna or the Margibi-nāma. Animal fables fulfil largely the same purpose as historical incidents; as Nasr Allah ibn Muhammad says in his preface to his Persian translation, written for the Ghaznavid Sultan Bahram Shah probably between c. 539/1144 and 552/1152, it is "a mine of wisdom, sagacity, and a treasure of experience ... [to] help the policy of kings in bringing order into their kingdoms, and people of middle status in preserving their possessions", Cowen (1989), p. 9; Raby (1991), p. 18. However, anecdotes from history speak more directly to current political situations than the more contrived use of parallels from an imaginary animal kingdom.


75 Bosworth (1990), p. 984.


77 F57.16, fol. 47a-47b
independent compendiums. However, even when pillaged from a history these lessons did not necessarily lose their integrity. As Meisami says of Rawandi:

"... there is nothing haphazard in the arrangement either of his historical materials or his much-maligned interpolations; rather, he shows considerable rhetorical skill in weaving all into well-constructed units."

Mirrors for princes flourished as independent works particularly in the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries. The earliest surviving example in New Persian is the Qabus-nama written in 475/1082 by prince Kay Ka'us ibn Iskandar ibn Qabus ibn Washmgir, a Ziyarid ruler of the Caspian provinces, for his son. As Levy says:

"In essence it combines the functions of popular educator, manual of political conduct and text book of ethics, with expediency as its motto."

The proportionately greater space given by the author of the Qabus-nama to social etiquette and matters relating to the general education and comportment of a gentleman, rather than the ethics and practice of a ruler—thirty-one chapters out of forty-four—is not typical of all mirrors. The situation is reversed in the Bahir al-fawâ'id (Sea of Precious Virtues), composed by an anonymous author and dedicated to Arslan Aba ibn Aq Sunqur, a Governor of Maragha who was appointed albag (guardian) to the son of the Saljuq Sultan Muhammad II (r. 548-553/1153-60). Here, although probably designed for teaching Arslan Aba’s charge, the prince Da’ud, only two out of thirty-six chapters are devoted to general matters rather than the practical application of religious and ethical ideals and the etiquette of Islam. As Meisami says:

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79 For example, Meisami (1993), pp. 184-188; and see also pp. 194-197 where Meisami shows Rawandi’s use of interpolations, in his account of the reign of the Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslan (r. 455/1063-465/1072), as delivering a set of clear moral warnings against bad advice and injustice, underestimating those whom God supports, the need to spend generously but with care, the transience of worldly power and the danger of choosing the wrong vizier.
81 See particularly de Fouchécour (1988), Ch. 4, pp. 357-429.
82 Ka’us ibn Iskandar—Levy tr. (1951), p. ix. Levy divided the text into forty-four chapters. Of these the first four treat of the individual’s relationship with God; the fifth defines the debt owed to parents; chapters six to thirty-six are on aspects of general education and the art of life, ranging from astrology to choosing a wife; chapters thirty-seven to forty-two discuss aspects of rulership and government and military affairs; chapter forty-three considers agriculture and craftsmanship and chapter forty-four the option of the mystical path.
"The *Bahr al-fawā'id* paints a vivid picture of its times as seen from the viewpoint of a group little represented in mirror literature: the pious, orthodox class, possessing a religious rather than a secular education, and putting the values enjoined by the Shari'ah and its sources above humanistic or philosophical considerations."

An important example from the philosophical and ethical end of the spectrum is the *Akhlaq-i Nastri* of Nasir al-Din Tusi. Although completed in 633/1235 for an Isma'ilii governor of Kuhistan it was probably also reworked by the author in the Ilkhanid period, and became "possibly the best known ethical digest to be composed in mediaeval Persia, if not in all mediaeval Islam." However, as Wickens has pointed out, although Tusi is indeed primarily concerned with criteria of human behaviour, it is at the theoretical rather than at the practical level. Although Tusi cites many examples from history, he is nonetheless occupied with the great universal abstractions of Reason, Wisdom, Justice and Equilibrium, and the concept of the perfectibility of man as the microcosm within the macrocosm of Divine Creation.

As expressions of political ideals at a more practical level, Lambton sees mirrors as holding a middle ground. On the one hand, there was the jurists' belief in the pursuit of perfect social order through adherence to the shari'a, under the guidance of the imam; on the other, the pursuit of perfect happiness through the philosopher-king ruling in unison with the imam in a state of righteousness and knowledge. In all these states, sovereignty, politics and religion are assumed to operate in perfect compatibility. However, the search for a middle path between measures to restrain the ruler from excesses of power, in order to protect the people, while also tactfully massaging his metaphysical satisfaction with prospects of salvation, remained an elusive ideal. The problem was fundamental: although the ruler was seen as fully accountable to God, nonetheless, as Lambton points out, in an imperfect world his position as mediator between God and the people was also a recipe for tyranny—the very thing the writers of mirrors were concerned to prevent.

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86 Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Ijasan, also called Muhaqqiki Tusi (597–672/1201–1274).
87 Muhtasham Nasir al-Din 'Abd al-Rahim b. Abi Mansur.
Although adherence to Islam was clearly deemed essential for perfection of the individual as well as the state, sectarian polemic was not typical of the genre and a work might be shorn even of a reference to the caliphate. As Lambton says, mirrors attempted an amalgam of Islamic and pre-Islamic Persian ideals, even though the fundamental egalitarianism of the one and the concept of Divinely ordained and absolute kingship (jār-i izād) of the other were fundamentally irreconcilable. However, even if mirrors varied in the degree to which they veered between the practical and the philosophical, by their nature they were aimed directly at problems relevant to the period of their composition.

Mirrors alerted the reader to the failings of a system as well as presenting its ideals, so that he might protect, reform, pre-empt or control them, and also, if possible, survive them. Herein would lie the value of ‘Ali's failures at the caliphal 'hustings' and the Battle of Siffin, as well as his courage at the Battles of Badr and the Ditch. Although these themes were typical of Muslim history writing, history and handbook differ in their presentation of wisdom and experience. Bal'ami's lessons are embedded in the magisterial sweep of history, whereas history in mirrors for princes is anecdotal and introduced to illustrate a point. However, I would like to suggest that the paintings introduced into Bal'amī's text may be seen both as integrated with the text as a whole, and as a cycle which may be read independently of it. The practical lessons of battle and bureaucracy, together with the atypical emphasis on conversion, appear to offer a mirror for princes in pictorial form.

Mirrors for princes are at their most cogent at periods of crisis or political change. It is likely, therefore, that such a work would have been useful during the reconfiguration of the Ilkhanid state in the closing years of the thirteenth century, and it may have been this which prompted the unusual step of introducing a cycle of illustrations into Bal'amī's text. The suitability of the "abbreviated" redaction for teaching new converts made it an obvious choice for the treatment, achieving two for the price of one. While the text is a classic the frontispiece addresses the contentious and topical issue of the legitimacy of Ilkhanid 'Muslim' rule.

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* Lambton cites the Qābiṣ-nāma as an example, and the Siyāṣat-nāma of Nizam al-Mulk as a borderline case, more appropriately classified as an administrative handbook. Lambton (1971), p. 420.
This raises the question of where and for whom the Freer Ba'ami was produced. Since the manuscript contains no direct evidence, the paintings will be analysed for stylistic pointers to time and place.
Chapter Five

Illustrations

Style and patronage

In the first half of the twentieth century scholarship generally placed the Freer Bal’ami in thirteenth-century Iraq. After 1950 and the identification of an Injuid painting school in Fars in the 1330s-1350s, the abundant use of red and ochre, large figure drawing and rather slapdash painting in the Bal’ami suggested that it might be better placed within the orbit of Shiraz. In 1988 Soucek reserved her judgement, and Shani is currently in the process of reassessing her opinion.

In Chapter One the frontispiece was seen to share more features with examples from Iraq, the Jazira and north-west Iran than with those attributed to Fars. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the stylistic evidence of the illustrations in order to clarify where the manuscript is more likely to have been produced and the possible circumstances its production. The chapter will be presented in two parts: Part 1 will look at the stylistic repertoires drawn upon by the Bal’ami artist(s); Part 2 will present, by way of a Conclusion, a hypothesis for patronage and circumstances of production.

The purpose of Part 1 is to search for clues upon which to base the hypothesis in Part 2. It will not, therefore, be a study in depth of the heritage of individual stylistic elements, but an attempt to identify the most plausible contemporary sources. To this end the Topkapi Library’s Sh. Vmftd will be used as a touchstone for comparison with the Injuid style. This manuscript is dated Safar 731/November 1330, copied by Hasan b. ‘Ali b. al-Husayni al-Bahmani but with no place of production specified; it contains ninety-four illustrations. The same calligrapher copied the British Library’s Bal’ami’s text dated 734/1334, but again with no place of production mentioned; however, the illumination in both manuscripts strongly suggests they were produced in Shiraz. All the vowels have been added to the headings in the Istanbul and London manuscripts, perhaps indicating they were intended for teaching. In terms of quality it is the best surviving example of a large format illustrated Injuid Shahnâma.

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2 Istanbul, TSM, H. 1479, hereafter the “1330 Shahnâma”.
3 London, BL, Add. 7622.
4 Wright (1998), pp. 15-17 and figs 4-5.
Chapter 5

Schema of chapter

Part 1. Style

- Geography
- Colour and pigment
- Formats and composition
- Human figures
- Faces
- Gesture, stance and dress
- Arms and armour
- Anachronistic figures
- Angel, *paris*, *djas* and an idol
- Haloes
- Crowns
- Thrones
- Animals
- Mythical beasts
- Landscape, fire and water
- Metalwork objects
- Illumination
- Images of the Prophet
- ‘Hands’

Overview

The contribution of the Freer Ballämi to the stylistic chronology of the Persian illustrated book in the Ilkhanid period

Part 2. Conclusion. A hypothesis for patronage

Ibn al-Tiqtaqa and Fakhr al-Din ’Isa ibn Ibrahim
The *Kisâb al-Fâkhri* and the Freer Ballämi

The contribution of the Freer Ballämi to our understanding of the role of illustrated texts in Persian historiography
Part 1. Style

1.1 Geography

For brevity I shall use the term ‘Baghdad’ to identify the painting style generally associated with thirteenth-century Iraq, the mediaeval al-Sawad, and its major cities associated with illustrated manuscripts, Baghdad and Wasit. ‘Jaziran’ will be used to identify styles generally attributed to the lands between the Tigris and Euphrates in northern Mesopotamia, bounded to the south-west by Syria, which included Mosul, Mardin and Diyarbakir. ‘Anatolian’ will be used to identify styles associated with the thirteenth-century Saljuq Sultanate of Rum with its capital at Konya. ‘Western Ilkhanid provinces’ will refer to all these plus Azerbaijan, with the Ilkhanid capitals of Maragha and Tabriz, and will also be used as a general term to contrast with the provinces of central and south-west Iran and Fars in particular.\(^5\)

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\(^3\) See also Le Strange (1966 (reprint)), Chs 2–10; Hillenbrand, C. (1985), pp. 9–19.

\(^5\) The following abbreviations will be followed for manuscripts regularly referred to in this chapter:

- "al-Wasiti’s Maqamât": Paris, BN, arabe 5847, dated 634/1237;
- "St Petersburg Maqamât": St Petersburg, RAS, C-23, c. 1240;
- "Süleymaniye Maqamât": Istanbul, SL, Esad Efendi 2196, with an architectural inscription in the name of the caliph al-Musta’sim (r. 640–656/1242–1258);
- "Warga u Calish": Istanbul, TSM, H. 841, probably Anatolia mid-thirteenth century;
- "Topkapi Kalila wa Dimna": Istanbul, TSM, H. 363, probably the Jazira or Anatolia, later thirteenth or early fourteenth century;
- "Morgan Manâjih-i hayâtâdîn": New York, PML, M. 500, dated 697 or 699/1297–8 or 1299–1300, probably Maragha;
- "London Qazwini": Ajârâb al-mâhblûqât of al-Qazwini, BL, Or. 14410, undated, possibly Mosul c. 1300;
- "Edinburgh al-Biruni": EUL, Arab. 161, dated 707/1307–8, probably Maragha or Tabriz but possibly Mosul;
- "Vatican Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary": Vatican, BA, Siriaco 559, from the monastery of Mar Mataî near Mosul, dated 1260AD;
- "1299 Apocryphal Childhood of Christ": Florence, BML, Or. 387, Syrian-Jacobite manuscript dated 1299AD;
- "British Library Kalila wa Dimna": BL, Or. 13506, dated 707/1307–8, place of production unknown;
- "1330 Shâhnâmâ": Istanbul, TSM, H. 1479;
- "1333 Shâhnâmâ": St Petersburg, SPL, Dorn 329, probably Fars, dated 733/1333;
- "1341 Shâhnâmâ": dispersed Shâhnâmâ in the name of the Injuid vizier Qwam al-Dawla wa’l-Din Hasan, dated 741/1341;
- "Râdî-i Summak ‘Ajûrî": Oxford, Bodleian, Ouseley 381, undated, possibly Isfahan c. 1335;
- "Ottoman Shâhnâmâ": New York, MMA, 1974.290;

Simpson’s dating of c. 1300 for the production of the ‘Small’ Shâhnâmâs will be followed for purposes of comparison.
1.2 Colour and pigment

The spectrum of colours used in the Bal'ami is reds, yellows, an olive green, small areas of a bright green, mauve, a pale blue (now virtually lost), and a substantial and regular use of gold for haloes and costume details.

Ettinghausen requested pigment analysis when Volume 1 was under consideration for purchase by the Freer Gallery in 1957. The composition was found to be of the same general character and quality in both volumes: red vermilion, yellow orpiment, a bright green, probably verdgris or copper resinate, and an olive green, chiefly orpiment with scattered particles of lapis lazuli, ultramarine and an amorphous blue that may be indigo; no positive identification of indigo was made and no area of bright blue paint was found. The generous, if slapdash, use of gold is at variance with the virtual absence of expensive pigments such as lapis lazuli. This could indicate many variables: general availability or market monopolies, sums the patron was prepared to spend on the manuscript, or indicate its ranking alongside, for example, Qur'ans. The rich blue background on folio 3b of Waqa u Gaššāh (Fig. 51b) speaks of expenditure on pigments nowhere visible in the Bal'ami. A rich blue is used sparingly but regularly throughout the ninety-four paintings in the 1330 Shāhnāma, although blue is absent, for example, of the 1333 Shāhnāma.

Considering the thoughtful manner in which the iconography of the frontispiece has been coded and the illustrations placed in the text, and the good quality of the calligraphy, such economies in matters of decoration point to priority being given to content rather than aesthetics. Gold may have been applied to catch rather than charm the eye. These aspects of expenditure would be in keeping with a text-book destined for the classroom rather than a codex designed for a connoisseur.

All the Bal'ami paintings are on red grounds. This is similar to the Topkapi and British Library copies of Kašī wa Dāmna (Figs 70–76). Mainstream Injuid productions from the mid-fourteenth century include red, ochre and plain paper grounds within a single manuscript; for example, Figs 109–11, 130, 131, and 132. The Gutman (Schulz)

7 The corrosive green used in some early section headings (Pl. 45a), and as background to the lower panel in the Genealogy of the Prophet, does not appear to have been used in any of the other paintings.
8 Ettinghausen ((unpublished) (b)), Condition and Treatment, pp. 1–2.
9 1330 Shāhnāma.
10 1333 Shāhnāma.
11 1341 Shāhnāma.
12 Kitāb-i Semak 'Ayyār.
Shāhmāna, attributed by Swietochowski to Isfahan, c. 1335, also uses gold, blue and white grounds (Figs 133–137).13

Schulz dated ‘his’ Shāhmāna to the early fourteenth century, and briefly noted a possible stylistic link between it and Volume 2 of the Balʿami,4 the section of the manuscript available to scholars in the second decade of the twentieth century. Similarities between this Shāhmāna and both Balʿami volumes will be noted in the course of this chapter.

Salient features

The use of a red ground throughout the Balʿami suggests a Jaziran rather than Fars provenance; however, it shares with Fars an extensive use of red and ochre within compositions.

1.3 Formats and composition

Apart from the full page frontispiece, four formats are used for the painted folios:

a. 22 paintings are simple strips across the width of the text block; these strips may be expanded vertically to a maximum of two-thirds of the whole text block area: for example, Vol. 1, fol. 14b (Pl. 2); fol. 42b (Pl. 5); fol. 157b (Pl. 26); and Vol. 2, fol. 31a (199a) (18a) (Pl. 31); fol. 234a (53a) (Pl. 33).

b. 6 paintings are a strip or larger rectangle combined with a single raised step, which may rise, if rarely, to as much as two thirds of the height of the text block: for example, in Vol. 1, fol. 68b Fig. 9.15

c. 2 paintings are rectangles combined with a single lowered step: Vol. 1, fol. 79b (Pl. 11a) and fol. 145b (Pl. 25).

13 Swietochowski and Carboni (1994), nos. 17, 19 and 28. I shall not be addressing the problem of red ground narrative paintings in albums, since their place of production is currently even less certain than for manuscripts. For a discussion of red ground paintings in the Diez Album in the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, see Ipşiroğlu (1964), pp. 1–7, pls 1–3; Swietochowski and Carboni (1994), pp. 68–75.

14 Schulz (1914), vol. 1, p. 74

15 Others are Vol. 1, fol. 24b (Pl. 3) which also extends into the upper; fol. 37b (Pl. 4); fol. 184a (Pl. 29); Vol. 2, fol. 30b (Pl. 32); fol. 362b (18rb) (Pl. 38).
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d. Ten paintings extend into the margins, for example, Vol. 1, fols 24b (top) (Pl. 3). When the folios were remounted, these elements were carefully cut round and pasted on to the new mounts.

Paintings in the Bal'ami are separated from the text by double red lines which are regularly overpainted by the paintings. There is never more than one illustration per folio, but on four occasions two incidents are shown in one frame: Hushang killing a lion and then fighting the dasch (Pl. 2); Namrud casting Ibrahim into the fire before flying to heaven to challenge God (Pl. 3); and Khustraw Parwiz redeeming his honour followed by Bahram Chubin felling the foolhardy hazāmardā (Pl. 25), and the death of Abu Jahl prior to the Prophet ordering the Meccan dead to be cast into a dry well (Pl. 29). In the 1330 Shāhnāma two incidents are shown in one frame when Rustam first beguiles and then unmasks the witch on fol. 31b (Pl. 109), but this device is not regularly used. Polyscenic narrative is used in the story of Bizhan and Manizha on the Freer Beaker, and was probably also familiar from wall painting although little relevant evidence survives.

In the Bal'ami there are no inter-columnar spaces to accommodate plants, weapons and banners; Injuid painters use inter-columnar and text space (Fig. 121) with a degree of abandon entirely absent from the Bal'ami. Breaches of prose text also occur in the Edinburgh-London jāmi' al-tawārīkh of 714/1314 (Fig. 102). However, the illustrations to the London Qazwini show a reticence in this regard similar to the Bal'ami's (Figs 68–9).

The narrow strip format used for many of the paintings favours base-line compositions. Extensions into the right or left-hand margins in the Bal'ami overlay ruling lines. Figures poised precariously on the outer edge of compositions are a narrative device exploited by thirteenth-century painters particularly from the 'Baghdad School', for example the figure at the far right of al-Wasid's illustration to the Ord Maqāmā. This formula is implied in the case of Zulaykha's husband (Pl. 4), and employed for Harun (Pl.

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6 Others are Vol. 1, fols 54b (to right) (Pl. 7a); 75b (to right) (Pl. 10); 107a (to left) (Pl. 14a); 116a (to left) (Pl. 16a); 118b (to right) (Pl. 18); 134a (to right) (Pl. 23); 182a (to right and left) (Pl. 28); Volume 2: fol. 242b (61b) (Pl. 34).
8 The fragment of Saljuq wall painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (52.20.1), with two registers of action, suggests this was so. For an analysis of the relationship of monoscopic and cyclical narration in Keltis u Dimna images in Central Asian wall painting and Western and Islamic manuscript traditions, see Raby (1991), pp. 16–31, especially pp. 18–22. For wall painting and the 1333 Shāhnāma see Adamova and Guizalian (1985), p. 161.
9 Exploitation of inter-columnar space occurs already in the mid-thirteenth century Warga u Gušâh, for example, fol. 35/33b, Melikian-Chirvani (1970), illus. 33.
10 Ettinghausen (1962), p. 116. See also the Süleymaniye Maqāmāt, (Fig. 58).
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7a). An example of a figure overlaying the edge of a textblock and peering round a curtain is provided by the First ‘Small’ Shahnama (Fig. 79). However, a variation on these devices is given to Harun, in that he is shown treating the red background as a solid screen behind which to scuttle. Incorporating sections of text block into architecture is known from Maqamat examples, as in the mosque scene in the Suleymaniye Maqam (Fig. 56). However, figures playing hide-and-seek with the text block itself are rare in Persian early fourteenth-century contexts, and, so far as I am aware, do not appear in Fars until after the Injuid period.

On the other hand, arcades are employed in both the western provinces and Fars, although less frequently and with less felicity in Inju painting, for example on fol 284b of the 1330 Shahnama: “The assassination of Yazdijird” (Fig. 129). In the Bal’ami Zulaykha pursues Yusuf down a loggia. Arcades were already in use in the west before the Mongol invasions: for example in Warga u Gulshah (Fig. 53) and al-Wasiti’s Maqamat, and were extensively used in the ‘Small’ Shahnama and the Edinburgh–London Jami’ al-tawrib in the Ilkhanid period.

In the Freer Gallery Register of Accessions Ettinghausen remarks that the depiction of the so-called ‘Garden of Death’, where Musaylima met his Maker (Pl. 33), attempts to show an action in two spatial planes, rather than simple ribbon development, and this sets it apart from Injuid miniatures. Injuid examples include the viaduct on fol. 254b in the 1330 Shahnama (Fig. 124) and the river and wall on fol. 88a of the copy dated 1333 (Fig. 130). Although Injuid Shahnmas favour base-line activity, surprises such as “Bahram Chubin kills Sawa Shah” (Fig. 123) also occur. Here, the eye level is raised to accommodate the circling cavalry.

If space is available, a ‘Small’ Shahnama illustrator will take advantage of the opportunity. An example is Kay Kawus’s reception for his grandson, Kay Khusraw, in the Second ‘Small’ Shahnama (Fig. 85), where a clearly defined foreground, middle ground and background have been developed. In the Edinburgh al-Biruni the majority of the

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11 For example, the undated fragment of an Iskandarnama, speculatively dated by Robinson to 807/1405, Robinson (1957), pp. 96–103 and especially figs 4–23. The Devin of Ahmad Jalayir in the Freer Gallery, probably from the first decade of the fifteenth century, also comes to mind.

12 As in the 43rd Maqama cited above.


15 Ettinghausen (unpublished)(a), p. 3.

paintings are in strip format, for example (Figs 92–94), however, raising the horizon and introducing landscape is used to dramatic effect in “The investiture of ‘Ali at Ghadir Khumm” on fol. 162a (Fig. 91).

In the Bal‘ami the step formation always abuts a margin and is placed with care in relation to relevant text. However, compared with Ilkhanid Shahnas the use of steps in the Bal‘ami is less sophisticated: for examples of comparative formats see the undated First ‘Small’ Shahnāma Fig. 83;7 and from the 1330 Shahnāma Figs 112, 113, 114, 116 and 119.8

The London Qazwini9 provides a useful comparison for the Bal‘ami in that it favours the base line and single step extension (Fig. 65). However, it also includes several different approaches to the problem of space within the composition: for example, the lighthouse on fol. 43a (Fig. 65)9 includes a receding landscape with Chinese-style vegetation; base line and landscaped compositions are juxtaposed in the descriptions of almond and lemon trees on fol. 88b (Fig 66c);10 and in “The story of the Nile” on folio 62b, although the eye level has not been raised, the figure size has been substantially reduced and the crowd neatly tiered in a “V” to create suitable space for the river and rocks.11

Compared with these examples there is less evidence in the Bal‘ami of ‘experimentation’ with space, despite a willingness to ‘stretch’ a step for the giant ‘Uj (Pl. 9). Compositions such as “The election of ‘Uthman” (Pl. 35) have more in common with narrative strips in Baghdad painting.12 However, as Ettinghausen shrewdly observed

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7 “Malika falls in love with Shapur as he besieges Tayr’s castle”, Dublin, CBL, 104-54.
8 “Kay Khusrav enthroned”, fol. 59a; “Jazira commits suicide over her son’s body”, fol. 63b; “Rustam rescues Bizhan from the pit”, fol. 92b; “Kay Khusrav’s paladins perish in the snow”, fol. 126a; and “The dying Rustam kills Shaghad”, fol. 159a.
9 In his initial publication on this manuscript Carboni suggested a dating of c. 1305-15, Carboni (1989), pp. 15-31, Pls 4-7; in his thesis Carboni favours a date closer to 1300, an opinion he currently holds, Carboni (1992), and personal communication.
10 I am grateful to Stefano Carboni for a photocopy of this image, Carboni (1992), pp. 119-120 and pl. 27. The left hand side of the painting is a patch.
11 Carboni (1989), pl. 7C.
12 Carboni (1989), p. 7A.
13 Al-Wasiti’s 43rd Maqāmā may again be compared, Ettinghausen (1962), p. 116 and also the Sülemaniye Maqāmāt, fol. 117a (Fig. 58). The dramatic potential of this format is well exemplified on folio 155b in the 47th Maqāmā of Al-Wasiti’s Maqāmāt, where a crowd rests elbows on the edge of empty space, Guthrie (1991), vol. 1, p. 205. However, a comparison with the undated St Petersburg copy, possibly c. 1240, should also be born in mind. Here, not only strips, arcades and registers are used but also giddying bird’s-eye views to create circular compositions, Paris, Lugano et al. (1994-5), no. 18 pp. 144-155.
about the ‘Garden of Death’, sensitivity to spatial planes is not entirely absent from some of the compositions. I would suggest that this is particularly evident where battle scenes are concerned, and a fruitful comparison may be drawn between them and inlaid panels on metalwork ascribed to craftsmen either working in Mosul or in diaspora. Examples are the hunting scenes on the interior of the Louvre basin, inscribed in the name of the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-'Adil II (r. 635-637/1238-1240) and signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki [al-Mawsili] (Fig. 160b–c). As Rice has said:

"Although one can recognise upper and lower registers in all seven panels, these are composed in depth, and animals and human figures detach themselves from the borders to flow toward the center. They could easily stand enlargement to fresco size. ... There is nothing friezelike or rigidly repetitive about these compositions. The scenes are teeming with life and an illusion of depth is maintained throughout by means of several devices: (a) The horses in the bottom register are depicted somewhat larger than those on top, making the latter appear as if receding in the distance; (b) brilliantly executed foreshortenings (note, e.g., the wild ass at the bottom of [the upper panel]), and the movement towards the center of the compositions by men and animals help to maintain the illusion of depth."

Rice could have been describing an amalgam of Balʿarānī battles, of which the most enterprising are the Battle of Badr (Pl. 28) and Khusraw Parwiz’s encounter with Bahram Chubin (Pl. 25).

The Louvre panels and Khusraw Parwiz’s encounter share the use of the diagonal to connect registers, as with the downward plunge of Bahram Chubin’s horse. At the Battle of Badr (Pl. 28), the figure of the Prophet on horseback and the putative ‘Amrū bin Abi Waqqas may be compared to the rider leaning forward along the horse’s neck and the pedestrian in a tall hat, at the top right-hand corner of a Louvre basin panel (Pl. 160b). Further similarities may be observed between the forward-leaning figure with leg stretched behind him, at the top left-hand corner of another panel (Pl. 160c), and the luckless ‘Ubayda, killed at Badr and shown in the Balʿarānī as spread-eagled with a sword through his midriff. The composition for the Battle of Siffin (Pl. 36) does not use diagonals but nonetheless adopts a similar layered mêlée with scaled figures. This scene is one of the few in the Balʿarānī which may be seen as bearing a possible relationship to the Great Mongol Shāhnāma, for example “Alexander killing the Fur of Hind”. I have found no battle scenes in Injūid manuscripts with similar compositions.

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36 Rice (1957), pp. 303–304.
37 Formerly Kevorkian Collection, sold at Sotheby’s, April 23, 1979, in Grabar and Blair, Grabar et al. (1980), pp. 118–119.
The figure of the Prophet on horseback is also reminiscent of Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ as a royal hunter in the Copenhagen frontispiece to the Kūšāb al-aḫẖānī or a mid thirteenth-century stucco carving now in the Ince Minareli Medrese at Konya (Fig. 15a–b). This suggests that wall painting and perhaps battle scenes in lost examples of Jaziran book painting may have been sources. However, in terms of extant material the Balʿami battle scenes appear most akin to thirteenth-century Jaziran and Anatolian metalwork.

Salient features

The Balʿami’s strip, single-step formats, and simple extensions into the right or left margin, relate more closely to manuscripts from Arab contexts in Iraq, the Jazira and Anatolia than to the more elaborate stepped formats of either the ‘Small’ Shāhānāmas or Injuid manuscripts; the rectangular compositions of Balʿami’s more complex battle scenes may be related to panels on thirteenth-century Jaziran metalwork; the figure of the Prophet on horseback may be closely paralleled in Jaziran painting and metalwork and Anatolian stucco from the first half of the thirteenth century.

1.4 Human figures

Figure sizes vary in the Balʿami; in general, important personalities emit a sense of bulk more familiar from Mesopotamian and Jaziran than Injuid sources, but figures of reduced size also occur, as in the Battle of Qadisiyya (Pls 34).

Turbaned and gowned figures have been drawn largely from the repertoire of Baghdad, although, as with facial types, they do not always fall precisely within the mainstream; for example, the conical torso of Ibrahim (Pl. 3). The uncompromisingly heavy drapes on some garments or shawls, as worn by the figure at the far right of the lower register in the Genealogy of the Prophet (Pl. 26) is a characteristic shared by Syrian-Jacobite painters (Fig. 141). However, over all, a debt to Arab genre painting is clearly evident, as, for example, in Yusuf’s escape from Zulaykha (M. 4), even though the lady is portrayed as a Jaziran Turk. Al-Wasiti’s Abu Zayd offering his son to the Qādī of Rahba (Fig. 53), provides samples of winsome youth and portly maturity to compare with Yusuf and the surprised husband: many other examples could be cited.

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38 This has been commented upon by Shani (unpublished paper).
39 The smaller, rather sweet-faced figures in “The Battle of Qadisiyya” may have contributed to Schulz’s observation of some likenesses between Vol. 2 of the Balʿami and ‘his’ Shāhānāma (now the Gutman).
The debt to Baghdad is nowhere more clearly shown than in the enthronement of the first ‚Abbasid caliph, al-Saffah (Pl. 37). Here, the figures may be compared to the preliminary sketch on fol. 285b of the British Library’s Maqāmāt dated 723/1323 (Fig. 59a–b). Of particular note are the comic profile of the seated ‚Alid, to the right of the caliph, and the figure standing second from the right in the drawing. The figure of Bu’ Salama, hand on throne to the left of al-Saffah, may also be compared with the standing figure at the far left of the Maqāmā image.

Loss of pigment also provides an opportunity to assess the quality of the preliminary drawing in the Bal’ami and 1323 Maqāmāt. By comparison, the Bal’ami designer’s work may be seen as of a lower calibre than the Maqāmāt artist’s, who is likely to have been selected with care for such an ambitious project. The absence of pigment also reveals that the designer is more competent than the painter, who succeeds in masking many of the finer details of the drawing and is largely responsible for the generally messy impression of the illustrations. There is no evidence of fine brushwork, and little density of pigment. This also may suggest haste and perhaps reflect an apprenticeship in wall painting where bold colour may have been more effective than fine detail. Pictures to accompany public recitations are also a possible source, and useful teaching aids at a period of mass conversion and re-education. However, this remains speculative.

The figural parallels between the Freer and British Library manuscripts might suggest the Bal’ami designer was familiar with the British Library copy. This would be significant for dating the Bal’ami. However, a direct relationship is hard to maintain since the repertoire of Maqāmāt images remains so consistent between the mid-thirteenth and early decades of the fourteenth centuries, and so few of the illustrations in the 1323 manuscript belong to that date. Close comparisons between gestures, architecture and such staples as figures passing in or out through doorways, may be found in al-Wasiti’s illustrations of 634/1237 and in the London manuscript dated 723/1323 (Fig. 61).

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* BL, Add. 7293; discussed in Grabar (1984), pp. 14–15 and 90–91. According to Grabar, this manuscript was planned on a lavish scale, and intended to have a complete cycle of illustrations, more complete than any other known manuscript. It is beautifully illuminated but the illustrations were never completed and only a meagre handful may be dated to 1323, of which the preliminary drawing on fol. 285b is one. There is no evidence that this copy was ever in the Iranian world; an inscription from 777/1375–6 states that it came into the possession of Ahmad ibn Jullab al-Mawsili, inspector of alms at Damascus, and at that time still had empty spaces, idem., p. 14.

** See, for example, the 5th and 50th Maqāmāt (fol. 13b and 166a) of al-Wasiti’s work, Grabar (1984), (microfiche) and Guthrie (1991), pp. 292–293.
Unveiled women in the Bal'ami, most notably Zulaykha, Bilqis and Rawshaniak (Pls. 4, 11a–b and 13a), conform to the Turkic ‘moon-face’ with hair in skinny plaits, or loose if in mourning. The Bal'ami beauties are closer to the more lively and elegant twelfth and thirteenth-century renderings in paintings than to the ‘puddings’ on Kashan or Ilkhanid ceramics (Figs 157a and 159). In particular, Badr al-Din Lu’lu’s ladies from the Kitab al-‘ashâni share the more impressive presence of Zulaykha and Bilqis. This image of the Turkic ‘grande dame’ continues into the ‘Small’ Shahnâmas, for example the portrayal of SudaWl (Fig. 79). In the Injuid Shahnâmas this type of heroine, even at her best, is less beguiling, for example Shirin atop her castle wall (Fig. 127).

Fully veiled Arab Muslim women occur only at the election of ‘Uthman (Pl. 35). The two musicians entertaining Ardashir (Pl. 15) are a Turk and an unveiled non-Turk, whose head-dress and veil beneath the chin recalls Haftwad’s daughters in the First ‘Small’ Shahnâma (Fig. 86). Unveiled and fully veiled women are found in the 1330 Shahnâma, for example the veiled woman in Rustam removing the rock from Bizhan’s cell (Fig. 114) and Shirin. Veiled and un-veiled women appear in the same frame, if not in the same register, in the mid thirteenth-century copy of Kitâb al-dariyâq in Vienna (Fig. 21a–b).

Salient features

Figures of rulers and men of action in the Bal'ami are closer to Jaziran than Injuid prototypes; figure types from the Baghdad School are generally used for prophets and their associates; some minor figures, such as courtiers and soldiery, may display an affinity with Injuid examples.

1.5 Faces

Ethnic types in the Bal'ami include Turko-Mongols, Arabs, Indians, Ethiopians and anachronistic Sasanians. Indians and Ethiopians are not clearly differentiated. The Turko-Mongol group may be Mongol to the point of caricature, as with Iskandar’s round face, puffy cheeks and narrowed eyes of exaggerated length (Pl. 13b). The Turkic or

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43 Containing dates of 614–16/1217–19.
44 Cairo, NL, adab 579, Farès (1961), pls 2 and 3. The eyebrows of Zulaykha and Bilqis do not run the width of the brow as in the Kitâb al-‘ashâni image. The Bal’ami females may also be compared to the astrological figures in the frontispiece to the Paris Kitâb al-dariyâq of 595/1199 (Fig. 23).
45 First ‘Small’ Shahnâma, Washington, FGA, F30.90.
46 Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 51.37.9.
Mongol faces of kings are closest to the visage of Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ in the *Kitāb al-āghānī* frontispieces (Figs 6a–b and 152a). In a more general way they may also be compared to the best of late twelfth or early thirteenth-century monumental style lustre ceramics; for example, the central figure on the Ashmolean platter (Fig. 157a); the Iranians leaving the fort of Furud, on the fragmentary tile now in Boston (Fig. 157b); the youth slaying a leopard on the Keir Collection dish (Fig. 158a), or the schoolmaster on the David Collection plate (Fig. 158b). There is a preference in the Bal’ami to show noses as snubbed rather than aquiline, more in the manner of the bearded pedagogue and nonchalant leopard-killer than the Ashmolean or Boston figures. Physiognomies set the Bal’ami apart from more commonplace Saljuq facial conventions. For example, a close parallel for Iskandar’s inflated ego is not easy to find.

Two distinctive facial types occur rarely in the Bal’ami but deserve attention. The ‘netsuke’ face of the bald-pated Afrasiyab (Pl. 12) is also found in the Topkapı Album double frontispiece (Fig. 10a–b), as mentioned in Chapter One. The spiky-nosed face of the courtier at the far right of Ardashir’s throne (Pl. 15), is used for the Prophet at the Battles of Uhud and Hunayn (Figs 30 and 32). It also occurs in the Edinburgh al-Biruni where it is used for some, but not all, images of the Prophet (Figs 90–91 and 88). As Carboni has noted, this facial type is used in the complex paintings of the London Qazwini, for example fol. 101b (Fig. 69). By contrast, in the Bal’ami it occurs only in the simplest of compositions, and the figure of the Prophet is particularly poorly drawn in the scenes for Uhud and Hunayn, suggesting inept copying by an assistant.

Although there is a tendency to default to Mongol features, broadly speaking, prophets are depicted as turbaned Arabs and Iranian kings as crowned or capped Mongols. However, consistency is not absolute; for example, Yusuf is shown first as a winsome Arab youth and subsequently as a Turko-Mongol with braids (Pls 4–5); Similarly, the Prophet’s features fluctuate between purely Arab to Turko-Arab (Pls 26–32). A wicked ruler like the Ethiopian Abraha is depicted as an Indian (Pl. 21); Sasanians, Indians and Ethiopians are cast as retainers except in the case of Abraha.

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68 Boston, MFA, no. 31-495, mentioned and illustrated in Rosen-Ayalon (1973), pp. 168 and 170, pl. 6.
70 Copenhagen, David Collection, 50/1966; discussed in Watson (1985), pp. 45, 46, 48 and 52.
Mongol faces for kings reinforce the message of the frontispiece: Mongol equals just and rightful ruler. Faces of the prophets appear to be based on Baghdad prototypes but not always from the mainstream; for example the exaggerated elongation of the eye and particularly large heads of Ibrahim and Musa (Pls 3 and 7). In this respect they are also close to figures from the Syrian–Jacobite tradition, such as Caiaphas from the 1260 Vatican Lectionary. Arnold includes this figure for its relationship to Maqāmāt painting but it is even closer to the Bal'ami (Fig. 139b). An Arab among Turks, at the far right-hand corner of the top register of the Vienna Kasb al-daryāq is shown in profile with the same elongated eye (Fig. 21a). The Bal'ami prophets may therefore reflect Baghdad prototypes in more Jaziran guise.

A tendency to turban-heavy figures is common in Maqāmāt settings. They are used with humour in the frontispiece to the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Sūfī, dated Baghdad, 686/1287 (Fig. 8a–b), and in the India Office Anthology of Dīwāns, dated 713–714/1314–1315 (Fig. 108). On the other hand, turbans in the Edinburgh al-Biruni of 707/1307–8 worn by the Prophet and his family (Figs 89–91), are not only large but special in the context of that manuscript and clearly indicate sanctity.

A degree of homogeneity in the cycle is provided by round-faced, often effete-looking Mongol retainers and soldiery who swell assemblies and battle orders: for example, the Afshin's troops massing before Babak's castle (Pl. 38) and in the 1330 Shāhnāma, Anushirvan battling with Rum (Fig. 121). Equivalent, if not identical, repetitive faces and figures occur in Injuid manuscripts; the 1333 Shāhnāma provides examples. Such similarities in minor figures and less important scenes may suggest an Iranian-trained assistant. Alternatively, it could be a survival of a more widespread popular wall painting tradition less evident in the Arab art of the book with its roots in the late-Classical world, than in Persian traditions.

Beards on Mongols and non-Mongols seldom escape being turned into black bibs. However, since a similar application of black occurs in thirteenth-century Jaziran painting and 'Small' Shāhnāmas, this is probably more indicative of shared stylistic traits than several

54 Arnold (1965), pl. 9c–d.
55 London, BL, India Office Collection, Ms 132, fol. 35a, Robinson (1976), pp. 4–12. It is the writer's opinion that, like the Bal'ami, this manuscript was designed primarily for teaching purposes.
56 For example compare the retainers behind the throne on fol. 11b, Adamova and Guizalian (1985), p. 45, and Ardashir's retainers (Pl. 15). A detailed study of all the minor figures has not been possible within the scope of this dissertation. A comparison with Schroeder's analysis of Mongol hats in Ilkhanid manuscripts has not provided significant results, Schroeder (1939), figs 1–2.
hands: see, for example, Figs 50 and 78. Since it occurs in such a wide range of manuscripts it was probably not the result of later over-painting. The Mongol ‘tuft’ at the centre of the forehead of some, but not all, crowned monarchs has generally escaped a black dab; see Iskandar (Pl. 13b). However, a distinctive pointilliste “frizz” (Pl. 13b) is regularly used to edge masculine hair styles. This frizz is not ethnically specific but occurs sporadically throughout the cycle beginning with the pseudo-Sasanian guard in the frontispiece. Similar full-brush dotting appears in Jaziran and Ilkhanid manuscripts; see, for example, the Vienna Kāšāb al-dārūyāq, fol. 15b (Fig. 50), the Diez Album enthroned ruler56 (Fig. 9), and the ‘Small’ Shāhnāmas (Figs 78 and 83). It is executed with finesse on the heads of the angels accompanying Muhammad, Hamza and the Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqa’, on fol. 67a of the Khalili section of the Edinburgh–London Jami‘ al-tawārikh of 714/1314 (Fig. 103).57 As far as I am aware, this frizz is not known from Injuid painting.

In Inju manuscripts there is no clear distinction made between Arabs, Rumis and Mongols, although Indian physiognomies may be differentiated, as with the envoys to Anushirwan (Fig. 122). Long, thin visages are characteristic of the 1330 Shāhnāma;58 for example, Gushtasp slaying the dragon (Fig. 118) or the detail of the comatose paladin (Pl. 117). The protruding eye, probably an Indian convention, appears in the Baghdad and Fars school and also in the Bal’ami; for an example of each see the Qādī of Rahba in al-Wasiti’s Maqāmāt (Fig. 53); the central figure of Rustam above Bizhan’s pit in the 1330 Shāhnāma (Fig. 114) and Yusuf in Pl. 4.

Salient features

Although a few faces display idiosyncratic features, for example, the ‘netsuke’ and spiky-nosed faces which relate to painting associated with Ilkhanid Tabriz or Maragha, the majority of rulers and men of action in the Bal’ami have faces closer to Jaziran prototypes than Injuid examples. Biblical-Qur’anic figures display physiognomies largely derived from the Baghdad School; only the bland faces of some supporting figures may be related to Injuid types.

55 Vienna Kāšāb al-dārūyāq, fol. 15b; First ‘Small’ Shāhnāma, New York, MMA, Rogers Fund, 69.74.7.
56 Berlin, SPKO, Diez A, fol. 71.S.46
57 Illustrated in Blair (1995), fig. 35. In the Edinburgh section of the manuscript, the ‘frizz’ also occurs in the depiction of the Negus of Abyssinia and members of his court (EUL, Arab 20, fol.52a), in Talbot Rice (1976), p. 107, no.34.
58 This is not true of all Injuid manuscripts, where plump, round faces are more the norm, for example, fol. 88a from the 733/1333 Shāhnāma (Fig. 130) and from the dispersed Qiwam al-Din Shāhnāma of 741/1341 (Fig. 131).
1.6 Gesture, stance and dress

Many prototypes for gesture and stance in the Bal‘ami may be found in the repertoires of thirteenth-century Iraq and the Jazira. Raised, bare forearms and large hands issuing from wide sleeves, gesticulating expressively, are typical of prophets such as Ibrahim, Musa and Harun (Pls 3, 7 and 8). They are familiar not only from Maqamāt illustrations, but also from texts such as the Topkapi Library’s Mukhtasar al-lukam wa-muhassin al-kalim of al-Mubashir, possibly produced in Syria in the first half of the thirteenth century.

These, together with features of dress and composition, are also shared with thirteenth-century Syrian-Jacobite manuscripts. Examples are the Apocryphal Childhood of Christ, dated 1299, from Mardin (Fig. 14); and the Vatican’s Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary of Gospels from near Mosul, from which come Christ’s entry into Jerusalem (Fig. 141) and Caiaphas interrogating Christ. Fiey has reread the date and colophon of this manuscript to 1260, and associated it with the period of Christian resurgence following the fall of the caliphate in 1258.

Figures in Arab dress, with long gown and generously wide-bottomed trousers, often falling in folds around the heel, regularly adopt the ingratiating token bow, with head tucked between shoulders, sometimes accompanied by a bend from the waist with a straight back. This is the pose of ‘Ali and ‘Uthman before the arbitrator, ‘Abd al-Rahman (Pl. 35). It is a stance amply demonstrated in the Edinburgh al-Biruni of 707/1306–7: for example, the temple officials being interrogated by Piruz, and Ibrahim putting his back into destroying the idols (Fig. 93). “The election of ‘Uthman” may also be compared to supplicants before enthroned qāds, as in the Russian Academy of Sciences

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59 For example, the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences Maqamāt (Ms. C-23), c. 1240, illustrated in Paris, Lugano et al. (1994–5), pp. 152–153.
60 Probably the Jazira or Syria, TSM, Ahmet III, 3206, fol. 173b, illustrated in Ettinghausen (1977), p. 75.
61 For example, the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences Maqamāt (Ms. C-23), c. 1240, illustrated in Paris, Lugano et al. (1994–5), pp. 152–153.
62 Leroy (1964), p. 86, nos 1–2 and p. 89, no. 4; Buchthal (1939), pl. 23, no.1.
63 Fiey (1975), pp. 59–68.
Maqāmāt of c. 1240. The long straight index finger pointed by ‘Uthman at ‘Abd al-Rahman is found in the scene of Abu Zayd before the Qādī of Sa’dah.

The depiction of ‘Uthman’s election also shares characteristics with the Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary of 1260. The veiled women viewing the action from an upper level, with covered hands raised to their faces, are close to those mourning above the entrance to Lazarus’s tomb (Fig. 142).

The ‘ripple-wrinkle’ also occurs in Inju painting but infrequently. An example is fol. 32b of the 1333 Šāhmāna, which also provides evidence of the cursory treatment generally given to textiles in Injuid manuscripts. The 1330 Šāhmāna is unusual in this respect, in that it includes a few fine textile representations such as the garment worn by Yazdjiird’s assassin on fol. 284b (Fig. 129). It is noticeable that the ‘Gutman’ Šāhmāna also includes well-executed textile designs (Fig. 133).

With the exception of the convoluted ‘ripple-wrinkle’, typical of costume in the Baghdad School, and some Chinese gold embroidered breast roundels, for example Iskandar’s (Pl. 13b), little attention is paid to textile design in the Bal‘ami. That the draughtsman was acquainted with and able to draw figured brocades is evident from the high-backed throne beneath which Fir‘awn takes refuge (Pl. 7), or Ardashir’s bolster (Pl. 15). However, the majority of textile patterning has been applied with a brush, and was probably carried out by a less skilled hand. Time spent on elaborate textiles might have been considered superfluous for a book designed for classroom use.

A wide-angled stride with bent knees occurs throughout the Bal‘ami cycle for men engaged in strenuous activity, usually battle: for example, Hushang, Dawud and Wahraz (Pls 2, 10 and 23). It recalls the ‘Jaziran’ stride of the poisoned favourite in the Paris Kitāb al-dāryāq of 595/1199 (Figs 45 and 46). Wide-angled strides and emphatic gestures are

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68 For other examples see Figs 110, 112 and 117.
70 A particularly clear use of the textile ‘ripple-wrinkle’ is ‘Uthman’s gown (Pl. 35).
71 Textiles in the damaged frontispiece may have originally been more carefully and richly treated than those in the body of the text.
also found in Inju painting, for example the arresting figure of the assassin dispatching Yazdijird, and Bahram Chubin stepping from mountain top to mountain top as if in ‘seven-league boots’, both from the 1330 Shāhnāma (Figs 129 and 126). However, the step is more exuberant in Jaziran and Anatolian designs than those of Fars. In the Bal'ami it may also be associated with wearing a short cutaway jerkin or jacket, as in the case of the young Dawud, who may be compared with the fowler on the Blacas ewer decorated in Mosul in 649/1252 (Pl. 10 and Fig. 161b).

Salient features

As with faces and figures, sources for dress and gesture may be paralleled in paintings from the thirteenth-century Arab schools of the Jazira and Baghdad more easily than with Injuid Fars; the emphatic arm and hand gestures of static, turbaned and gowned figures may be related to the Baghdad School, while short jackets, trousers and boots suited to more energetic stances, are shared with Jaziran painting and metalwork.

1.7 Arms and armour

The variety of arms and armour in the Bal'ami may be compared to ‘Small’ Shāhnāma paintings. For example, in “Gushtaham kills Lahhak and Farshward” (Fig. 80), both short cutaway leather jackets and full-length lamellar body armour are shown in the same frame, together with a spiked helmet with multiple ear-pieces. In the Bal'ami, Bahram Gur wears a similar short jacket for killing the elephant (Pl. 18), while the majority of Mongolised military wear armour of the lamellar type, either covering the upper body or extending to below the buttocks or to the knee, as at the Battle of Badr (Pl. 28). The spiked helmet with multiple ear-pieces, the commonest type in the Bal'ami, is prevalent in ‘Small’ Shāhnāma and in the Gutman Shāhnāma (Fig. 137). Lamellar armour is commonly worn by the military in Injuid paintings but I have yet to find an example of the short cutaway jacket; this jacket does not feature in the Edinburgh–London Jami' al-tawārīkh or the ‘Gutman’ Shāhnāma.

Allan has pointed out that the fall of drapery behind the knee when riding, for example the figure of ‘Utba attacked by ‘Ali at the Battle of Badr (Pl. 28), or the Afshin Haydar (Pl. 38), is characteristic of thirteenth-century Jaziran metalwork. An example is

74 London, BM, OA 1866.12–29.61, illustrated in Baer (1977), fig. 15.
76 First ‘Small’ Shāhnāma, New York, MMA, 69.74.4b.
77 The similarity of helmet style has been observed by Roxburgh; Roxburgh (1988), p. 42.
the jacket worn by the figure on the Nuhad es-Said candlestick No. 7 (Fig. 161a). A version of this feature occurs in Inju painting; for example, the rider emerging from the right on fol. 54b of the 1330 Shāhnamā (Fig. 11). A variant also occurs on the earliest dated Fars metalwork basin of 748/1347 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lyon (Fig. 163a–b). These are, however, variants and suggest that the Bal'arni version is sartorially closer to thirteenth-century Jaziran rather than fourteenth-century Iranian models.

The oriental bow, straight-bladed and slightly curved swords, lances, maces and a “bearded” axe are wielded in military encounters and as ceremonial regalia in the Bal'ami. Bahrarn Gur enthroned holds an onager-headed mace (Pl. 17a–b). The majority of shields are round, but ogival ones occur in scenes such as Wahraz’s feat of marksmanship (Pl. 23) and Musaylima’s death at the garden gate (Pl. 33). Ogival and round shields occur in Warqa u Gultshātd and also in the First ‘Small’ Shāhnamā (Fig. 83). Although an ogival shield is held by the leopard-killer on the Boston lustre dish (Fig. 158a), probably produced in Kashan, to date I have observed no examples in Injuid manuscripts.

A straight sword with a baldric wrapped round its hilt is held by the standing, turbaned figure nearest the throne, in “Yusuf is reunited with his family” (Pl. 5). At the Battle of Hunayn, the Prophet is shown with his sword on a baldric hung round his neck (Pl. 32). By the fourteenth century baldrics were anachronisms. However, they are depicted on folios 66a, 67a and 72a of the Khalili section of the Edinburgh–London Jāmi‘ al-sawārith (Figs 102–4): Muhammad encourages his family prior to the Battle of Badr; leads Hamza and the Muslims against the Banu Qaynuqa; and receives the submission of the Banu'l-Nadir. Referring to these images, Raby has pointed out that the use of the baldric, even though it is hung from the shoulder rather than slung across the body, may be an intentional archaism harking back to images of the standing caliph with sword and

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77 The sketch of the Italianate gentleman added to the right hand margin of this image suggests that, at a subsequent date, the owner of this manuscript had access to a fifteenth-century European model.
78 Melikian Chirvani (1970), illus. 2, fol. 3/6a.
79 A satisfactory chronology for Fars metalwork has yet to be published, and the relationship between Jaziran and Fars metalwork remains to be clarified.
80 It is possible that the type of “bearded” axe held by the Meccan in the Battle of Hunayn, may have matched that held by the executioner in the frontispiece, since they both share a pointed ‘tail’. This type of axe may be found in an Armenian manuscript of c. 1270, now in the Freer Gallery (F32.18, fol. 315a); see Nicholle’s drawing in Nicholle (1981), p. 149A; this requires further investigation.
81 Melikian Chirvani (1970), illus. 2, fol. 3/6a.
82 Dublin, CBL, 104.54, “Malika falls in love with Shapur as he besieges Tayr’s castle.”
baldric on Umayyad coinage. Raby has also noted that the sword and baldric, carried by ṣūkhār, was adopted for ceremonial purposes by the Zangid ruler of the Jazira and Syria, Nur al-Din ibn Zangi (r. 541-569/1146-1174). A sword of this type is regularly held aloft alongside enthroned rulers on thirteenth-century Jaziran metalwork, as, for example, on the cup from the Tomb of Sayyid Battal Ghazi (Fig. 32). To date I have found no other example of the baldric hung like a necklace round the neck.

Salient features

The variety of arms and armour found in the Balʿami, including the spiked helmet with multiple ear-pieces, is closest to the repertoire of ‘Small’ Shahānāmes than to thirteenth-century Arab, Saljuq or Injuid painting. Forms of lamellar armour are found in the Balʿami and Injuid manuscripts, however, the cutaway jacket in the Balʿami although typical of the Jazira is atypical of Fars.

1.8 Anachronistic figures

Sasanian guards appear in the frontispiece and in the images of Ardashir and Bahram Gur enthroned. In addition, the figure of Hushang (Pl. 2) is treated in the same way. He is shown wearing puttees similar to the figure of Rustam as he rescues Bizhan from the pit, on the rare pre-Mongol Monumental style lustre tile in the Keir Collection (Fig. 149). Hushang also shares the ‘Jaziran’ stride, and together with Bizhan may be compared to dancers on the fragmentary lustre plate in the Cincinnati Art Museum, dated by Melikian-Chirvani to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and to wrestlers on an Ilkhanid lustre tile (Fig. 150).

A pseudo-Sasanian hair style with flowing ribbons appears on both thirteenth century mināʾī ceramics, and metalwork associated with Mosul. Published examples include two late twelfth or early thirteenth-century mināʾī bowls formerly in the Kevorkian Collection; an example in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 142); and in metalwork, a

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83 Unpublished lecture; see Abū Shama (1287-8/1871), Vol. 1, pp. 11-12, ; Mayer (1952), p. 45.
84 It seems to me this would have been a most unsatisfactory and uncomfortable way of carrying a sword, and may be a misunderstanding on the part of the painter. For a recent discussion on the image of the sword-bearing caliph see Treadwell (1999), especially pp. 255-260.
85 Watson (1985), pp. 123-4 and pl. 102 (no accession number given); Grube (1976), no. 182.
87 Sarre & Martin and Sarre (1912), vols 2-3, pls 97 and 99.
mounted figure letting fly a Parthian shot in a cartouche on an inlaid penbox, possibly from mid thirteenth-century Anatolia (Fig. 148).90

A lone Sasanian among Mongols observes Kay Kawus's undignified return from an attempt to reach heaven in a basket in the 'Gutman' (formerly Schulz) Shahnama91 (Fig. 133). Similarities between Hushang's garb and the colouring, drape and cutaway line of the Sasanian observer's surcoat are similar in both manuscripts.92

Indians, as in the seamen accompanying Yunus (Pl. 14), may be compared to Maqamât illustrations, for example in al-Wasiti's and the Süleymaniye manuscripts (Figs 54 and 57). The combat between Giw and Talhand in the 'Gutman' Shahnama, fol. 40a (Fig. 137), provides a humourous interpretation of Indians and a monarch on elephants reminiscent of Abrahá attacking the Ka'ba (Pl. 21).93

Another figure, this time with an unusual hood and short tunic, appears centre stage during the execution of worshipper of the golden calf (Fig. 8). He is difficult to parallel, but a similar hood and tunic is worn by Zoroastrian priests performing a ritual with severed heads of bulls, in a stone relief, possibly third century BC, from Ereğli (Dascyllium) in Asia Minor (Fig. 151).94 Although not identical, a 'barbarian' figure is included in the right-hand frontispiece to the Injuid-style 'Stephens' Shahnama, dated 753/135295 (Fig. 15).

Salient features

Possible sources for anachronistic figures are suggested by images from a variety of media, including pre-Islamic rock reliefs, thirteenth-century Iranian ceramics and Jaziran metalwork.

90 Kuwait, private collection, I/343, Louisiana (1987), cat. no. 124, illustrated p. 27 and discussed by J.W. Allan on p. 91, cat. no. 124; Allan refers to a similar image on a contemporary ewer made by 'Ali ibn 'Abdallah al-'Alawi, now in Berlin. Of the Kuwait penbox Allan says: "whether [the owner] was a Saljuq ruler of Anatolia, an Artuqid, or an Ayyubid for the moment remains unclear."
93 The mourning scenes of Iskandar and Darâ (Pl. 13a) and the 'Gutman' "Funeral of Iskandar" (Fig. 136) fol. 34b also bear comparison.
94 Hinnells (1973), p. 128. Hinnells includes this carving to illustrate the geographical spread of Achaemenian influence, but does not give a precise date for it; this requires further verification.
95 Sotheby's (1998), Lot, 41, p. 54, fol. 1b.
1.9 Angels, jihāds and an idol

Angels in the Balʿami may be jacketed or stripped to the waist, but are always pantalooned. In the presence of the Prophet they appear both semi-naked and garbed, for example during and after the Battle of Badr (Pls 28–29). Their wings usually sprout from their haloes.\(^{96}\) This idiosyncratic wing arrangement is known in Jaziran contexts, such as the frontispieces to the Kitāb al-dārīyāq of 595/1199 (Fig. 23), the Kitāb al-aghāni for Badr al-Din Luluʾ, with dates of 614–16/1217–19 (Pls 6a–b), and also in the Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary of 1260, for example, “The dream of St Simeon” (Fig. 140). In the Mongol period it is found among the angelic supporters in the Topkapi Album frontispiece (Fig. 12a) and the Diez Album folio\(^ {97}\) (Fig. 9).

The precise aeronautical system of the recording angels in the Munich Ajāʾib al-makhlūqāt of al-Qazwini, dated Wasit, 678/1280,\(^ {98}\) is unclear (Fig. 62). However, the halo-wing convention is not found in the Marzubān-nāma from Baghdad, 698/1299 (Fig. 4a), where ample wings are securely attached to shoulders.\(^ {99}\) The same is also true of the substantial and complex wings of the archangels in the London Qazwini, possibly produced in Mosul as early as c. 1300 (Figs. 63–64).\(^ {100}\) Carboni has suggested these angels are closer to the Konya stone reliefs, or the supporters above the mihrab at Susuz Han, between Antalya and Burdur.\(^ {101}\)

In the Balʿami frontispiece and the second of the Badr scenes (Pl. 29), the representatives of the angelic host trail tendrils bearing leaves and lotus-like flowers. This is visually similar to the Topkapi Album frontispiece (Fig. 12a), although in that instance it is unclear whether the plants float free or belong to a textile background. As far as I am aware, winged-haloes and trailing vegetation are not typical of Injuid angels, either in frontispieces (Figs 28a and 29a) or in narrative illustrations such as Sarush rescuing Khusrav Parwiz, on fol. 269a of the 1330 Shāhāvāna (Fig. 125). In the 1330 frontispiece, angels have been replaced by heavy drapes above the enthroned ruler’s head (Pl. 27a).

\(^{96}\) In the two paintings of the Battle of Badr it is not entirely clear how their wings are attached.

\(^{97}\) SPKO, Diez A. fol. 71, p. 46; Farès (1953), pls 3 and 4 and İpciónoğlu (1964), pl. 4.

\(^{98}\) Ajāʾib al-makhlūqāt, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, C. Arab. 464, fol. 36a.

\(^{99}\) Carboni has noted that, unlike angels in the London Qazwini, the Munich angels are turbaned, perhaps indicating a derivation from astrological manuscripts, Carboni (1992), p. 454–5. For discussions of angels in Qazwini manuscripts see also Badiee (1978), pp. 51–59.

\(^{100}\) Carboni (1992), pp. 533–540.

Compared to the angels, the pa7ýs converted by the Prophet (Pl. 27) appear experimental. The chief pa7i sports the Jaziran wing formation, and he and all his followers, save one, are turbaned. As already suggested, turbans may represent their conversion to Islam, although why one should be left bare-headed unclear. The combination of a line of semi-naked 'males' with fully-clothed figures at either end, suggests a string of prisoners awaiting execution, although turbaned images from astrological treatises may also have served as a models. They have been given Mongol looped tresses, rather than the loose braids of angels, and there is very little about them to suggest the supernatural. They look chilly alongside fully dressed figures.

The Bal'ami designer appears more at ease with divs, whom he depicts with humour rather than disgust, than with pa7is. Compare, for example, the dīw, or perhaps the Devil himself, giving Namrud's basket a helpful shove towards perdition (Pl. 3), and the far more gruesome White Dīw being dispatched by Rustam in the First 'Small' Shahnāma (Fig. 78). Other examples are Sulayman's demons. A comparison may be drawn between the purple-faced fiend crouching between Sulayman and Bilqis, (Fig. 11a–b), and the Dīw Akhwan glowering at Rustam whom he has just cast into the sea, on fol. 17a of the Gutman Shahnāma (Fig. 134).

The idol in the niche of the Yemenite Temple (Pl. 19) is based on a similar Buddhist prototype to the images being smashed by Ibrahim on fol. 88b of the Edinburgh al-Biruni (Fig. 93). I have not found, so far, such an unequivocal borrowing from a Buddhist prototype in Injuid painting.

Salient features

The 'winged-halo' used for angels in the Bal'ami is known from the Jazira and occasionally in metropolitan Ilkhanid painting, but is not found in Fars. The depiction of an idol derived from a Buddhist prototype may be associated more readily with western Ilkhanid than with the central Iranian plateau.

1.10 Haloes

There appears to be little logic associated with the allocation of haloes in the Bal'ami paintings. Haloes are standard issue except to diws and figures without them are rare. When they are missing this appears to be an oversight. Among those whose haloes

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102 Rustam's 7th feat, First 'Small' Shahnāma, MMA, Rogers Fund 69-74-7.
104 Discussed in Soucek (1975), p. 114, and fig.5.
appear to have slipped are Ibrahim, Namrud and his companion in the airborne basket (Pl. 3); Harun (Pl. 7); Musa (Pl. 9) and Afrasiyab (Pl. 12). On the other hand, more elaborate enfoliated haloes have been granted to the ruler in the frontispiece, Bilqis and the giant 'Uj.  

Haloes are typical of thirteenth-century Iraq, Anatolia and the Jazira; they are ubiquitous, for example, in Wargh u Gulshah (Figs 51–2), the Paris and Vienna copies of Kitab al-diryāq (Figs 45–50) and the late twelfth or early fourteenth-century Topkapi Kitab ve Dona (Figs 70–75). They appear in some, but not all, Maqamat manuscripts, and al-Wasiti uses them in his frontispieces but not in his narrative images (Figs 7a–b and 53–55). By comparison, haloes are atypical of Injuid illustrations. Flaming haloes are not used in the Bal'ami for depictions of the prophets; by comparison, Jibra'il is engulfed by one in the Edinburgh al-Biruni.  

Salient features

Haloes are ubiquitous in the Bal'ami and atypical of Injuid painting.

1.11 Crowns

Manuchihr is the first king in the cycle to wear a crown of the type generally used throughout the manuscript for pre-Islamic royalty. It is characterised by its large size, tripartite structure and outward-flaring sides. It is found in Jaziran manuscripts such as the frontispiece to the Paris Kitab al-diryāq (Fig. 23). It is also worn by the figure of Constantine with Helena in the Vatican's Syrian–Jacobite Lectionary of 1260 (Fig. 143). Fiey has re-read the date in this manuscript as 1260; he convincingly suggests that, in this instance, the figures of Constantine and Helena have been adapted to represent Hulagu and his Nestorian Christian Karayat wife, Duquz, at a time of rising fortunes for the Christian population following the fall of Baghdad in 1258.  

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105 In Bal'ami's text 'Uj is cast as more foolish than truly wicked; the sheer size of his halo rather than his virtue probably encouraged the artist to decorate it.
106 Soucek (1975), fol. 141b, pp. 147–8, fig. 22.
107 An exception is the crown worn by the usurping Ethiopian ruler of the Yemen, Abraha, on folio 47a (Fig. 21).
108 This crown may reflect Achaemenian and Sasanian prototypes but does not copy accurately the crown of any particular monarch. However, the crown of Bahram IV on a coin from the collection of the American Numismatic Society consists of a central feature flanked by wings; illustrated in Harper (1978), p. 147, fig. 71a.
110 Vatican, BA, Siriazza 559, fol. 223b.
Ardashir has been given bushy hair issuing from beneath a crown of Jaziran type, perhaps intentionally evoking Archaemenian and Sasanian prototypes (Pl. 15). Schmitz suggests that his crown is similar to a crown-like hat on a late twelfth-century minâ'î bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and that the upward curving wings, ending with a curl, produce a Sasanian effect.

Rulers of the Yemen are given meaner versions with an everted flare (pls 19, 21 and 23) closer to crowns in Injuid manuscripts (Figs 112, 122, 124 and 125). These smaller crowns resemble those on inlaid Fars metalwork, such as the bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum with scenes from the Shāhnama, dated 752/1351–2 (Fig. 164). While smaller crowns may have been allotted to lesser kings, it is also possible that lesser kings were allotted to an assistant painter, who, as we have seen, may have been acquainted with Fars traditions.

Salient features

Crowns in the Bal'ami are overwhelmingly of a type associated with the Jazira and differ from those commonly used in Injuid paintings.

1.12 Thones

The simple cushioned throne or seat, almost at ground level, is found throughout the cycle of illustrations in the Bal'ami, except when a space beneath it is needed to accommodate Fir'awn (Pl. 7a); on that occasion the compromise is bold, but does not suggest complete understanding of the model the designer may have had in mind. The low cushioned throne occurs regularly in thirteenth-century Baghdad and Jaziran manuscripts but only rarely in fourteenth-century Ilkhanid painting. Evidence of its status in thirteenth-century Christian contexts is demonstrated by the stone frame remaining from the Bishop's throne to the rear of the high altar in the Jacobite Cathedral at Mardin (Fig. 146), and Herod's throne in the “Apocryphal Childhood of Christ”, also from Mardin and dated 1299.

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112 In citing this image of Ardashir, Schmitz suggests the crown is similar to a crown-like hat, of Sasanian inspiration, on a late twelfth-century minâ'î bowl in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
115 For a comprehensive study of what these may have been, see Donovan (1988–9), pp. 1–76.
116 Florence, BMI, Or. 387, fol. 7b.
The frontispiece to the British Library’s *Kalila wa Dimna* manuscript of 707/1307–8 (Fig. 26a) provides a dated example from the early fourteenth century. Four from a total of six seated figures in the Edinburgh al-Biruni are supported by an ‘eared’ cushion: these include “The Prophet with the envoys of Musaylima”, fol. 92a (Fig. 89). By contrast, “Piruz interrogates the Temple Officials”, fol. 104b (Fig. 94) and “The Death of Eli”, fol. 133b, show hard backed thrones of greater elaboration. There is only one ground-level throne in the Edinburgh–London joint *al-tawd? ikh Of 71411314, sat upon by Yusha (Joshua) (Fig. 97); and only one among the undated ‘Small’ *Shahnama* illustration published by Simpson.

In the Great Mongol *Shahnama*, probably from the 1330s, one cushion-backed throne and one-cushion backed seat occur. At first sight, several others in this manuscript appear to be the cushion-backed variety, but on closer inspection are more likely to be hard-backed thrones into which a stylised version of the cushion has been set, suggesting a development similar to English ‘linenfold’ panelling.

In Injuid manuscripts the low throne occurs extremely rarely, and then in an outdoor context. The only example in the 1330 *Shahnama* is “Bahram Chubina kills Sawa Shah” (Fig. 123). The usual Injuid throne is very high off the ground, with a tall back, often set on distinctive patterned feet, like up-turned Chinese blue-and-white bowls (Pl. 112), or raised on a trestle (Pl. 122). The Bal’ami thrones are an important feature that suggests a close association with Baghdad and the Jazira rather than Azerbaijan or Fars.

**Salient features**

The low, cushion-backed throne is widespread in both Arab and Saljuq images before the Mongol invasions; although still evident in the repertoires of the western provinces in the Ilkhanid period, it appears anachronistic alongside the metropolitan

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117 BL, Or. 13506, fol. 2a
118 The others are “A king celebrates Mihrjan”, fol. 92a, “Faridun sentences Zahhak to death”, fol. 101a, and “The Annunciation to Mary”, fol. 141b; Soucek (1975), figs 7, 13, 22.
119 Soucek (1975), figs 17 and 19.
120 See also Donovan (1988–9), pp. 1–76 on the range of thrones in the Edinburgh–London manuscript.
122 “Bahram Gur Talking to Narsi” (formerly Kevorkian Collection, sold at Sotheby’s April 3, 1978 and “Bahram Gur in a peasant’s house” (Montreal, McGill University Library), illustrated in Grabar and Blair (1980), no. 52, p. 161, and no. 50, p. 157.
123 For example, “Khusraw writing to the Khaqan”, Grabar and Blair (1980), p. 171 no. 57.
124 Fol. 246b.
Ilkhanid preference for raised and high-backed throne-types, as favoured in Rashidiyya manuscripts from Tabriz, and also reflected in ‘Small’ Shāhnāmas and Injuid painting.

1.13 Animals

Quadrupeds are the strongest suit of the main Bal’ami artist. Horses, camels and elephants are treated with a degree of accurate observation, sympathy and vitality often absent from human figures. Lions fare less well. Hares, salukis and jackals are elongated, as in animal friezes; apart from the falcon of daunting presence in the frontispiece, birds receive cursory attention, and no other hawks are depicted in the cycle. Good-quality animal drawing is maintained up to and including the Battle of Badr, where the camels steal the show (Pl. 28). Thereafter the quality declines sharply, with the possible exception of the elephant at the Battle of Qadisiyya (Pl. 34).

The major horse type is best exemplified by Bahram Gur’s mount on fol. 116a (Pl. 16). It is stocky and powerful, with an arched neck and slightly Roman nose. It resembles the mounts in the Istanbul Kāšī al-Aḫārī frontispiece and the Konya stucco carving (Fig. 152a–b); this horse type occurs on ceramics, such as the winged horse on the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century Kashan monumental style lustre dish (Fig. 153a), and Ilkhanid period tile dated 710/1310 (Fig. 153b). They are unlike the lightly built, dish-faced Arabs indicated, if poorly drawn, in larger format Inju Shāhnāma painting, or the flat-necked, scrawny Mongol ponies of the Edinburgh–London Jami‘ al-tawārikh, with their stylistic debt to Chinese woodblock formulae (Fig. 105a–b).

A horse with the back-turned head occurs first in the Bal’ami cycle with Jalut’s mount on fol. 75b (Pl. 10) and then regularly thereafter. On fol. 118b Bahram Gur’s horse, terrified by the elephant he is grappling, is shown rearing back on its haunches with nose pointed skywards. The sadly smudged image of Khusraw Parwiz and Bahram Chubin (Pl. 25) shows horses half-in and half-out of the picture frame, galloping in opposite directions and between registers.

The unusual absence of hawks in an Ilkhanid period narrative cycle concerned with rulers and their images, suggests that its inclusion in the frontispiece is indeed a calculated piece of iconography.


For example, fol. 116a (Pl. 16), fol. 129a (Pl. 20), fol. 134a (Pl. 23), fol. 278a (Pl. 36) and fol. 369b (Pl. 38).

As already mentioned under composition.
The wide vocabulary of horse stances on thirteenth-century Jaziran metalwork; its relationship to Persian painting; and apparent transfer to Fars in the course of the fourteenth century, have been discussed by Komaroff.130 The stances include the back-turned head and skyward-pointed nose repeated in the Bal'ami. Regarding the horses on the interior of the Louvre basin, made for the Ayyubid Sultan al-'Adil II, Abu Bakr, datable to 635/1238–1240, and signed by Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Dhaki [al-Mawsili]131 (Fig. 160b–c) Rice comments:

"The horses, in particular, are treated with consummate skill and daring. Some are shown galloping, others as if descending a slope; others still are prancing or docilely following a groom. No posture seems too difficult for Dhaki to attempt. In one instance a horse is shown frontally in a violent foreshortening, and in the same panel another horse (in the left-hand lower corner) is rendered in three-quarter view."

A further Jaziran metalwork example is the frieze on the Freer Gallery's d'Arenberg basin,132 in the name of al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (r. 637–647/1240–1249), probably made towards the end of his reign by a craftsman working in the Mosul tradition and perhaps in Damascus (Fig. 162a–b);133 this provides an example of the skyward-pointed nose among horses in a simple ribbon format. The earliest dated example from Fars metalwork of horses in similar poses, is the basin dated 748/1347 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lyons (Fig. 161a–b).134 Melikian Chirvani traces its style back to Warqa u Gidshāh, and mentions briefly Injuid Shāhnamās and the dispersed Mu'nis al-Ahrār dated 741/1341.135 Komaroff cites this basin as an example of the probable transfer of Jaziran designs to Fars through shared drawings, sketches or pounces.136

The horses in the Bal'ami are closer to the Louvre and d'Arenberg basins than to Warqa u Gidshāh, or to Mu'nis al-Ahrār in which the horses are lighter-boned and more delicately drawn.137 Horses on the Lyons basin are similar but not identical to those on the Louvre example and in the Bal'ami,138 and this would appear to support Komaroff's

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132 Rice (1957), pp. 303–304.
133 Washington, FGA, F55.10.
134 Katzenstein and Lowry (1983), pp. 54–55, fig. 3; Baer (1989), pp. 18–99, illus.
139 The Fars horses are already showing signs of the more exaggerated conformation typical of fifteenth-century Shiraz painting, with heavy body, pigeon-breast, spindly legs.
hypothesis for the movement of metalwork designs from the Jazira to Fars rather than vice versa. In the same way, the Bal'ami horses are closer to some examples in the Great Mongol Shahnama, probably produced in Tabriz of c. 1330, for example, Iskandar’s horse shying before the Habash Monster. As Komaroff has pointed out, this does not prevent Jaziran and Fars bloodstock on metalwork sharing a common ancestry. The most expressive horse in the 1330 Shahnama is Rakhsh in his death throes (Fig. 119).

Elephants in the Bal'ami are treated with unusual imagination, particularly on fol. 118b, where Bahram Gur is shown killing the rogue (Pl. 18). The cavorting pair in the Morgan Manāfīh al-haya'awān are exuberant but less naturalistic; the tubular treatment of their skin folds, even if exaggerated by later over-painting, differs from the Bal'ami artist’s preference for a more wash-like pigmentation for his animals. The now dispersed Manāfīh al-haya'awān of c. 1300, with its original line and wash, indicates that fine-line animal drawing was also available c. 1300.

It is noticeable that even in a modest manuscript such as the Topkapı Kafile wa Dinma, the elephant is anatomically correct and delineated with care (Fig. 75). The animals, including the elephant, in the right-hand folio of Topkapı Album frontispiece of c. 1300, although technically superior, are believably from the same ‘Ark’ as the Bal’ami menagerie. (Fig 10b). Well-observed elephants also appear on ceramics, for example the Kashan-style lustre saucer dated 611/1214, signed by Muhammad ibn Abi Nasr ibn al-Husayni, in the Etchecopar Collection. Similarly, an elephant in the animal frieze now in the Ince Minarli Medrese at Konya, from c. 1220, has been carved with accuracy and assurance (Fig. 154).

By contrast, the elephant from which Rustam pulls the Khaqan, on fol. 79a of the 1330 Shahnama shares the tubular rings of the Morgan Bestiary elephants and is more like a

and long face: for example as in the Bodleian Library’s Shahnama (Ousley, Add. 176) of c. 1435, for Ibrahim Sultan, Gray (1961), p. 98.

Komaroff (1994), pp. 18–19 and fig. 1, Boston, MFA, Gift of Denman Waldo Ross Collection, 30.105.

New York, PML, M.500, dated 697/1297–8 or 698/1298–9, fol. 13a; Hillenbrand, R. (1990), pp. 155–156; Schmitz (1996), pp. 9–24, especially pp. 11, 17 and Fig. 5.

See, for example, Schmitz (1996), fig. 3: “The Ram”, Art Institute of Chicago, Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection, 1935.166.

Istanbul, TSM, H. 363, fol. 127b, Çağman and Tanudi (1986), p. 51 and illus. 31. However, the elephants in the British Library copy dated 707/1307–8 are noticeably less well served, perhaps suggesting a more central than peripheral Iranian provenance.

TSM, H. 2152, fol. 60b.

Watson (1985), illus. 74a.
stuffed toy; the Gutman Shāhīna includes more skilful representations (Fig. 137). However, the hindquarters of the elephant on the Fars metalwork basin with Shāhīna scenes, dated 752/1362-2, have been cruelly deformed (Fig. 164).  

Lions are depicted in several ways: the mane-less beast being killed by the child Hushang (Pl. 2) is similar to those on the Talisman Gate (Fig. 1); its crossed paws follow a convention as in the Morgan Bestiary. The lion killed by Bahram Gur (Pl. 16) has a mane and more flattened face, very different from the box-nosed Morgan examples, and closer to the Gutman Shāhīna (Fig. 134); the lions lying dead before Bahram’s throne have manes figured like overlapping leaves, similar to the Morgan lions and incised metalwork. In the 1330 Shāhīna the lion is box-nosed and very crudely drawn (Fig. 126).

After the Battle of Badr the standard of animal depictions in the Bal’ami drops. This may in part be due to the mean spaces allotted to the Battles of Uhud, the Ditch, Hunayn and Qadisiyya. The Battle of Siffin (Pl. 36) fares better, but has suffered from abrasion and later re-outlining. Apart from the Afshin’s steed, horses before Babak’s fortress look dejected (Pl. 38), and more like the donkey ridden by Christ into Jerusalem in the 1260 Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary (Fig. 141), than the fiery steeds from earlier in the volume. I would suggest that the camels at Uhud and Hunayn are closer to those on fol. 10rb of the London Qazwini (Fig. 69) than to the Badr pacers. This would support the conjecture of a second, and lesser hand, at work, not only on painting and backgrounds but also on a run of images towards the end of the cycle.

In sum, convincing parallels for the Bal’ami’s treatment of animals are easier to find in the western provinces than in Fars. They may also be compared to the best of ceramic images traditionally associated with pre-Mongol Kashan as well as Ilkhanid production, including the ceramic convention of the triple dot (Pl. 10 and 18; Fig. 153a–b) on coats and hides of horses and elephants.

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146 Print not currently available.
148 Fol. 11a, Schmitz (1996), Pl. 2.
149 For example, the lions beneath the throne on the ewer, by Yusuf ibn Yusuf al-Mawsili, dated 644/1246, in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (No. 54.450), illustrated in Etinghausen (1959), p. 49, fig. 3.
150 This is also true of the architecture in this painting: see below.
151 The identification of kilns at Takht-i Sulayman will be mentioned below.
Salient features

Good animal drawing is known from the finest examples of pre-Mongol Kashan ceramics. However, the degree of finesse with which many of the beasts in the Bal'ami are depicted, together with the distinctive stocky and Roman-nosed horse type, relate better to pre-Mongol Jaziran metalwork and painting, and Ilkhanid painting and ceramics from Azerbaijan rather than from Fars.

1.14 Mythical beasts

Two dragons of different types occur in the Bal'ami: one, of Chinese derivation, and the other Jaziran or Anatolian with the characteristic medial heart-shaped knot.

As noted by Ettinghausen, Musa’s staff turns into a dragon of the Chinese imperial five-clawed variety (Pl. 7) with four legs, a crested spine from head to tail, appended trailing flames and two small horns: a form which entered the Iranian repertoire following the Mongol invasions. The dragon is close to one of the earliest datable examples of the ‘Chinese’ dragon from Ilkhanid Iran, on a hexagonal lajvardina moulded tile from the North Octagon of the palace at Takht-i Sulayman built in the 1270s for the Ilkhan Abaqa. It is akin in form, distinctive pose and the spotted treatment of its skin. A similar dragon-type is shown on the Victoria and Albert’s tile (Fig. 155b). The most dramatic survival of this type of dragon is the rock relief at Viar, near Zanjan, commonly attributed to Ghazan’s father, Arghun (r.683/1284-690/1291) and possibly associated with a Buddhist monastery near his proposed place of burial.

Peter Morgan has pointed out that the dragon became circumscribed to imperial use under the Yuan dynasty during the reign of the Great Khan Qubilai (r.658/1260-693/1294). The ceramic evidence from the reign of the Abaqa (r.663-680/1265-1289), who depended for confirmation of his rule on the Great Khan, seems to suggest that the same restrictions operated in contemporary Ilkhanid Iran. Its inclusion in book painting is therefore more likely to date from post-1295, when Ghazan

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154 Curatola (1989), p. 67; see Curatola also for an extensive bibliography on dragons.
156 Scarcia (1975), pp. 99–104 and figs 4, 5 and 9–13. The ‘Tree of Life’, also at this site, was previously referred to in Chapter One, in connection with the iconography of the Topkapi frontispiece (TSM, H. 2152, fol. 60b).
ceased to swear allegiance to the Great Khan and removed his name from Ilkhanid coinage.  

The dragon slain by Bahram Gur (Pl. 16), unlike Musa’s transmogrified staff, reflects the legless serpent familiar from stone carving and book ornament in Saljuq Anatolia and the Jazira prior to the Mongol invasions. For example, the frontispiece to the Paris Kitāb al-dārūq of 595/1199 (Fig. 23); the Talisman Gate, Baghdad c. 1220 (Fig. 1); the stucco carving of similar date now in the Ince Minareli Medrese in Konya (Fig. 155a). It is possible that a dragon with the central heart-shaped knot, partially visible behind the lion and onager, may have been chosen to correspond to the description in the text of the dragon curling up; however, it was core imagery, particularly in the Jazira and Anatolia, in the pre-Mongol period. 

As in the Bal’ami, both Chinese and Jaziran-Anatolian dragons occur in the London Qazwini. Adaptations of both types occur in the 1330 Shāhānāma (Figs. 118 and 120); however, they are sub-species of Chinese and Anatolian prototypes to which the Bal’ami artist adheres more faithfully.

Yunus’s gazelle, waiting to nourish him on the shore, appears to have been adapted from a Chinese kylin, with flaming wings. In a manuscript in which Far Eastern influence is more notable for its absence than its presence, Musa’s dragon and Yunus’s gazelle, and possibly Bahram Gur’s lions set themselves apart.

Salient features

Both the dragon with the heart-shaped knot and the Chinese-inspired version associate the Bal’ami with the western Ilkhanid provinces.

Landscape, fire and water

The absence of Far Eastern influence is nowhere more apparent than in the landscapes. There is no instance in the Bal’ami of the full brush used for grasses and vegetation on inter-leafed undulations in a receding plane. At best, compacted green

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As already mentioned in Chapter One.


Discussed in Carboni (1992), pp. 475-479; 495-496.
verges may sprout tufts, and straggly plants worm upwards over the red background, often to the full height of the picture (Pls 9, 18, 20 and 23); this is similar to the Topkapi *Kalila wa Dimna* (Figs. 70–75). In the London Qazwini, Carboni has counted nineteen different types of vegetal foreground—a botanical paradise compared to the Bal‘ami. A simple approach to vegetation is also typical of Injuid painters, but their plants are often more succulent (Fig. 109).

In the Bal‘ami trees are rare. The deciduous example, beneath which the Prophet greets the *paris* (Pl. 27), may be an attempt to evoke Far Eastern elegance but lacks command of calligraphic or full-brush line in depicting the split bark and extended root of Chinese inspiration. It remains closer to more stilted models as in the Vienna *Kitāb al-dāryāq* (Fig. 49). The same may be said of the fruit trees glimpsed over the wall in the ‘Garden of Death’ (Pl. 33). The cypress tree in the same picture is outlined in gold, perhaps following a similar convention used for profiling trees in the 1260 Syrian–Jacobite Lectionary (Figs. 139–41), where solid lines or gold dots are used. There is no instance in the Bal‘ami of an attempt to depict an oriental plane of the type against which Shaghad leans in the 1330 *Shāhnāma* (Fig. 119).

Where hills are important as foreground or backdrop in the Bal‘ami, the formations appear to echo the composition of the figures, for example in the execution of the worshipper of the golden calf (Pl. 8a–b) and the Afshin before Babak’s fortress (Pl. 38). “Hafwad’s daughter finds the worm”, from the Second ‘Small’ *Shāhnāma* (Fig. 86) provides a comparable, if more pastoral, example. This device develops through the fourteenth century and becomes integrated into the syntax of classical Persian painting.

The formula for painting hills in striations of umbers, reds and mauves, often built up of loose “M” shapes, may be compared to the 1260 Syrian–Jacobite Lectionary, for example “The Baptism of Christ”, fol. 26b and “Christ’s entry into Jerusalem” 105a (Figs 139 and 141). It is also used throughout the Topkapi *Kalila wa Dimna* (Fig. 72). On ceramics they appear at the foot of the tower on the Freer Gallery’s *mīrāt* platter datable

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\(^{161}\) For example, the absence of calligraphic line in the Bal‘ami contrasts with its use in the Munich Qazwini of 678/1280, copied in Wasit (Fig. 62), and the absence of the full-brush may be contrasted with the depiction of the brood mare in a landscape in the Morgan Bestiary, fol. 28r, Gray (1961), p. 21.

\(^{162}\) An even simpler form, more like croquet hoops, is used in the British Library copy of 1307–8, perhaps encouraged by the very small scale of the paintings; see, for example, Waley and Titley (1975), fig. 12.
to c. 1230, possibly commemorating a victory of Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah (Fig. 156). A similar, but often more curvaceous, form occurs in the 'Small' Shāhnāma (Figs. 77, 86 and 87). Unusually for the Bal'ami, in the picture of the Afshin Haydar and Babak (Pl. 38), the ridges have been edged with gold. Landscape elements are also sometimes outlined in gold in the Gutman Shāhnāma (Fig. 134).

None of these examples of mountains are the same as the highly coloured and sharply peaked ranges found in the 1330 Shāhnāma (Figs 116, 120, 125 and 126), and common to other Injuid manuscripts.

A few little 'petrified' clouds are meagre indications of Far Eastern or Buddhist idioms (Pls 2 and 9). These are increasingly evident in metropolitan Ilkhanid painting from the 1290s onwards, and particularly dramatic versions are used in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, where the tail of a cloud resembles the finger of God (Figs 90-91).

The enveloping 'dust of war' that often rises between antagonists in the 1330 Shāhnāma and its near relations (Figs 121 and 124), is absent, at least at first sight, from the Bal'ami. The curious rock formation inserted into the depiction of the Battle of Uhud (Pl. 30), is probably an adaptation of the rock form, similar to the free-standing purplish rock at the top right-hand corner of the Vienna Kitāb al-dirāj (Fig. 21a). However, it might also be a solidified version of the Fars-style 'dust of war' in the hand of an assistant.

The depiction of the fire into which Ibrahim is cast (Pl. 3) appears to have been culled from Far Eastern images such as dragons. It is closer, but not identical, to fire in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, and the flames surrounding Ibrahim in the Edinburgh–London TIMS al-tawāridh (Fig. 95). It differs significantly from the bonfire in "The trial of Siyawush" in the 1330 Shāhnāma (Fig. 110) and other Fars manuscripts of the red and ochre group.

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63 Washington, FGA, F43: Rogers (1989), p. 255 and pl. opposite p. 255 (hereafter "Freer Battle Plate"). Other identifications for this scene have been suggested, but so far remain unpublished.
64 As with the trees, this could be Syrian–Jacobite influence but it also occurs in the Gutman Shāhnāma and Muzaffarid painting in Fars following the fall of the Injus.
65 Mountains provide good examples, as in "Isfandiyar slays the dragon", Swietochowski and Carboni (1994), no. 32, p. 109. This trait continues through the Muzaffarid period.
66 For example, in the frontispiece to the Tārīkh-i jahan-gūsha, BN, Suppl. pers. 205, fols 1b–2a), dated 689/1290.
67 For example, the two images of fire on the feast of Sada on fols 103a and 103b, Soucek (1975), pp. 134–137, figs 15 and 16.
Four paintings in the Bal'ami include water: Sulayman and Bilqis (Pl. 11a), Yunus and the whale (Pl. 14), Bahram Gur and the elephant (Pl. 18) and the Battle of the Ditch (Pl. 31). Two formulae for water are used: the 'rivulet' form in Sulayman and Bilqis and the Battle of the Ditch; and the 'whorl' in Yunus and Bahram Gur. A form of the 'rivulet' is used, for example, for the sea into which the White Dīw has cast Rustam in the Gutman Shāhnamā (Fig. 134). Particularly close examples of the 'whorl' formula may be found in the Topkapi Kütül wa`Dāma (Figs 71 and 74). It also occurs on the Freer Battle Plate of c. 1230 (Fig. 156). However, although less well executed, forms of both are found in Injuid Shāhnamās, for example the 'rivulet' is used on fol. 88a of the 1333 Shāhnamā, and the 'whorl' occurs in the 1341 copy for Qiwan al-Din (Pls 130 and 131). It would seem, therefore, that water does not contribute towards solving the problem of whether or not the Bal'ami was produced in Fars.

Boats may be more informative. The push-me-pull-you vessel from which Yunus has plunged (Pl. 14) is difficult to parallel exactly with vessels in Maqāmāt illustrations, for example (Figs 54 and 57). In copies of the Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt zoomorphic prows are used but their stems are usually back-curving.\(^{168}\) The boat in the 1341 Injuid Shāhnamā\(^{169}\) (Fig. 131), and Nuh's Ark in the Edinburgh-London Žami' al-tawārīkh,\(^{170}\) are of different design. Far closer is a boat in a roundel on the brass cup from the Tomb of Sayyid Battal Ghazi, dated by Baer to thirteenth-century Jazira or Anatolia.\(^{171}\) Baer identifies this boat with zoomorphic types described in ‘Abbasid literature as used on the Tigris.\(^{172}\) A prow and stern facing in opposite directions occurs in a crude, red-ground painting on fol. 180b of an anonymous Persian Muqām al-tawārīkh wa`l-qisās, dated 751/1350-51 (Fig. 165).\(^{173}\) It may be, therefore, that the Bal'ami designer was drawing on an alternative, and less well-recorded, pictorial source than Maqāmāt or ‘Ajā'ib illustrators.

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\(^{168}\) See, for example, the fine undated fourteenth-century example in the St Petersburg (RAS, E-7, fol. 26v), in Paris, Lugano et al. (1994-5), pp. 164-165, and the boat with a dragon's head prow is depicted in the Kūsh al-bulhān (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 133, fol. 42a), probably produced in Baghdad in the early fifteenth century (Fig. 38b).

\(^{169}\) Washington, FGA, F.42.12.

\(^{170}\) Illustrated in Blair (1995), facsimile fol. 285a (K28).

\(^{171}\) Istanbul, TIEM, no. 102, Baer (1977), pp. 328-330 and fig. 16.

\(^{172}\) Baer, quoting Ibn al-Athir, Kūsh al-kāmil fi'l-tаra'īkh, vol. 6, p. 206, (date and place of publication not cited), recounts how Harun al-Rashid's son, al-Amin, had five such boats on the Tigris, each built in a different animal shape: a lion, an elephant, an eagle, a snake or a horse Baer (1977), p. 330, n. 63 and figs 17-23.

\(^{173}\) Herassowitz (1966), p. 38, no. 125 and p. 21, Illus. 3; I am grateful to Stefano Carboni for this reference. Herassowitz cites Storey regarding the text: "A concise history extending from the Creation to A.H. 520/1126, the date of the composition, in the time of Sanjar, and containing chapters of value on the ancient Persian kings, on India, on the Turks and on the titles of the Eastern rulers", Ibid. p. 38.
Salient features

The Bal'ami shares with Fars painting an almost total absence of Far Eastern influence in its treatment of landscape; however, its softer "M"-shaped hills are closer to Mesopotamian, Jazirian and Anatolian examples from the second half of the thirteenth century, than to the sharply-pointed ranges of Injuid Fars. The 'dust of war' typical of battle scenes in Fars manuscripts is not found in the Bal'ami. Thin, sinuous tongues of fire in the Bal'ami are closer to Far Eastern prototypes than the more static and broad-fingured Injuid versions. The boat with a double prow in the Bal'ami differs from vessels in Fars manuscripts, but may be associated with a type depicted on Jazirian metalwork and associated with navigation on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.

116 Architecture

Architecture is used in six paintings in the cycle: Namrud’s tower, from which he views Ibrahim in the fire, fol. 24b (Pl. 3); Zulaykha’s house, fol. 37b (Pl. 4), through which she chases Yusuf; the temple of the Yemenites, fol. 126a (Pl. 19); the walled ‘Garden of Death’, at the gate of which Musaylima is slain, fol. 234a (53b) (Pl. 33a–b); the interior of the mosque where ‘Uthman and ‘Ali submit to arbitration for the caliphate, fol. 265a (84a) (Pl. 35); and the exterior of Babak’s mountain fastness, fol. 362b (181b) (Pl. 38).74

Shirin’s tower on fol. 271a (Fig. 127), the fortress of Bihisht on fol. 116a (Fig. 115) of the 1330 Shahnama, and the castle in “Faramarz slays Warazad” on fol. 20a (Fig. 135)75 of the Gutman Shahnama, go far to explain why the Bal’ami has been classified by some scholars as probably produced in an Injuid orbit. However, although these towers appear typical of Fars, they are not present in all manuscripts ascribed to Injuid production; for example, straight-sided buildings are used in the Kitab-i Samak ‘Ayvar, as on fol. 19b (Fig. 139).

The free-standing ‘pepper-grinder’ tower with battered walls is difficult to parallel in extant architecture. It recalls most closely the pigeon towers still used on the Iranian plateau, especially in the environs of Isfahan.76 Bastions with battered walls were employed at Tabriz in the massive mosque built by the Ilkhanid vizier Taj al-Din ‘Ali

74 Barrucand has discussed thirteenth and fourteenth-century architectural types occurring in manuscript paintings, including Baghdad, Saljuq and Ilkhanid examples, but not Shiraz, Barrucand (1986), pp. 119–141.
Shah c. 710–20/1310–20. The brickwork decoration, however, may be documented from Central Asia to Saljuq Anatolia in the medieval period.

Namrud’s tower and the Yemenite temple share ‘pepper-grinder’ profiles, crested with multi-coloured crenellations like lappets on textiles. Variants of the multi-coloured crenellations decorate buildings in manuscripts from the western provinces from the mid-twelfth century to at least the early fifteenth. For example, they occur on straight-sided buildings in Warqa u Gulshah (Fig. 51), and also in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, dated 707/1307–8, in “The Defeat of al-Muqanna”, fol. 93b, the British Library Maqamāt dated 723/1323 (Fig. 61) and the Kitāb al-Bulhān, datable to Baghdad in the opening years of the fifteenth century (Fig. 138a). In addition, they are common to the thirteenth-century Syrian–Jacobite repertoire, for example the Vatican Lectionary of 1260 (Fig. 141).

The structure of Namrud’s tower includes a high-level balcony or gazebo, apparently resting on a stone portico. Redford describes and illustrates the exterior geometric ornament in painted plaster with which they were often decorated, particularly in zigzags reminiscent of the walls of ‘The Garden of Death’ and Babak’s fortress. The ‘tower with a view’ is known to have been favoured by the Rum Saljuqs. In principle, Namrud’s tower is similar to the kiosk of ‘Ala al-Din in the Konya Citadel, from the 1220s, although the latter is rectangular in ground plan. Yellow brick is common to Maqamāt and Injuid manuscripts, for example Figs 55, 58 and 60. The pinkish tones of the brick patterns in the Bat’ami are also found in Injuid depictions: Figs 128, 130 and 132. An open arcade at the top of a tower with battered walls is used to represent the fortification in the Freer battle scene of c. 1230 (Fig. 156). The Yemenite god sits in an upper arcade of niches with shouldered arches. Figures in ogival niches are familiar on metalwork from Khurasan to Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and a similar

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177 Illustrated in Morgan (1986), p. 163.
178 See particularly Hillenbrand, R. (1994), pp. 161–164, where the spread to the west may be epitomised by its use on Anatolian minarets.
179 Illustrated in Soucek (1975), p. 124, fig. 9.
180 To which figures in the “Election of ‘Uthman” have already been compared.
181 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 133.
182 And also in the copy in the British Library (Add. 7170) dated to 1216–1220, probably also from Mar Mattai.
185 Illustrated in Redford (1993), fig. 8.
186 The wall of Furud’s castle in the 733/1333 Shāhnama (St Petersburg, SPL, Dom 329, fol. 97a), though far cruder, is of yellow brick with pink mortar, Adamova and Guizalian (1985), pp. 72–73 and p. 71, no. 15.
187 See, for example the Boston candlestick dated 622/1225 (Fig. 31).
arch is used in “Caesar gives his daughter Karayun to Gushtasp” in the Gutman Shāhnāma, fol. 22a. A version of this tower, already at a remove from the Bal'ami or Fars versions, occurs in the ‘Small’ Shāhnāma, for example Tayr’s castle in the First ‘Small’ Shāhnāma (Fig. 83) and in the background to “The hermit warns Khushraw Parwiz”, from the Second ‘Small’ Shāhnāma (Fig. 87). Doors in the Bal'ami pepper-grinder towers are set within rounded arches surrounded by diagonal brick lays. In the ‘Small’ Shāhnāma and the 1330 Shāhnāma doors are usually set within square-framed shouldered arches (Figs 127–129). Although a common heritage seems probable, these towers are not all identical. The version in the Bal'ami is, however, closest to those in the Injuid Shāhnāma.

It is tempting to see a structure such as the lighthouse on fol. 43a of the London Qazwini, attributed by Carboni to Mosul c. 1300 (Fig. 65), as providing evidence of the pepper-grinder tower in a cycle from the western provinces. Similarly, folio 42a of the Kitāb al-bulhān, probably from Baghdad in the first decade of the fifteenth century (Fig. 138), shows a tower with upper storey supported on struts not unlike Zulaykha’s house, which in turn resembles a section of a pepper-grinder tower. However, both the lighthouse and towered house may derive from architecture in Maqāmāt cycles, such as the tower or minaret in the background to fol. 177a of the Suleymaniye manuscript (Fig. 58).

There are two glimpses of architectural interiors in the Bal'ami cycle: the arcade and bedchamber within Zulaykha’s house (Pl. 4), and the interior of the mosque in which ‘Uthman is elected caliph (Pl. 35). These interiors succinctly express the relationship between the Muslim and Christian painting traditions in Iraq and the Jazira in the thirteenth century. The bed shelf and semicircular coverlet is the convention used by both, no doubt in life as well as in painting. For example, it is on fol. 87a of the Topkapi Katila ve Dinma (Fig. 73) and in “Joseph’s Dream” in the Syrian-Jacobite Lectionary of 1250 (Fig. 193a). As already mentioned, veiled women view ‘Uthman’s election from an upper balcony with covered hands raised to their faces; this scene may be compared to

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189 Dublin, CBL, 104.54.
190 Washington, FGA, F45.21.
191 Attributed by Carboni to Mosul c. 1300.
192 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 133, fol. 42a.
193 This relationship has been discussed by Arnold (1965), pp. 58–61; Buchthal (1939), pp. 138–150; Buchthal (1940), pp. 125–133; and more recently Nasser (1985), pp. 83–98.
the mourners above the entrance to Lazarus's tomb in the two Syrian-Jacobite manuscripts (Fig. 142).\(^{95}\)

Babak's mountain fastness draws on different architectural formulae. A zigzag of parti-coloured crenellations creates an impression of a curtain wall.\(^{96}\) A string of crenellations to delineate a defensive enclosure is also found on the Freer Battle Plate (Fig. 156), together with striated mountains. This formula is echoed in the Great Mongol Shāhnama of c. 1330, in "Faridun captures the Palace of Dhahhak",\(^{97}\) and may be contrasted with the more three-dimensional approach to a similar problem in the Edinburgh-London Jami' al-tawdrīkh, fol. 178b (Fig. 106).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the topmost horizontal of the zigzag forms the parapet from which Babak with his brother addresses the Afshin. They stand behind the cresting of crenellations on either side of what appears originally to have been a large triangular embrasure, subsequently roughly transformed into a grey-blue dome.\(^{98}\) Two corner embrasures of unequal size rise at each end of the parapet. The dome, triangular embrasures and coloured crenellations occur in much the same combination in "Christ's entry into Jerusalem" in the Vatican Lectionary of 1260, fol. 105a (Fig. 141). The triangles of unequal size and Babak's stance with inclined head recall "The revelation of St Simeon" on folio 48a of the same manuscript (Fig. 140), in which the triangles are the raised back and front of the saint's box pew. A cypress tree holds an equivalent position to the Afshin's furled banner.\(^{99}\)

The square portal of this building, probably with a bent entrance indicated by the sharp angle of the emerging horse's back-turned head, has a crenellated porch and door jambs of diagonal brick lays. The brick lays are similar to those on the stucco carving from the Kubadabad palace of the Saljuqs of Rum, c. 1220, where they support the arch beneath which the hunter-ruler cavorts (Fig. 152).\(^{100}\)

It may be suggested, therefore, that although the pepper-grinder tower reflects architectural conventions of the central Iranian plateau, Babak's fortress is composed of

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\(^{95}\) Leroy (1964), Album, pl. 85, nos 3–4, and Text, pp. 290 and 306.

\(^{96}\) A comparable, but not identical, schematic approach to architecture is found in the Edinburgh al-Biruni, for example, "The Feast of Sada" on fol. 103b, Soucek (1975), pp. 136–137, fig. 16; Barrucand (1986), pp. 128–131, fig. 17.


\(^{98}\) Conical profiles glimpsed beyond crenellated walls are reminiscent of Anatolia, for example, the Khwand Khatun complex at Kayseri, dated 635/1237, illustrated in Hillenbrand, R. (1994), pp. 97–98, illus. 2.180.

\(^{99}\) Leroy (1964), Album, pl. 81 no. 1 and Text, p. 286.
elements more easily identified with the western provinces.

Salient features

Buildings with pepper-grinder profiles are the feature which most strongly suggests a relationship between the Bal'ami and Injuid manuscripts; there is, however, some evidence to suggest that this architectural formula was also known in the western provinces c. 1000, even if not widely incorporated into existing painting repertoires. The use of a zig-zag string of parti-coloured crenellations to define the curtain wall of Babak’s fortress is known from Iranian, possibly Kashan, ceramics of c. 1200; however, the form of the fortress itself may be associated with thirteenth-century Syrian-Jacobite painting from Iraq and the Jazira. The two architectural interiors depicted in the Bal'ami relate to prototypes from the Baghdad and Jaziran schools.

1.17 Metalwork objects

A small bowl with flared sides and slightly everted rim is held by the assistant in “The Cleansing of Muhammad’s heart” (PI. 24); a dish with straight, or slightly everted profile, is held by the angel in attendance on the Prophet as he discusses his genealogy (PI. 26); a convex bowl of substantial size is shown in the bottom right-hand corner of “The Prophet converts the pagans” (PI. 27). Parallels in metalwork are hard to find, and are not typical of Fars metalwork; profiles of Ilkhanid ceramics may provide an alternative, although not entirely satisfactory, option. 100

Salient features

Metalwork objects depicted in the Bal'ami paintings lack features are not immediately helpful in locating where the manuscript may have been produced.

1.18 Illumination

The illuminated panels above the frontispiece and heading on folio 1b of the Freer Bal’ami are in red and gold, with calligraphy in white thulth. The illuminated panel above the frontispiece (Figs 1a, 1d and 1f) is in the form of a simple strip; the ‘unwin above the Preface on folio 1b is in a cartouche with the inscription flanked by an “X”-form, in turn buffered by gold strap-work; the “X”-form on the left-hand side of the heading is now largely torn away.

100 Also illustrated in Redford (1993), fig. 9.
101 See, for example Watson (1985), illus. 90b and 88.
The arabesque used in the frontispiece illumination is set against a background of red hatching, it uses an elongated and wide-open split palmette with strong red slashes down the centre of each leaf. The character of this illuminated strip is similar to that on folio 105a of the Jacobite Lectionary of 1260 (Fig. 141). A more refined form of this rather severe presentation occurs in the heading to the commissioning document of the Mosul Qur'an for Uljaytu, dated 710/1310 (Fig. 167).

By comparison, the smaller, more supple and delicate plant forms in the 'awān on fol. 1b, are closer to those on fol. 1b of the 698/1299 Marzubān-nāma from Baghdad. This treatment of the palmette is also closer to the decorative panel of the second Ju' from the so-called 'Anonymous Baghdad Qur'an', bearing dates between 702/1303 and 706/1306-7. James suggests that this copy was commissioned by Ghazan or his viziers, although completed in the reign of Uljaytu. The end-panels on folio 1b may also be compared to the Ilkhanid Qur'an dated 710/1310-11, probably produced in Tabriz.

The illumination in the Bal'ami does not include the round-ended cartouches with compacted petal borders closely associated with Fars in the 1330s and 1340s, for example in the opening folios of the 1330 Shāhmāna (Fig. 166) and Muʿnis al-ahār of 741/1340-41. In general terms, therefore, the illumination, like the paintings, appears more at home in the western provinces than in Fars.

It may be worth noting, however, that, as Wright has shown, elements and motifs typical of Injuid single-page frontispiece illumination, including the compacted petal border, can be traced as far back as the Kāḏub al-dārīq of 595/1199 (BN, Arabe 2964), usually attributed to the Jazira. Wright notes that Ilkhanid versions differ from Injuid in that they are simpler but more intensely coloured; the shamsa on fol. 1a of Marzubān-nāma of 698/1299 provides an example from Baghdad in the Ilkhanid period. Although the Bal'ami does not use the distinctive petal border, the passage of an illumination style first

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904 Simpson (1982), p. 96, fig. 47.
905 Istanbul, TSM, EH. 250, James (1988), pp. 18, 235, Cat. 39 and pp. 78-86. As Wright has shown, the split and splayed palmette does not appear in Fars prior to the patronage of Iskandar Sultan. It probably entered the vocabulary of Fars illumination with Jalayirid artists and calligraphers either already working for the Timurids in the closing years of the fourteenth century or after the death of Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in 814/1410, Wright (1998), especially pp. 78-80.
documented in the Jazira at the end of the twelfth century, to Fars in the 1330s, might suggest a similar progression or wider spread for the red and ochre palette.

Of more specific relevance to the Balʿami’s illuminations, however, is thirteenth-century Jaziran palace architectural decoration; for example, panels at the base of a throne niche from an unidentified building of c. 1220–30, from Guʿ- Kummet, Sinjar. Here, the niche is framed by a frieze of tri-lobed arches containing, alternately, miniature representations of mamluks and split palmette decoration (Fig. 168a–b).\textsuperscript{106} The leaf-end curling back upon itself, as if clasping a seed pod, and the simplified tri-partite feature at the centre of the Balʿami’s frontispiece illumination, resemble not only the forms in the Sinjar panel but share with it a muscular and forthright quality of execution.

Salient features

Illumination in the Balʿami associates the manuscript most notably with Mosul and Baghdad illumination styles and Jaziran architectural decoration.

1.19 Cycles

A history of prophets and kings raises the expectation of illustrations heavily indebted to existing cycles. For the fourteenth century, this question has been raised in discussions of Shāhnāma images and the Edinburgh–London Jamiʿ al-tawāriḵ.\textsuperscript{107} These studies have shown that adaptation and reinterpretation may occur alongside more direct borrowing.\textsuperscript{108}


\textsuperscript{108} In his analysis of the Edinburgh–London manuscript and its relationship to Byzantine prototypes, particularly octateuchs, Allen identifies five methods of appropriation: (i) close adherence to the original; (ii) compositions taken from one story and used for another; (iii) borrowing single figures; (iv) borrowing from sources other than Byzantine, usually, Islamic or Far Eastern; (v) new versions pieced together from stock figures and compositional elements in the Rashidiyya ‘house’ style. For example, Allen analyses “Ibrahim cast into fire” (EUL, Arab. 20, fol. 5b) as “clumsily patched” from three components: Ibrahim sitting in the fire and looking out of the picture to the left; the mangonel set centre-stage and the observers taken from stock court scenes in the manuscript. Allen also notes that the Balʿami version is very different, Allen (1985), pp. 124–125.
A contender for investigation from among the kings in the Bal'am is Bahram Gur, awarded three paintings within three folios (fols 116a and 118b) (Pls 16–18). Simpson has shown that searching for prototypes for such images in both epic and 'epical' contexts is problematic, even for such copiously illustrated volumes as the 'Small' Shāhnāmas. In the Bal'am the difficulty is compounded by the absence from the text of some of Bahram Gur's distinguishing characteristics, such as his harpist, Azada. He is not shown on camel-back since selecting his own horse, as part of his transition to manhood, is important for the story. However, feats of marksmanship and manhandling elephants are achievements shared with other heroes, such as Rustam, and lions occur regularly in the royal iconography of thrones. It would be as easy, therefore, to put together illustrations from a corpus of general images as to copy them from specific prototypes. Nonetheless, three images in quick succession does suggest popularity. In the Bal'am it is the animals which add individuality to the images, and these are likely to have been drawn from bestiaries or the artist's own general repertoire.

Evidence of stylistic discourse between the Christian and Muslim communities in thirteenth-century Mesopotamia is well established. That this included shared shrines is demonstrated by the plaque in Uighur script which was set into the wall of the martyrium of Mar Behnam, some twenty-three miles from Mosul, calling down blessings on Ghazan and his house. This shrine was associated with the Biblical Prophet Elias and the Qur'anic Khidr Elias who probably overlay the ancient god of spring, Tammus. Christian sources may therefore repay re-investigation with the Bal'am particularly in mind, but this remains to be done.

However, the local importance to Mosul and its environs of certain of the prophets illustrated in the Bal'am may be noted. For example, Syrian Christians celebrated God’s rescuing of Ibrahim from the fire on the 25th of January. Bal'am’s text sites the event in Babul (Babylon), but it is also said to have occurred at Nineveh, the ruins of which lay adjacent to Mosul on the other side of the Tigris. The tomb of the prophet Yunus is also in Nineveh, and according to Muqaddasi Yunus’s tomb, the hill on which he had sought to convert the Ninevites, and a healing spring, together with the gourd tree planted by him, were all close by. The tomb of Hadjet Jirjis, in Mosul itself, is commented on by Yaqut. Mosul was also the site of a Sasanian city known as Budh Ardashir. The

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214 Gutmann (1973), p. 344, n. 8. Gutmann does not mention the form of this 'celebration'.
Nestorian Christian Catholicus was traditionally invested at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, near Baghdad.\textsuperscript{15}

For the inhabitants of Mosul and the Jazira, the pre-Islamic sections of Bal'ami's text will have contained much that was familiar in terms of local history, personalities, places of pilgrimage and feasts. This suggests that a popular genre of individual images or cycles, now lost to view, may once have been current. The "Apocryphal Childhood of Christ", copied and 'cartooned' in Mardin in 1299 (Fig. 145a–b) may be evidence of this. In the Saljuq period, Bausani mentions the religious epical songs sung in the streets and bazars by itinerant \textit{manāqib-khwāns} (singers of virtue) extolling the deeds of 'Ali, and Sunni \textit{jādīl-khwāns} (singers of virtue) praising Abu Bakr and 'Umar.\textsuperscript{16} This suggests that popular images may also have been current for the life of the Prophet and important events in the history of the Muslim community, particularly for battle scenes. An incident such as the death of Musaylima at the gate of the 'Garden of Death' (Pl. 33a–b), if derived from a source celebrating the achievements of Khalid ibn al-Walid, might explain the false start made by the Bal'ami designer, unexpectedly required to move Wahshi centre stage. The propinquity of Muslim and Christian communities in the Jazira doubtless offered a fertile environment for such experiments in Islamic cycles.

\subsection*{Salient features}

Although a direct connection with existing cycles has not been identified, the association of Mosul and its environs with incidents described and illustrated in the Bal'ami, suggest it as an appropriate for the manuscript's production.

\subsection{Images of the Prophet}

It is noticeable, however, that depictions of the Biblical-Qur'anic prophets in the Bal'ami display more confidence and competence than the eight devoted to the Prophet for which the standard is variable and includes some of the poorest paintings in the manuscript.

As already noted, the standard of work appears to drop noticeably for depictions of the Prophet after Badr, namely, for Uhud, the Ditch and Hunayn, picking up again for

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item In 1280 AD, the Uighur monk 'Mark' was invested there as Catholicus, taking the name of Yahbh-Allah, Bar Hebraeus–Budge tr. (1932), vol. 1, p. xxv; Budge (1928), p. 59. In 1282, the Ilkhan Ahmad Tegudar (r. 680–683/1282–1284) also had himself crowned at Ctesiphon, beneath the great arch, Fiey (1975), p. 41, citing Bar Hebraeus.
\item Bausani (1968), pp. 293–294; also mentioned by Soucek (1988), p. 205.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
the election of ‘Uthman and the remainder of the cycle. "The purification of the Prophet’s heart" is inexcusably poor (Pl. 24) and the conversion of the paris (Pl. 27) appears experimental. The image of the Prophet on horseback at the Battle of Badr not only diverges significantly from the text by having him riding in the mêlée, but draws on a standard royal hunter image (Pl. 152a–b) rather than a more appropriate Muslim version. This suggests that even if existing painting cycles were being used, the iconography of the Prophet was not yet fine-tuned, at least at a popular level.

With regard to depicting the Prophet’s personal attributes, he is shown with his hair in braids and is usually given a black beard. In Balʿami’s text the braids and the blackness of his beard even at the time of his death are described (Pl. 47b). However, in the Genealogy of the Prophet he is shown with a grey beard, similar to the sage in the Vienna Kitāb al-dīryāq (Fig. 49); this may indicate respect but does not follow established tradition. An effort has been made to use olive green for the Prophet’s robes, but the same colour is used indiscriminately through the manuscript as a whole.

Comparisons may be made between the Balʿami depictions and those in the Edinburgh al-Biruni (Figs 88–91) and the Edinburgh–London Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh (Figs 101–104). In these the format, landscape, use of lapis lazuli and particularly dress, with the enveloping tarha, or shawl, clearly identify the Prophet, and sometimes ‘Ali, as men set apart. Except in the Genealogy, the Prophet in the Balʿami appears awkwardly fitted into existing frameworks. This may be the price of adaptation, but together with the cavalier attitude to section headings for the life of the Prophet strikes a curious note in a Muslim history of the Muslims.

Salient features

The unusual choice of illustrations devoted to the Prophet; the uneven manner of their execution; and the apparent lack of familiarity with some important aspects of the Prophet’s iconography, combine to suggest that the manuscript may have been produced in a marginal religious zone rather than at the heart of a Muslim community. In this it differs, for example, from the Edinburgh–London Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh, if the dating of c. 1300 is correct, the Freer Balʿami may also provide the earliest known cycle of images of the Prophet.
1.21 'Hands'

Evidence of at least two 'hands' at work on the Bal'ami illustrations is suggested by the disparity between the more competent under-drawing in the majority of the paintings—impressive in the case of animals—and the overall poor-quality painting which masks many of the drawing's finer details. Where the pigment has faded or fallen away the quality of the linear designs is easier to assess, for example, in the enthronement of al-Saffah (Pl. 37). Lack of fine brushwork and heavy applications of red background and black accessories suggest the work of a less sensitive and skilled assistant, perhaps more familiar with painting on a scale larger than the book; poverty of execution may have been exacerbated by haste.

The manner in which the Bal'ami compositions appear to have been pieced together may indicate a commission in the hands of a designer (naqqāsh) familiar with a variety of media. Although set into a matrix of Mongol-style retainers and soldiers who provide some homogeneity to the cycle, the figures have nonetheless been excerpted from Baghdad and Jaziran models and jig-sawed together for the purpose. This could have been done from the repertoire of the naqqāsh, from a pattern book or directly from objects. However, the 'raw' nature of the images from both the more skilled hand and his putative assistant suggest copying rather than individual interpretation.

Copying would allow sources to include manuscripts, metalwork and ceramics from a variety of dates including contemporary material with models for the spiky-nosed face of the London Qazwini and Edinburgh al-Biruni manuscripts. There is no evidence, however, of developments in landscape painting having been gleaned from manuscript models. On the other hand, designs from the highest quality metalwork, and possibly ceramics, are reflected in these second-class paintings.

With regard to metalwork, there is no evidence of the designer using the metalwork-inspired double outlines typical of the frontispiece to the Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' of 686/1287 (Fig. 8a-b) or in the Marzubān-nāma of 698/1299 (Fig. 4a and b) both produced in Baghdad. This suggests a closer Jaziran connection.

Some features such as the physiognomies of the ancient rulers of Iran, mountain and water formulae, and the triangle of dots on animal hides are close to thirteenth-

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97 For a discussion of common models used for metalwork and painting see Komaroff (1994), pp. 19-23, who also provides a bibliography on the subject. For a discussion of hierarchies of skills and administration on building projects at this period in Anatolia see Rogers (1976), pp. 69-103, especially pp. 99-100.

98 This feature is discussed in Allan (1995), pp. 73-74.
century ceramics attributed to the Iranian plateau. Ceramic production in the first half of
the thirteenth century, particularly lustre ware, is generally attributed to Kashan. Mina'i
wares were also produced in Kashan, although from a technical point of view, are more
likely than lustre to have also have been decorated elsewhere. In the Ilkhanid period,
evidence of kilns and overglaze gilt and enamel *leperdina tiles at Takht-i Sulayman, with
dates in the 1270s (Figs 155b and 159), are evidence of specialised craftsmen having
gravitated to the orbit of the Ilkhanid court in Azerbaijan. It is insecure, therefore, to
locate an Ilkhanid manuscript on the basis of stylistic features shared with ceramics from
the pre-Mongol period and before the movement of populations. However, earlier types
may have remained in circulation at a later date, particularly if regarded as luxury
products. An example of the longevity of idiosyncratic images, although on metalwork, is
demonstrated by the horse viewed head-on in the Paris Kudb al-ḍaryāq dated 595/1199 and
in the roundel on the Mamluk pencase in the Louvre, dated 704/1304 (Fig. 47a-b).

Were the calligrapher and ‘designer’ one and the same? The calligraphy in the
Genealogy of the Prophet (Pls 26a-e) does not appear to have been written with an
oblique cut nib, unlike the body of the text. In addition, as noted in the catalogue entry,
it appears that ‘Ali was not given the title *Amir al-mu’minin in the original version of the
genealogy, in contrast to some Umayyads, although protocols are particularly evenly
distributed in the text. Some spaces left for the illustrations appear unnecessarily
awkward for the scenes they accommodate: for example the Battles of Uhud, the Ditch,
Hunayn and Qadisiyya. While this is not conclusive evidence, on balance it seems
unlikely that the calligrapher was also responsible for the illustrations, even if he may have
been project manager.

Does the work of the painter(s) suggest a different Muslim religious orientation to
the even-handed, non-sectarian approach characteristic of the body of the text? The
absence of the title *Amir al-mu’minin for ‘Ali is indeed curious, but could reflect copying
from a prototype, a response to lack of space or a lack of interest in total consistency
between text and illustration. If it was intentional then a Sunni view is hard to gainsay.
The heroic ‘Ali at Badr followed by his political mistakes; his distinctly smaller size in the
Genealogy painting; and the quasi-comic ‘Alid figure at al-Saffah’s enthronement, suggest
that history rather than personal religious leanings are being converted into graphic form.
In Balʿawi’s political-religious history the ‘Alids are respected but nonetheless lose out. It

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176-182.
is my opinion that the images do not significantly alter the general message so far identified for the text.

Soucek has explained the choice of illustrations as being a broadly Sunni presentation of events of high drama in the life of the Muslim community, with an emphasis on Muhammad's heroism in triumphing over enemies of the faith with angelic assistance, thus demonstrating his Divine mission. \[1\] If the suggested thematic plan of the manuscript is correct, it shows that although Soucek's reading remains largely true the illustrations of the Prophet also conform to the broader scheme for the cycle as a whole rather than being conceived as a discrete mini-cycle within it.

Salient features

I suggest that although the calligrapher may also have designed the layout of the manuscript, the calligrapher and the senior artist were not the same person. It appears to me that at least two hands worked on the illustrations: a more highly skilled naqqāsh, also familiar with images in other media besides painting, and a less skilled painter who filled in most of the colours and may also have drawn the images for some compositions deemed of lesser importance, including some of the Prophet. It is my opinion that the religious orientation of the artists did not deviate significantly from the religious interpretation adopted by the calligrapher/designer of the manuscript as a whole: namely, broadly Sunni but with a respect for the military virtues of 'Ali, and a lively appreciation of how his political misfortunes might provide useful lessons rather than excuses for sectarian polemic.

Overview

On the basis of stylistic ‘Pelmanism’, the Bal’ami paintings appear to share with Injuid manuscripts a heavy use of red and ochre, although the use of all red backgrounds, as in the Bal’ami, is more typical of Jaziran and Anatolian painting than that of Fars. Pepper-grinder towers and similar background figures could indicate a Fars connection, or a circulation of these stylistic traits beyond the Iranian plateau. Similarities between the Bal’ami and the Gutman (Schulz) Shāhānama of c. 1335 suggest a common heritage; however, compared with the Gutman the Bal’ami appears archaic and their differences suggest a substantial separation in date. This could also indicate a different place of production through diffusion, particularly towards the end of Ilkhanid rule in the third decade of the fourteenth century.

The style of figure drawing (human and angelic) and animal depictions, appears heavily balanced in favour of an affinity with thirteenth-century examples of painting, metalwork and stucco produced on the Anatolian–Iraqi axis. Some association with ceramics traditionally associated with twelfth and thirteenth-century Iranian centres may be observed, but the survival of Saljuq examples and the movement of skilled potters to serve the Ilkhanid court in Azerbaijan, at least by the 1280s, also suggests the availability of their designs in the western provinces.

In terms of quality, the Jaziran-derived human and animal figures are better executed and closer to their prototypes than those drawn from the Baghdad School which appear more provincial, and perhaps filtered through a related tradition such as the Syrian-Jacobite. Anatolian parallels also suggest a more northerly orientation. The Bal'ami appears, therefore, to be a manuscript from the western provinces with some features usually associated with Iran, and Injuid Fars in particular, rather than vice versa.

A possible scenario for the Bal'ami's production begins to emerge. Around the year 1300 Bal'ami's history may have been planned, copied and illustrated to serve the double function of an edited history of the Muslims and a simple mirror for princes. The production 'team' may have been a calligrapher, a naggāš well versed in the Baghdad and Jaziran traditions but at his best in the latter. An assistant, probably only one, displays a rough-and-ready painting style more suitable to walls than folios; he also attempts some drawing of background figures and compositions towards the end of the manuscript. It may be this assistant who brings to the palette the dominant use of red and ochre, which, together with the towers, currently appear more at home on the Iranian plateau. The artists were probably working in circumstances where suitable models from a variety of media were readily available to copy, and from which to recompose the frontispiece and more complex compositions in the illustrative cycle. The work was not intended to plead a sectarian cause, but nonetheless displays some ambiguities in the treatment of the Prophet.
The contribution of the Freer Bal'ami to the stylistic chronology of the Persian illustrated book in the Ilkhanid period

On the basis of conclusions reached so far, I would suggest that the Freer Bal'ami does not re-write current art history, but modifies existing assumptions and alerts to broader possibilities:

i. it adds a new text to the existing corpus of illustrated Ilkhanid works;

ii. although some of its illustrated subject matter overlaps with texts such as the Shahanama and Jami' al-tawarikh, there is little evidence of indebtedness to either of them or to other known painting cycles; the Bal'ami therefore broadens our knowledge of alternative approaches to the depictions of traditional subject matter;

iii. although Bal'ami's text is in Persian, its cycle of illustrations derives largely from the arts of the Arab world; indeed, it may be seen as taking up the batons of thirteenth-century Baghdad and Jaziran painting in their twilight phase, and carrying it another several farsads towards the new era, even if the experiment failed to generate a definable legacy.

iv. the Bal'ami appears inventive in its use of 'cut-and-pasting' pictorial ideas from Arab repertoires to fulfil a particular purpose. This suggests that the Ilkhanid court was not the only place where the purpose and manner of illustrating histories was under serious consideration; thought and action in this regard were being applied in at least one provincial centre, and possibly in advance of the metropolitan 'think tank';

v. the Bal'ami is a bridging manuscript, and in terms of painting style is all the more valuable for its lack of dependence on Far Eastern influence, so often cited as the primary catalyst for fresh thinking and new departures in the Ilkhanid period—the Bal'ami naqqash thought creatively without it;

vi. the presence of the Bal'ami's red and ochre palette in an Arab cultural zone may be a coincidence of artisans; however, it may also be that these dominant colours enjoyed a currency wider than Fars in the Ilkhanid period, and therefore renders insecure the location of manuscripts on the basis of this colour scheme alone.
So far, an attempt has been made to investigate 'what was done' and 'how it was done'. Aspects of the general religious and cultural situation at the period of Ghazan's conversion in 694/1295 have also been discussed in relation to the iconography of the frontispiece. The suitability of Bal'ami's text for a society in the process of religious and cultural acculturation into the Dār al-Islām has been explored in Chapters Three and Four. In Chapter Five paintings were atomised and, on balance, Jaziran painting has been identified as the major stylistic influence.

The last section of this study is a hypothesis for patronage of the Freer Bal'ami, bearing in mind that the frontispiece depicts an Ilkhanid ruler beneath a Divine injunction to King Dawud to rule with justice as God's 'caliph on earth'.
Part 2. Conclusion. A hypothesis for patronage

The Freer Balʿami is not a manuscript of the highest quality and its paintings suggest it was not produced at a major centre or atelier. Since the next known illustrated Balʿami occurs in the later fifteenth century, the Freer copy was probably an experiment, carried out at a provincial centre but in circumstances where a variety of stylistic sources were available. In theory it could have been produced over a wide area; however, the marked Jaziran influence invites attention.

The Balʿami naqqāsh appears to be drawing on models from metalwork and painting associated with high levels of craftsmanship associated with mid thirteenth-century Mosul, which enjoyed a period of prosperity under the Zangid Atabeg Badr al-Din Lu’luʿ (r. 607/1210-657/1259). In 629/1231 the caliph granted Badr al-Din Lu’luʿ a diploma for independent rule; he submitted to Hulagu thereby initially saving the city and died aged eighty in 657/1259, the year after the fall of Baghdad. Mosul was sacked nonetheless in 660/1261-2 when his son, Ismaʿil, allied himself with the Mamluks. Thereafter the city was the seat of an Ilkhanid governor.

In the Ilkhanid period there is currently little direct evidence for artistic production in the Jaziran provinces of Diyar Rabiʿa, with its major cities of Mosul, Sinjar and Mardin, and Diyar Bakr with its cities of Diyarbakır (Amid), Silvan (Mayyafarkin) and Hisn Kayfa. Uljaytu’s ‘Mosul’ Qur’an, dated between 706/1306-7 and 710/1311 (Fig. 167), suggests that quality manuscripts were available when required. However, as James has commented, although the calligraphy is superb the illumination is not outstanding and lacks confidence, and the palette is subdued by comparison with Baghdad work.

Carboni has argued for Mosul c. 1300 as the place of production for the London Qazwini. It is a manuscript of higher quality than the Freer Balʿami, and, as already mentioned, shows evidence of new departures in landscape painting which the Balʿami does not. Carboni suggests that at least three painters worked on the Qazwini as part of a single enterprise: one in the Baghdad inspired style of the Edinburgh al-Biruni, one displaying strong Jaziran influences, probably from metalwork and ceramics, and another with knowledge of the Anatolian environment, reflected, for example, in angel and dragon

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224 James (1988), pp. 1-103 and caption to fig. 68.
forms. A similar compilation of styles has been identified in the Ba‘ami, but with differences in quality and emphasis: for example, as already noted, according to Carboni some of the best paintings in the Qazwini are characterised by figures sharing the spiky nose of the Edinburgh al-Biruni, whereas in the Ba‘ami it occurs in the simplest and weakest of the paintings. At the very least, therefore, the Ba‘ami increases the spectrum of manuscripts on which this style is known to have been used.

Carboni sees the quantity of illustrations in the London Qazwini—three hundred and fifty-nine extant miniatures—and the eclectic nature of the styles as suggesting atelier production, and assesses where a provincial atelier is most likely to have been located at the turn of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries; by a process of elimination, based on close comparisons with manuscripts attributed to Tabriz, Maragha and Baghdad, and lack of quality codices from Hamadan or Diyarbakır at this time, he proposes a scenario for patronage in Mosul under Ghazan’s governor, Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa. 

I would like to suggest that a case may be made for the Freer Ba‘ami also being associated with Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa, partly on the basis of style, but more importantly on grounds of iconography and treatment of the text.

The illumination in the Freer manuscript suggests a vocabulary shared with architectural decoration such as the stucco panels flanking the throne niche at Sinjar near Mosul (Fig. 168a–b). Reports of architectural fragments in Mosul itself may also provide a link. The Qara Saray was built by Badr al-Din Lu‘lu’ probably c. 629/1231. Exactly where Ghazan’s governor resided at the end of the thirteenth century requires further investigation, but the Zangid palace is an obvious possibility. Sited on the banks of the Tigris it looked across to the ruins of Nineveh, the site of significant incidents in Ba‘ami’s accounts of the prophets.

According to Hillenbrand, fragments from the central throne room of the Qara Saray include figural and epigraphic friezes. The figures include miniature mamluks similar to the throne niche from Sinjar, and eagles with outstretched wings; Qur’anic inscription bands are sited alongside larger epigraphic friezes vaunting the ruler’s titles. Although photographs are not currently available, comparison with other local

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227 It is unclear how badly it was damaged during the sack of 1262; however, large sections of it are likely to have been still standing some forty years later.
contemporary buildings may be made. Registers of figures and epigraphy also occur above the thirteenth-century so-called ‘Royal Door’ into the Church of Mar Hudeni in Mosul (Fig. 169), where a frieze of riders and enthroned figures flank a (now lost) eagle with extended wings. In an inscription in the Mazar of Ibn al-Hasan in Mosul, dated 646/1248–9, Badr al-Din Lu‘lu’ includes “Khusraw of Iran” among his titles.31 Hierarchies in extant architectural decoration of thirteenth-century Mosul and the Jazira—and once visible in profusion in the painted stucco decoration of Badr al-Din Lu‘lu’s palace—may also be seen as providing the elements for the ‘recoding’ of the standard iconography of the Ba‘alami frontispiece: most notably, the juxtaposition of Qur’anic quotations with ruler figures and raptors.

As noticed by Carboni, Ghazan’s governor of Mosul in the opening years of the seventh/fourteenth century was Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa ibn Ibrahim.32 His major claim to fame is that in the late winter and spring of 701/1302 a history of the caliphs and their viziers, prefaced by a short treatise on government, was composed for him by Ibn al-Tiqtaqa; this work became known as Kā‘ūb al-Fakhri.33

2.1 Ibn al-Tiqtaqa and Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa ibn Ibrahim

In Jumada II 701/February 1302, h, known as Ibn al-Tiqtaqa (lit. son of the rapid talker),34 was on his way to Tabriz. Constrained by bad winter weather he took shelter in Mosul ‘the humpbacked’, while “the cold spell broke and clothes were heavy”.35 Ibn al-Tiqtaqa was born in 660/1262, four years after the fall of Baghdad. He was a sayyid in the seventeenth generation of descent from the Prophet’s grandson, al-Hasan. His family provided the leading spokesmen and superintendents (=qabīb) for the ‘Alid cause at al-Hilla, the shrine cities and also, possibly, Baghdad. His father, Taj al-Din ‘Ali, a tax

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30 On the history of the church see Fiey [1959], pp. 141–147.
31 van Berchem (1906), p. 201. This title is also known from other buildings of the period, for example, the Khan at Sinjar. I am grateful to Robert Hillenbrand for this information.
32 As far as I am aware, the fullest account of Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa is Derenbourg’s in al-Fakhri–Derenbourg ed., (1985), pp. 16–18.
34 This laqab is sometimes given as Jalal al-Din, and his nisba as including al-Hasani and al-‘Alawi; his father’s nisba was Taj al-Din, Kritzeck (1959), p. 159, n. 1.
35 al-Fakhri–Whitting tr. (1947), p. 4. Quotations from Kā‘ūb al-Fakhri are taken from Whitting’s translation. Where they have been checked against the Arabic text this will be noted.
official in the Ilkhanid administration, had been put to death in 680/1281 by order of 'Ala al-Din 'Ata Malik Juwayni and his brother Shams al-Din, while the former was Governor of Baghdad. Despite the manner of his father's demise, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa became naqib of the 'Alid community and was holding that office when delayed in Mosul, where he stayed for four months until Shawwal 701/June 1302.

Ibn al-Tiqtaqa describes the warmth of the reception he received from the governor (malik), Fakhr al-Din 'Isa ibn Ibrahim, who, according to Derenbourg, provided him with access to libraries in Mosul. Ibn al-Tiqtaqa also talks of attending receptions at the governor's residence, where the door was "choked with men of letters, poets, the gifted and the eloquent". He conceived the idea of composing a book on government as a gift for his host, in recognition of kindnesses received. His text, therefore, while not a commission, is nonetheless likely to have been tailored to the interests of the intended recipient. Concerning his host Ibn al-Tiqtaqa says:

"... from a number of different directions, and from sensible men independently, I heard of the abundant excellence of its most noble prince,—the obeyed master, the mighty king, the best and greatest of kings, the most noble and merciful of judges—Fakhr al-millah wa'd-din ...]\(^{33}\)

"... ba'lehant min 'iddaati jihatun mukhtalif, wa-min dhawri ana' in sha'ya n mut'aliya, ghaziraatu jadli sakhalti 'l-a'zam, il-mawla 'l-makhdiyati 'l-maliki 'l-mu'azzam, afdali 'l-mulsiki wa-a'zamihim, wa-akrami 'l-hakhami wa-ahlanihim, fakhri 'l-millati wa'd-dini ...\(^{33}\)

Although Ibn al-Tiqtaqa includes further paeans of praise, this passage is the closest he comes to providing biographical information on his host. Although "fakhri 'l-millati wa'd-dini (ornament of the people and religion)" could be read as referring to Islam, the other accolades are not religiously specific. Rather than listing a string of indubitably Muslim honorifics, he has composed laudatory rhymed prose around the governor's personal name, 'Isa (Jesus), and that of his father, Ibrahim, the common ancestor of the People of the Book:\(^{34}\)

\(^{33}\) al-Fakhri-Derenbourg ed., (1895), pp. 20–21; al-Fakhri—Amar tr. (1910), pp. xvi; al-Fakhri—Whitting tr. (1947), pp. vi. I have been unable to find a passage which says exactly this; however, the governor's hospitality is likely to have granted access to his own library for men of standing and letters, such as Ibn al-Tiqtaqa.


\(^{38}\) al-Fakhri-Derenbourg ed. (1985), Text: p. 8. I am grateful to Nadia Jamil for assistance with the Arabic.

\(^{39}\) For example, the Jewish governor of Fars appointed by Arghun, Shams al-Dawla, was known as Malik-i yuhdi, Limbert (1973), pp. 40–41.

\(^{40}\) It is at present not clear whether his father really was called Ibrahim or whether it used in a generic sense.
“... ‘Isa who revived dead virtues and spread open the roll of generous actions, who set up a good market for noble works when their value was low ... son of Ibrahim, may God ennoble his victory and execute his nay or yea ...” 443

This is similar to the frontispiece, in which the citation of God’s injunction to King David (Dawud), to rule justly, is placed immediately above the Mongol ruler, with no intervening specifically Muslim iconography.

According to Rashid al-Din, Fakhr al-Din ‘Isa was removed from office in the spring of 702/1303—roughly a year after Ibn Tiqtaqa’s visit—while Ghazan and his court were at Kushaf, near Mosul, awaiting news of the disastrous third Syrian campaign. Ghazan had recently conferred on the Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Najm al-Din II (r. 693/1294–712/1312), the Sultanate of Northern Mesopotamia, encompassing the provinces of Diyar Bakr and Diyar Rabi’a of which Mosul was the provincial capital, also awarding him the laqab of al-mansūr (the victorious); 444 At that time,


“... the people of Mosul cried out for help to the seventh heaven against the hand of oppression and injustice of Fakhr-i ‘Isa, the Christian, al-Giyyath; and the order was given that when Najm al-Din should arrive in Mosul he should bring his [Fakhr-i ‘Isa’s] affairs to an end; the Sultan, deceiving him on the pretext that he would give him the deputyship [of Mosul], killed him after a few days.” 445

Rashid al-Din is therefore explicit in declaring ‘Fakhr-i ‘Isa’ to have been a Christian, and does not refer to him as ‘Fakhr al-Din’. Derenbourg dismisses this reference to the governor’s Christianity as an error on the part of compilers of Rashid al-Din’s history; 446 I am not aware that the question has been raised since. Although further investigation is required to be absolutely sure, I would like to suggest that Jahn’s subsequent meticulous edition of the Tarikh-i Ghāzānī makes such an error unlikely, and the

445 Rashid al-Din—Jahn ed. (1941), p. 148; I am grateful to Julie Meisami for clarifying this text.
446 Jahn notes that an alternative version says that Fakhr-i ‘Isa was subjected to the ṭarāṣ, Rashid al-Din—Jahn ed. (1941), p. 148, n. 8. This would have been the case if he was accused of misappropriating property, as discussed in connection with Ghazan’s yarīgh, in Chapter One.
qualification of "nasrānī", applied in such a straightforward manner, does not invite scepticism.\footnote{As far as I am aware, the name Fakhr-i 'Isa al-Nasrani does not appear elsewhere in the \textit{Tārīkh-i Ghazān}. Derenbourg, however, suggests that 'Fakhr al-Dīn 'Isa' was governor in Rayy and Herat before being appointed to Mosul in the reign of Arghun. Working without the advantages of more recent edited texts, it seems probable that Derenbourg confused Fakhr al-Dīn 'Isa with Fakhr al-Dīn (Kart) Haradī, mālik of Herat (d. 706/1307), see Boyle (1968), p. 403, and Fakhr al-Dīn Muhammad [Mustawfī], Arghun's protégée, master accountant at Rayy and later vizier, executed in 689/1290--91, see Howorth (1876--888), pt. 3, pp. 297, 301, 313--314.}

It is of course possible that Fakhr-i 'Isa had converted at some stage to Islam, although before 1295 there would have been little pressure to do so. It is now generally acknowledged—and unequivocally stated by a continuator of Bar Hebraeus—that the persecutions of Christians, Jews and Buddhists at the time of Ghazan's accession were largely orchestrated by the Mongol generalissimo and kingmaker, Nawruz, himself a Muslim convert.\footnote{Bar Hebraeus—Budge tr. (1932), vol. 1, pp. 506--508, where the ransoming of the Mosul churches is also mentioned. The hazard of a generalissimo of overweening ambition, possibly identified in the Bal'arni's illustrated themes, would have been appreciated by Christians of Ghazan's realm.} Once Ghazan had secured his position as Ilkhan, and particularly after Nawruz had been disposed of in 696/1297, conditions for the Christians eased until Ghazan's death in 704/1304.\footnote{The situation was irretrievably reversed in the reign of Uljaytu, Fiey (1975), pp. 74--84.} For example, work on the monastery of St John the Baptist at Maragha, suspended during the troubles, was continued; Ghazan presented the Nestorian Patriarch, Yahb-Allaha III, with a replica of the great gold seal originally presented to him by the Great Khan Mangu on his accession in 1281, that had been pillaged from the Patriarchal residence in 1297. The Patriarch's presence was required at the royal camp through the summer of 697/1298; in 699--700/1300 Ghazan spent three days as his guest at Maragha; on the 13 Ilīl (September) 701/1301 the new monastery church was completed and consecrated;\footnote{For a description of the magnificent church at Maragha see Budge (1928), pp. 243--4. The loss of these Ilkhanid-period Christian buildings and also the Buddhist sanctuaries remain a sore loss to the history of the area and its architecture.} in 702--3/1303 Ghazan again visited the Patriarch at Maragha and on each of his visits bestowed honours upon him.\footnote{Budge (1928), pp. 83--85 and pp. 240--254; for an overview of Syriac Christian history during the reign of Ghazan see Fiey (1975), ch. 8, pp. 68--73; for Yahb-Allaha and the great seal see Hamilton (1972), pp. 155--170.}

Ghazan's relations with Christians were probably informed by the need for state consolidation and revenue, although his personal affection for the truly remarkable Uighur,
Mongolian-speaking Patriarch, whom he had known since childhood, doubtless also played a part. If Fakhr-i 'Isa had converted to Islam for reasons of expedience, his guard may have dropped when Ilkhanid-Christian relations improved. This, however, remains speculative since Rashid al-Din gives no hint that Fakhr-i 'Isa was ever a Muslim. What seems more likely is that, whatever his personal beliefs, as governor he adopted a religiously pragmatic position in the hope of both satisfying his master and saving his own neck. The Freer Bal'ami would fit well into such a scenario.

If the Bal'ami was copied and illustrated at the behest of Fakhr-i 'Isa, Christians or recent converts to Islam could have been employed. This might account for the artists' apparent lack of familiarity with traditional Muslim accounts, such as the role of the Prophet at the Battle of Badr. Also, the pragmatic attitude of the patron might explain the unexpected 'freedom' with which models were adapted, depicted and prioritised in regard to the Prophet's life. There are also other concordances of interest between the Freer Bal'ami and the Kāfūr al-faḥrī.

### 2.2 The Kāfūr al-faḥrī and the Freer Bal'ami

The Kāfūr al-faḥrī is in two parts: part one consists of a short mirror for princes, and part two contains the biographies of the caliphs and selected contemporary dynasties, down to and including al-Musta'sīm and the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 656/1258. The history of each caliph is followed by a separate account of the viziers who served in that reign. Rosenthal has commented on the work as follows:

"The author's skilful choice of his largely anecdotal material, his reflective rather than factual approach to history, and the obvious love for his subject of an urban and literate personality combine to make the Fakhri enjoyable and instructive reading to a degree uncommon in medieval scholarly literature."

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453 An interesting example of an Arabised Christian image is the turbaned Virgin on the pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, illustrated and described in Baer (1989), pp. 14–15 and illus. 44. Although undated, the relaxed pose and volumetric figure of the Madonna bring to mind the grâdes dames to the right of the throne in the Topkapi frontispiece (Fig. 13b) and in a roundel on the candlestick for Abu Ishaq Inju (Fig. 14), already discussed in Chapter One; this raises the question of whether the pyxis may date from the Ilkhanid period and reflect Christian-Muslim relations as in the reign of Ghazan. I am grateful to Julian Raby for suggesting I look again at this figure.

454 Rashid al-Din, who was permanently needing to defend the sincerity of his own conversion, might well have found religious vacillation riling. See, for example, the appraisals by leading theologians of the day included in the copy of his Majmūʿat al-Rashīdīyya dated 711/1312 by way of an impēnmatur, Christie's (1998), pp. 30–33.

This unusual mirror for princes attracted the attention of Arnold Toynbee, who has compared the historical and cultural predicament of Josephus, writing about the Jews for a Hellenic public, with that of Ibn al-Tiqtaqa, writing about the caliphate and Islamic rule for the Mongols. Toynbee is concerned with Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's approach to history and his attempt to rationalise the traumatic circumstances of the fall of the 'Abbasids. He sees him as seeking to justify the destruction of the old order as part of the progress of history, while on the other, attempting to understand what it was in the nature of that Divinely ordained dispensation that could have brought it to such a pass. Toynbee also notes the timing of Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's work as when

"the militarily subjugated Dar al-Islam [had begun] to take its savage Eurasian Nomad conquerors captive ... [thus raising] the question ‘What have been the history and ethos of this society that is now captivating its conquerors?’"

This question was also crucial for Christian and Jewish communities, which after 1258 had seen brief periods of ascendancy; even for the Muslims there was to be no Muslim figure of authority above the Ilkhan.

The frontispiece to the Freer Bal'ami frames the question and answers it by showing God speaking through the Davidian succession directly to the Mongol ruler, with the associated monarchical tradition of Iran represented by the pseudo-Sasanian guards. Although the quotation is from the Muslim Qur'an the concept of Dawud's kingship is common to all the People of the Book, thereby presenting this complex religious and political situation in the simple and positive terms essential for state consolidation.

At another level, however, the frontispiece may be seen as compensating for a lack in Bal'ami's text, which stops some three centuries short of the crucial transfer of power from 'Abbasid caliph to Ilkhan. Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's composition, also in simple terms, fills this historical gap and seeks to explain the demise of the caliphate and justify Mongol rule.

Reduced to its essentials, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa opens his discussion on statecraft and government with an anecdote about Hulagu:

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55 Flavius Josephus (AD 37–100), born Joseph ben Matthias, was made Roman governor of Galilee in AD 66 at the beginning of the First Jewish Revolt. He sided with the Romans and, as an imperial pensioner, wrote "The antiquities of the Jews" and "The Jewish War", Murphy-O'Connor O.P. (1998), p. xx.
58 Messianism associated with Ghazan's conversion was mentioned in Chapter One.
“When Hulaku conquered Baghdad in A.H. 656, he ordered that a ruling be obtained from the doctors of the law as to whether a just infidel emperor were better or an believing unjust emperor. Then the doctors assembled for this purpose in the Mustansiriyya, but when they had considered the ruling, they hesitated to reply. Radi 'ad Din 'Ali, son of Tawus, was present at this meeting. He was senior and respected. When he saw their reluctance, he took the ruling and signed it, as preferring the just infidel to the unjust believer. The others signed after him. Amongst them, too, is knowledge, which is the fruit of intelligence, and by which a ruler sees clearly at what to aim, what to avoid, and by which he escapes errors in his judgements and decisions.”

From the outset, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa justifies the Ilkhanid seizure of power (and transfer of bureaucratic loyalty) on the basis that the just infidel king is preferable to the unjust Muslim. As Kritzeck points out, although he lauds the Mongols and presents their advent as being God’s will, he is nonetheless generous in his praise of ‘Abbasid virtues and achievements, and recounts his anecdotes with sympathy and without blame, even when speaking of the last caliph, al-Musta’sim. Al-Musta’sim is shown to have been a good man but a flawed ruler; he lacks judgement of men and of events and is ineffectual at a time of crisis—these faults are unacceptable and justified Hulagu’s seizure of power and destruction of the House of ‘Abbas.

Ibn al-Tiqtaqa’s history-cum-mirror for princes therefore neatly complements the Freer Bal’ami with its coded frontispiece and cycle of illustrations which spells out many of these very lessons. Such a correspondence between the two works may merely reflect widespread preoccupations of the time. However, the Kitib al-Fakhri also mirrors the Freer Bal’ami in more specific ways. For example, he says:

“In it I have imposed on myself two rules, the first of them that I deviate not from the truth, that I speak only justly, that I avoid the tyranny of prejudice, and that I emerge from the influence of environment and education, and suppose myself a stranger to them and a foreigner amongst them; ...

Kritzeck notes: “... the astonishing lack of ordinary Shi‘ite bias we might have expected to find ubiquitous in the book ...” composed by an eminent representative of the ‘Alid community. A similarly even-handed approach to religious matters has already been noted in the treatment of the text by the copyist of the Freer Bal’ami, unlike other copies from the period. Ibn al-Tiqtaqa’s intention to view history from as neutral a

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161 al-Fakhri—Whitting tr. (1947), pp. 10–11.
162 Kritzeck (1959), p. 163.
163 Carboni identifies the first image in the London Qazwini (fol. 8a) as being the planet Mercury (‘Utarid), which had particular associations with the Yazidi sect, active in Mosul and Mardin in the early fourteenth century. Carboni suggests that this image may
position as possible could reflect his wish to align himself with his host's personal, or required, attitude towards religion and state affairs.

Kritzeck wonders why Ibn al-Tiqtaqa does not press his arguments further and address Ilkhanid rule after 1258, particularly since his father's involvement will have given him intimate knowledge of important affairs. I would suggest that if the work was designed to 'plug' a particular gap in Fakhr-i 'Isa's teaching programme, it would have been unsuitable to include readings of more contemporary, and perhaps controversial, events. Impartiality might be more difficult to maintain when dealing with incidents and personalities associated with his father's fate, and of which the governor himself may have had first-hand knowledge. Unlike Juwayni's Tūrīkhi jahān gūshā, the Kitāb al-Fakhr is not an apologia pro vita sua.

Ibn al-Tiqtaqa goes on to say that his "second rule" is:

"... that I express my ideas clearly approaching the intelligences (of my readers) in such wise that all may use them, avoiding the difficult expressions to which display of oratory and demonstration of eloquence lead. ... This book (of mine) will be indispensable to the statesman and to the administrator. If people do it justice, they will make their children learn it by heart, and ponder its ideas, after they themselves have pondered them. It is equally indispensable to the young and the old . . ." 265

Although there is an element of topos here, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa makes it clear that he is targeting the young as well as statesmen and administrators, and is intentionally moderating his use of rhetoric in order to render his text more accessible. 265 As already discussed, youth appears to be a theme within the cycle of Bal'ami illustrations. Bal'ami's text is also simple and accessible compared to the bureaucratic rhetoric of the late Saljuq and 'Abbasid periods, and thus also well suited to introducing non-native speakers to the language of Ilkhanid bureaucracy—indeed, through the paintings, the stories and lessons would have been accessible to the illiterate from any background. Ibn al-Tiqtaqa writes in Arabic, 267 but together the two texts provide useful foundation texts for history and government administration; unusually, they also address the religious trauma of the Ilkhanid period and provides a solution for "what to tell the kids."

be the 'signature' of a Yazidi painter or reflect the interests of the manuscript's patron, Carboni (1992), pp. 468-475. If Fakhr-i 'Isa was the patron, it could also suggest that he was a man more interested in ideas than dogma.

266 al-Fakhrī-Whitting tr. (1947), p. 11.
Ibn al-Tiqtaqa criticises the popular books of the age: the *Hamāṣa*, which he describes as little more than the "inculcation of bravery and hospitality"; the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhani and al-Hariri, of which he says the says the uses are the practice of composition, the study of styles in verse and prose, dodges, saws and empiricisms of a generally lowering nature; the *Nahj al-balāğha* (Highway of Eloquence), attributed to ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, which he cites, predictably, as a book of high ideals on a wide variety of subjects, and al-‘Utbi’s *Kitāb al-Yamīn*, to which he says the Persians "are devoted and seek it zealously." These are the books he hopes his work will replace. He also criticises pedantry among the educated, and of the Mongols he says they are interested only in balancing the budget, estimates of revenue and expenditure, medicine to keep bodies healthy and astrology to choose occasions. Only in Mosul under the auspices of its governor has he found a meeting of true minds.

"Knowledge adorns kings more than it adorns the people, and when the king is learned, the learned man becomes king. The most useful studies to a king are those which include the principles of government, and historical biographies comprising remarkable stories and wonderful records of the past, though ministers of old used to dislike kings studying biography and history, for fear that the kings would understand matters which the ministers did not want them to understand."

If this also represents Fakhr-i ‘Isa’s interests then the Freer Bal‘ami will have been valued in his household. Apart from the *Maqāmāt*, Ibn al-Tiqtaqa mentions no narrative works known to have included illustrations. However, he records a series of flattering anecdotes about Badr al-Din Lu‘lu’ which includes the comment that although he was

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267 Ibn al-Tiqtaqa subsequently presented a somewhat altered version of his work to the governor of Damghan, Jalal al-Din Zangi Shah, and a translation into Persian was made in 723/1323, for the Hazaraspid Atabeg of Luristan, Kritzeck (1959), pp. 160–161.

268 A collection of early Arabic poetry selected and ordered into ten sections, such as "The Chapter on Fortitude", "The Chapter on Guests (Hospitality) and Panegyric", by the second/ninth century poet Abu Tammar Ijabib ibn Aws, Nicholson (1976 (reprint)), p. 129.

269 al-Fakhri-Whitting tr. (1947), p. 11.

270 As Irwin has suggested the most obvious audience for illustrated *Maqāmāt* was school children, Irwin (1996), p. 10.


273 al-Fakhri-Whitting tr. (1947), p. 16. The *Shāhnāma* is notable for its absence in Ibn al-Tiqtaqa’s list.

274 al-Fakhri-Whitting tr. (1947), p. 3.

275 It is tempting to imagine that it is lost illustrated copies of the *Kitāb al-Yamīn* that may have inspired the heavily illustrated history of the Ghaznavids in the Edinburgh–London *Ja‘mi‘ al-tawdīkh*. Blair has posited the existence of lost cycles for these paintings, Blair (1995), p. 93.
illiterate he had histories read to him during Ramadan. This excites speculation for antecedents for the Bal'ami and a useful precedent for an Ilkhanid governor living in the erstwhile potentate's shadow.

Evidence such as this is speculative and circumstantial; but a tempting pattern of correspondences begins to emerge between the Freer Bal'ami and Fakhr-i 'Isa's particular interest in history and government, albeit refracted through Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's mirror. If the Bal'ami was produced at the behest of Fakhr-i 'Isa then its date of production it likely to have been after Ghazan's accession in 694/1295 and before Ibn al-Tiqtaqa's arrival in Mosul in February 701/1302; and certainly before the governor's fall from grace in the spring or early summer of 702/1303. If the 'Dawud' yênğ̣ḥ inspired the quotation in the frontispiece, then the date may perhaps be narrowed to between 1300 and 1302, when Ghazan's reforms were in full spate and power was systematically being weaned away from the Mongol-Turkic military aristocracy into the hands of the Iranian civil service.

If the Freer Bal'ami was an 'in-house' experiment the governor's library will have been likely to include illustrated manuscripts, both Christian and Muslim, from which the naqqāsh might copy; examples of fine metalwork and ceramics would be available from his store or treasury, and prototypes for 'royal' imagery from the stucco decorated walls. In addition, there was the thirteenth-century Arab tradition upon which to build, of illustrating didactic texts with ever more narrative images. A library environment would be likely to value text planning and clear calligraphy—the Bal'ami's strengths—above pictorial aesthetics. If the London Qazwini was also produced in these surroundings then a more elaborate atelier, as posited by Carboni, may be indicated. However, even under these circumstances, the Bal'ami, if intended for the governor's household classroom, might have been handed to a raw recruit for filling in the colours.

It seems unlikely that the Freer Bal'ami would have been intended for the governor's personal use; as Ibn al-Tiqtaqa says, he knew it all, even if the author hoped

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876 al-Fakhri-Whitting tr. (1947), p. 4 and 15. It may be worth remembering that the historian/mirror writer Rawandi was trained in calligraphy, gilding and bookbinding, and in 580/1184, his uncle Zayn al-Din, made a collection of poetry for the Saljuq ruler Tughnī Beg, illustrated with portraits of the poets, which was used "to enliven gatherings", Meisami (1994), pp. 183-184.

877 Petrushevsky (1968), p. 495.

878 An incised graffito on the base of the Louvre Basin (Pl. 160a-c), previously discussed, indicates that it belonged to the pantry of the Ayyubid Sultan al-'Adil II, Abu Bakr, Rice (1957), p. 301.

he might dip into the *Kūṭāb al-Fakhri* from time to time. It does seem likely, however, that Fakhr-i ‘Isa ‘the Christian’, as a high-ranking officer in the Ilkhanid administration, and governor of an important Arab province with a large Christian minority, will have been personally well-versed in both Islam and Christianity. The same cannot, however, be assumed for his extended household which is likely to have included a proportion of Mongols or other immigrants; indeed, it is likely to have been a microcosm of the Ilkhanid corps d’élite in the final throes of religious and cultural transition.

The size and design of the manuscript would have lent itself to small-group teaching for, say, half a dozen pupils at a time, and also offer several levels of tuition. For example, the illustrations could be used to introduce the stories to the very young or the illiterate; at level two, the positioning of the paintings at carefully selected points in the text would identify a practical and coherent cycle of anecdotal moral tales in the manner of a simple mirror for princes; at a more advanced level, the ruled headings would expand upon the themes already identified by the paintings and act as signposts through a further series of historically important or contentious issues with a bias towards matters associated with conversion, bureaucracy and military affairs.

If Fakhr-i ‘Isa did commission the Freer Bal’ami, this raises two more issues: first, is the frontispiece intended to represent Ghazan’s governor of Mosul, in the manner of Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ in the frontispieces to the *Kūṭāb al-aghānī* (Figs 6a–b)? Second, was the manuscript copied and illustrated on Fakhr-i ‘Isa’s initiative or on an educational imperative from the court?

‘Portrait’ in this context is a coded image: Badr al-Din Lu’lu’ is shown as a Saljuq Turk although he was probably an Armenian or a Kurd, or even, according to Cahen, black. Identity is provided by širāz arm bands and illuminated corner pieces inscribed with his name. This convention is unlikely to have changed in the Ilkhanid period, and the ruler in the Bal’ami image, even if an Arab Christian, it likely to have been depicted as a Mongol along with the Iranian kings in the cycle. If the use of širāz was considered unsuitable for a Christian, it seems probable that some other overt identification would

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80 al-Fakhri-Whitting tr. (1947), pp. 12–13; topos but probably true by that stage in his career.  
82 The corner pieces to the Istanbul frontispiece (Fig. 6b) are not visible in my illustration, but have been published in Rice (1953), p. 130 and fig. 18.  
83 Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqa records how Hulagu addressed a group of ex-caliphal servants taken into his service, who were still dressed in their old livery after several days. He advised them to wear Mongol dress to reflect their new allegiance, Kritzeck (1959), p. 181.
have been used had it been seriously intended. However, it is not beyond the realms of possibility that some incidental coding may have crept in during the process of adaptation.

For example, if Derenbourg is correct and Fakhr-i 'Isa was appointed governor by Arghun, then the hawk on the ruler's wrist might be a specific, rather than general, reference to legitimate delegation of Chinggizid authority. A hawk on Ilkhanid silver coinage is specific to Arghun's reign (r. 683-690/1284/1291) (Fig. 37a–b).\(^{164}\)

It is not known where Fakhr-i 'Isa came from, but Mardin had a large Christian population and was traditionally known as "al-bâz" (the falcon), from the way it was tiered up the mountainside.\(^{165}\) However, by the same token, since Mardin was also the Artuqid capital, the hawk might be a favoured emblem of the Artuqid Najm al-Din II, Fakhr-i 'Isa's executioner, who had been recently awarded the Sultanate of Northern Mesopotamia by Ghazan. Najm al-Din is known for the grandiloquent titles on his copper coinage even before his investiture, including "Zillu 'l-lâh fi 'l-âlam" (Shadow of God on Earth),\(^{166}\) striking a similarly portentous note to the quotation in the frontispiece. However, to date I have found no other corroborative evidence to support the notion of Artuqid patronage.

Also in terms of contemporary reference, the larger-scale figure of the 'âlim to the right of the picture, could be inspired by the figure of the Qâdi al-qâdâ (Grand Judge), who at this period was the Qâdi of Mosul, Kamal al-Din Musa. In 700/1301, as a figure of the highest prestige, he was sent with the Qâdi of Tabriz on an embassy to the Mamluk court in Cairo.\(^{167}\)

The Bal'ami frontispiece may well say many things now obscured by time and wear. However, as a generic image it presents the legitimacy of Ilkhanid rule in Muslim and Mongol terms; it also provides a thought-provoking and comprehensive introduction to the cycle of paintings as a whole. In many ways it is more effective for its anonymity. If, however, it was indeed commissioned by Fakhr-i 'Isa, the irony of the iconography and the execution scene is searing.

The second question is whether the patron of the Freer Bal'ami was acting on his own initiative or on an educational imperative from the court? I would suggest that in

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\(^{164}\) The falcon never appears on Ilkhanid gold coins. On local copper issues it is only of local significance, for an example see Fig. 37c. I am grateful to Stephen Album for his advice. See also Kolbas (1992), pp. 432–433.

\(^{165}\) Le Strange (1966 (reprint)), p. 96.

\(^{166}\) Spengler and Sayles (1992), pp. 162–163.

\(^{167}\) d’Ohsson (1834–35), vol. 6, pp. 286–287.
the absence of other known Ilkhanid-period illustrated copies, adding paintings to an “abbreviated” redaction of Bal‘ami’s text may well have been an imaginative, one-off, experiment aimed at fulfilling a pressing and particular household need. However, the earliest copies of this redaction, so well suited to teaching a simplified “History of the prophets and the kings”, survive in a ‘clutch’ from Ghazan’s reign. It is therefore also possible that the Freer Bal‘ami may reflect a more general teaching initiative current in government circles at the time, even without a direct government imperative. After all, despite Ibn al-Tiqtaqa’s scepticism about Mongol literary taste, Ghazan’s policy for the copying and illustrating of scientific and pseudo-scientific texts and “regenerating learning” is acknowledged in the introduction to the Pierpont Morgan Manāfi‘ al-hayawān. In addition, the court regularly passed through the environs of Mosul during the years of the Syrian campaigns, and the governor will doubtless have had close contact with ruler’s most intimate advisors on these occasions.

If Daniel is correct in his analysis of the origins of the “abbreviated” redaction, then Bal‘ami’s text, originally edited for a Samanid agenda, was a gift the Ilhans appear to have recognised for its value as educational ‘cement’ for state foundations. In the second decade of the fourteenth century, however, it was overtaken, if never entirely eclipsed, by Rashid al-Din’s Jami‘ al-tawārikh. Begun for Ghazan and completed for Uljaytu, Rashid al-Din’s world history placed the Mongols securely within a magisterial global sweep and also displayed them in paint. Nonetheless, if I am correct, the Freer Bal‘ami had already blazed a significant, if modest, trail and shown the value of painting as a subtext to history during the crucial process of integration of the Ilkhanid state into the Dār al-Islām. Indeed, it contributes significantly to our understanding of the role of the illustrated text in Persian historiography in the following ways:

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The contribution of the Freer Bal'ami to our understanding of the role of illustrated texts in Persian historiography

i. it demonstrates that in the Ilkhanid period Bal'ami's classic text was being used in a creative manner to suit a contemporary audience;

ii. the paintings provide evidence for the time, place and possible patronage of a manuscript from the earliest surviving group of Bal'ami texts, for which such information is scarce;

iii. the planning and execution of the manuscript as a whole strongly suggest that it was a provincial response to an educational need; as a history intended for use in a marginal community, rather than metropolitan or court circles, it is of particular interest;

iv. the iconography of the frontispiece identifies matters of internal concern to the Ilkhanid state—possibly quickened by Mamluk propaganda—during Ghazan's reign;

v. the paintings and ruled headings provide clues as to how subject matter was prioritised and Islam presented, thus broadening our understanding of the manner in which historical texts were tailored to serve particular political agendas in the Ilkhanid period;

vi. the paintings illustrating the Prophet and his family increase our understanding of how scenes depicting their lives might be used to teach broader lessons of history; the choice in the Bal'ami differs significantly from the polemical cycles in the Edinburgh Āthār al-bāqīyya of al-Biruni, dated 707/1307-8 and from the Edinburgh-London Jāmi' al-tawārīkh of Rashid al-Din, dated 714/1314, and may predate them both.
I suggest that the Freer Bal'ami is a manuscript richer in significance than expenditure on its production might imply. It punches above its strength. It may not be on the cutting edge of new departures in Ilkhanid painting, but it identifies a nerve in Ilkhanid society less evident in more technically accomplished works. If this manuscript was indeed on the shelves of the library of the first constitutional government of Iran in 1907, then Fakhr-i 'Isa made a shrewd investment.

In the words of Ibn al-Tiqtaqa:

"... perchance someone will say: "[She] has exaggerated in describing his book, and has stuffed [her] swag with wishful thinking"."

"... wa-la'allā qā'ilān an yaqīla la-qad bālaqha fī wasfi kitābīni, wa-hashā mā šā'a fī ārāhīni."  

I rest my case.

Appendix I

SECTION HEADINGS IN THE FREER BAL'AMI

KEY

R headings emphasised by additional ruling lines.

section headings assigned a full text line.

Bold marks the position of a painting in the text.

[...] replaced illegible text.

Blessings, caliphal protocols and sectarian tampering:

* defaced text.

+ blessings follow the names of the first four caliphs and the Prophet's family.

++ defaced blessings and/or names.

- absence of blessings after the names of the first four caliphs and the Prophet's family.

C citation of "caliph", "caliphate" or "Amīr al-mu'mīnin" (Commander of the Faithful).

~ Non-Muslim name followed by a blessing.

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1 Damaged headings have been replaced, where possible, from Bal'ami/Tabari-Bahār/Gunābadī eds (1314H/1962–3), for the pre-Islamic period and from Bal'ami/Tabari-Rawshan ed. (1366H/1987–8), for the Islamic sections. Rawshan has not, unfortunately, noted textual variants in section headings.

2 To date, I have not detected any curses intentionally included in the text by the scribe.

3 Blessings following the names of the Biblical–Qur'anic prophets and the Prophet Muhammad have not been included, since they occur in accordance with convention and bear no evidence of defacement or alteration. The names of the Prophet’s wives are not given individual blessings in this manuscript.

4 Obliteration through thumbing and scoring names also occurs in the body of the text, but these have not been listed.
Volume 1 (F57.16)

folio 1b 'In the name of God the bountiful, the merciful" (bih nāma-yi izād bakhshāyandā u bakhshāyeshgar)"

2b [Concerning the duration of the creation] of this world?

4b Tradition (hadīth) of ‘Abullah bin ‘Abbas concerning the sun and the moon.

6a Mention of [the first people placed by God upon the earth.]

6b The beginning of the creation of Adam.

7a The tradition of the obeisance of the angels before Adam.

8a Concerning (gufār andar) Adam and Hawwa’s (Eve’s) departure from Paradise.

8b Concerning the coming to earth of Adam and Hawwa.

9a Concerning Adam’s pilgrimage [and the description of the House (bayt al-ma’mūr).]?

9b Concerning Iblis’s request [for recompense from God for his labours.]

10a Concerning Iblis’s deception of Adam [with tricks and wiles, and Adam’s children.]

10b The tradition of Qabil and Habil.

11a Concerning the bringing forth of progeny from Adam’s back.

Concerning the prophetic mission of Adam and Shith (Seth).

11b Concerning the death of Adam.

12a Concerning the prophethood of Shit bin Adam.

The story (qīṣa) of the first person who worshipped fire.

The story of the Prophet Idris.

12b The tradition of Kayumarth and his rule in the world.

14a The khatība of Kayumarth.

14b Hushang fights the dārs.

15a The reign of Hushang, his character and legacy (āthār).

The reign of Jamshid, his character and legacy (āthār).

15b Concerning the reign of Bivarasb.

Concerning the Prophet Nuh (Noah).

17a Concerning the reign of Dahhak.

The overwhelming majority of section headings open with “khabar” and when replaced by “gufār" this has been noted; “khabar” and “gufār” have been translated as “concerning”, “dāra” as “mention”; “hadīth” as “tradition” and “qīṣa” as “story”. On the rare occasions when “jang”, rather than “harb”, is used for “war” in a heading, this too has been noted. The spelling of proper names follows that used by the scribe in this manuscript.

5 The first shrine at Mecca, built by Adam with angelic assistance.
17b The story of King Afaridun.
20b The story of Shadid the brother of Shadad and the paradise which he made.
21a The story of Thamud and the Prophet Salih.
22b The story of Ibrahim Khalil al-Rahman.

24b Namrud casts Ibrahim into the fire and flies heavenwards to challenge God.

25a The tradition concerning the departure of Ibrahim.
26a Concerning the end of Namrud and two reasons for his destruction.
26b The story of Ibrahim and the coming of Isma'il to him.
27b The story of Ibrahim's visit to Isma'il after which he married.

Concerning Lut (Lot), his people and the birth of Ishaq.

29b The story of Ibrahim's sacrifice of his son Ishaq.
31b The story of Ibrahim and Isma'il's building of the house of the Ka'ba.
32b The tradition concerning the death of Sara and Ibrahim's desire for a wife.
33a The tradition concerning the death of Ibrahim.
34a Mention of the four birds used by God as a reminder to Ibrahim.
34b The tradition concerning the prophethood of Isma'il bin Ibrahim.
35a Concerning Ya'qub (Jacob) and 'Is (Esau).
35b Concerning the Prophet Yusuf (Joseph).
37a The story of Zulaykha and Yusuf.

37b Yusuf escapes from Zulaykha.

40b Concerning the coming of Yusuf's brothers to Egypt on account of hunger.
42b Yusuf is reunited with his family.

43b Concerning the Prophet Shu'ayb.
46a Concerning King Manuchihr.

47a Manuchihr addresses his assembled people and army.
48b Concerning the birth of Musa ibn 'Amran (Moses)

7 Unless indicated otherwise "King" translates the title "al-malik".
50b The flight of Musa to Shu'ayb at Madyan.
52a Concerning the prophethood of Musa and his speech with God.
54a Concerning the arrival of Musa in Egypt and delivering his prophetic message to Fir'awn (Pharaoh).

54b Musa fightens Fir'awn by turning his staff into a serpent.

57a Concerning Musa's departure from Egypt and the drowning of Fir'awn and his people.

59b Concerning Musa's prayer to God at the appointed place of Tur Sina (Mount Sinai), and the worshipping of the calf by his people because of him (his behaviour) and how he appeared to them.8

59b The innocent among the Banu Isra'il kill the worshippers of the golden calf.

62b Concerning the seed which fell among the Banu Isra'il.

64a Concerning Musa and Khidr.

66a Concerning Musa and Qarun Tamami.

68a Concerning the departure of Musa and the Banu Isra'il from Egypt to wage war against [illegible] and the Jabaran (Giants), their returning from the war and remaining in the desert of Tiyya.9

68b Musa, with Harun, stikes the giant 'Uj bin 'Anaq on the ankle with his staff.

69b Concerning the death of Musa and Harun.

R. 70b
Concerning Yushi' bin Nun (Joshua) and the Banu Isra'il's leaving Tiyya and their going to fight the Jabaran and the destruction of Bal'am-i Ba'ur.

72a Concerning King Zaw9 bin Tahmasp.
72b Concerning King Kayqubad.
72b Concerning the Prophet Ilyas (Elias)
73a Concerning the Prophet Ilyasa' (Elisha)
73b Concerning the Prophet Ishmu'il (Samuel)
74a Concerning the reign of Talut.

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8 This heading extends over one and a half lines.
9 This heading extends over one and half lines.
10 More usually "Ziw", but the fatha has been written in.
The story of Talut and Jalut (Goliath), their going into battle and the slaying of Jalut by Dawud (David).

The slaying of Jalut by Dawud with a stone from his sling.

Concerning the Prophet Dawud.

Concerning the philosopher Luqman.

Concerning Sulayman (Solomon) bin Dawud.

Concerning the judgements of Dawud and Sulayman.

Concerning Bilqis and the Kingdom of Saba.

Bilqis crosses the pool covered by crystal to greet Sulayman.

Concerning Sulayman and the ant which stole a ring and the reason for it.

Concerning the death of Sulayman.

Concerning the ant which discoursed with Sulayman.

Mention of the matter of the cavalry.

The tradition concerning the Kings of ‘Ajam in the time of Sulayman.

Concerning King Kay-Khusraw bin Siyawush bin Kay-Kawus.

Kay-Khusraw has Afrasiyab killed to avenge the death of Siyawush.

Concerning Raj’im bin Sulayman bin Dawud.

Concerning Asa bin Abna bin Raj’im bin Sulayman bin Dawud.

The prayer which ‘Isa made at Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem).

Concerning the Kings of the Banu Isra’il after Asa.

Concerning King Luhrasp.

Concerning Gushtasp bin Luhrasp.

Concerning Bahman bin Isfandiyar bin Gushtasp.

Concerning the Kings of Yemen in the time of Kay-Kawus.

Concerning the dream of Bukht Nasar (Nebuchadnezzar) dream, its explanation by the Prophet [Daniel] and the reason for his (Bukht Nasar’s) destruction.

Concerning the Kings of the Yemen from the time of Kay-Kawus to the time of Bahman.

Concerning the Kings of ‘Ajam until the time of Iskandar.

The reign of Darab.
Appendix r

90a The reign of Dara bin Dara (ṣīr).

90b Iskandar enthroned receives the coffin of Dara.

91a Concerning Du’l-Qarnayn Iskandar the Greek.
92a Concerning the Muluk al-Tawa’if who came after Iskandar.
92b Concerning the Ashkanian Kings and the Muluk al-Tawa’if and what occurred between them after Iskandar.
93a Concerning the Prophet Zakariya bin Yahya.
93b Concerning the birth of Maryam.
94a Concerning ‘Isa, his birth and the condition of him and his mother.
94b Concerning ‘Isa (Jesus), his birth, his condition and his mother.
96a Concerning the flight of Maryam and ‘Isa.
97a Concerning the death of Zakariya.
97b Concerning ‘Isa’s invitation and his return to Jerusalem.
98a Concerning the food which came to ‘Isa from heaven as God Almighty said.
98b The tradition of that group to whom God sent a Messiah.
99a The tradition of how God took ‘Isa up to heaven.
100b Concerning the Kings of Sham (Syria) and Rum (Byzantium) at the time of the Muluk al-Tawa’if.
101a Concerning the Arab kings who [ruled] in Iraq before the Ashkanians.
101a Concerning the Arab desert tribes and their kings.
102b Concerning the war between Jadima [ṣīr] and ‘Amru bin Tarb, the killing of ‘Amru and the scheming of Amru’s daughter with Jadima and his destruction.
104a Concerning ‘Amru bin ‘Adi’s revenge for Jadima against Zibba.
105a Concerning the wars between the Tam, the Jadis and Hasan bin Riba’.
105b The tradition of the People of Cave and Diqyanus (Decianus).
106b Concerning Yunus (Jonah) bin Matay.
107a Yunus is swallowed by the whale.
108a The story of three prophets, one truthful man (ṣādiq), other truthful men and a hundred and one blessings upon them all.
   The story of Shamsun (Samson).
Concerning Ḥadrat Jirjis (Saint George), [followed by abbreviation for ‘alayhi al-
salām, “peace be upon him”].

Concerning Ardashir bin Babak, father of the line of the Sasanian Kings of ‘Ajam.

Ardashir enthroned.

The reign of Shapur bin Ardashir bin Babak.

The reign of Hurmiz bin Shapur bin Ardashir bin Babak.

The reign of Bahram bin Hurmiz bin Shapur bin Ardashir bin Babak.

The reign of Yezdijird bin Bahram.

The reign of Yazdfird bin Bahram Gur bin Yezdijird the Third.

Bahram Gur kills a lion, an onager and a dragon.

Bahram Gur enthroned.

Bahram Gur kills a rogue elephant.

The reign of Yezdijird bin Bahram Gur.

The reign of Firuz bin Yezdijird bin Bahram Gur.

Concerning Sufiray’s going to fight Khushnawaz in revenge for the blood of Firuz.

The reign of Balash bin Firuz bin Yezdijird bin Bahram Gur.

The reign of Qubad bin Firuz bin Yezdijird bin Bahram Gur.

Concerning Mazdak.

The tradition concerning the tax imposed by Qubad and the reason for it.

Concerning the death of Qubad.

Concerning the reign of Nushirwan bin Qubad bin Firuz bin Yezdijird bin Bahram Gur.

The tradition of what befell the Kings of Yemen at the hands of the Ethiopians.

A demon in the shape of a black dog quits the temple of the Yemenites.

Concerning the reign of Rabi’a bin Nasr over Yemen.

Concerning the fall of Yemen to the Ethiopians and the reason for it.
Appendix 1

127a The reason for the conversion of the inhabitants of Najran to Christianity.
127b The coming of Dhu Nawas to Najran.
128a Concerning the departure of the Ethiopian army for Yemen.

129a The duel between the Ethiopian generals Abraha and Aryat.
129b Concerning the reign of Abraha and taking his army to Arabia to destroy the Ka'ba.

131a The miraculous rescue of the Ka'ba from Abraha's attack.

132a Concerning Dhu-Yazan, King of the Himyarites and his going to Nushirwan.
132b Dhu-Yazan, King of the Arabs, pays homage to Nushirwan.
134a The arrow of old Wahraz kills Masruq, the Ethiopian King of Yemen.
134b The tradition concerning Sayf bin Dhu-Yazan's rule over the Yemen.
135a The God-fearing reign of Nushirwan and the extent of his kingdom.
135b Concerning the justice and wisdom of Nushirwan and the tax he imposed.
136a Concerning the arrangements for the army, land grants (iqṭā') and their clothing.
136b The birth of our Prophet.
137b The tradition concerning the nursing and nurturing of the Prophet.

138a The purification of Muhammad's heart by three Divine messengers.
138b Concerning the death of Nushirwan, some years (mablagh-i sāḥ) and the reign of his son Hurmiz.
139b Concerning Bahram Chubin and the wars which he waged.
141b Concerning the wars of Saba Shah, King of the Turks, against Bahram Chubin.

Concerning the rebellion of Bahram Chubin against King Hurmiz.

142a Concerning Bahram Chubin and the fairy maiden.
143b Concerning Parwiz and Bahram Chubin.

"The forms Shūbin, Shūbina and Jūbin all appear in the text; for simplicity I have opted for "Chubin" throughout."
145b Concerning Parwiz and the King of Rum (Byzantium) until he (Parwiz) returned to Mada'in (Ctesiphon).

146b Khusraw Parwiz kills three Turks in a battle with Bahram Chubin.

147b Concerning the reign of Parwiz following the capture of Bahram Chubin.

148a The story of Bahram Chubin in Turkestan.

148b Concerning the end of Parwiz, his greatness and his power in the kingdom.

Mention of some of the miracles and signs of our Prophet.

149a The war between Arab and 'Ajam at the wells of Dhu-Qar.

152a The letter sent by the Prophet to Kisra.

152b The reign of Shiruya and the killing of Parwiz.

156a The reign of Ardashir bin Shiruya.

The reign of Shahrabaz.

The reign of Puran Dukht bint Parwiz.

156b The reign of Azarmi Dukht bint Parwiz.

The reign of Kisra bin Mihr-Hasis.

• R → 157a

The commencement (aghāz) of our Prophet Muhammad Mustafa and [probably, “his family”] ... may God be pleased with them.

157b The genealogy of the Prophet.

161b Concerning the marriage of Khadija bint Khuwaylid to Mustafa.

162b The tradition concerning the destruction of the Ka'ba by Quraysh and its rebuilding.

163a Concerning the bringing of revelation to the Prophet.

→ 164a

Concerning [“the conversion to Islam of Abu Bakr”; heavily defaced but insufficient space for a blessing].

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Rawshan’s list of section headings begins with “The genealogy of the Prophet”. Daniel’s database of section headings begins with the caliphate of Abu Bakr and includes a field for Zotenberg’s headings. Daniel cites the section headings in an abbreviated form minus caliphal titles and blessings.
Concerning [erased and subsequently rewritten: "Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him."]

The departure of the Prophet for Ta'if.

Muhammad converts the 

Concerning the Prophet's hijra from Mecca to Madina.

Mention of the calendar instituted by the Prophet.

Mention of the expeditions (ghazzadat) of the Prophet and the departure of Hamza bin Abi Talib, Abu Ubayda and Sa'd-i Waqqas to fight (jang) Abu Jahl, and the road he took.

The Waddan expedition.

Concerning the Anwat expedition.

Concerning the first Badr expedition.

Concerning the great Badr expedition.

The Battle of Badr (1). The angelic host is sent to assist the Muslims.

The Battle of Badr (2). The death of Abu Jahl, and the casting of the Meccan dead into dry wells.

Mention of the expeditions between Badr and Uhud.

The Kudr expedition.

Concerning the expedition against the Banu Qa'qa'.

Concerning the Sawiq expedition.

Concerning the Dhar-Amarr expedition and the killing of Ka'b al-Ashraf.

Concerning the Dhu-Qarda expedition.

Concerning the killing of Sallam bin al-Huqayq, the leader of the Jews of Khaybar.

Concerning the Uhud expedition.

The Battle of Uhud, in which Muhammad kills Ubayd bin Khalaf with his lance.

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13 I.e., the Jewish clan of the "Banü Qaynuqä"; another variant, "Banū Qayqa" is used in RAS 22. However, a certain Qa'qa' bin Amru was a city governor in Iraq at the time of Khalid ibn al-Walid's conquest, Bel'ami/Tabari-Zotenberg tr. (1981), pp. 102–103, and some confusion may have arisen from the similarity of the two names.
Appendix 1

Volume 2 (F47.19)

194b (19b) Concerning the Tarji' expedition.
195a (14a) Concerning 'Amru bin Umayya al-Damri.
195b (14b) Concerning Bir-Ma'una.
196b (15b) Concerning the Banu al-Nazir expedition.
197a (16a) Concerning the expedition of al-Mur' id.
197b (16b) Concerning the Banu Qurayza expedition.
198a (17a) Concerning the Battle of the Ditch (Khandaq).
199a (18a) The Battle of the Ditch. 'Ali parleys with 'Amru bin 'Abd al-Wudd prior to their duel.
199b (18b) The Dumat al-Jandal expedition.
The Banu Lihiyan expedition.
200a (19a) Concerning the Dhu-Qurud expedition.
Concerning the Banu al-Mustaliq expedition.
200b (19b) Concerning 'Aysha, the lie which was laid against her and her innocence.
201b (20b) Concerning the al-Fasa' expedition undertaken by our Prophet and his companions (jārān).
203b (22b) Concerning the messengers sent by the Prophet to the kings of the earth.
204a (23a) Concerning the Faddak expedition.
204b (23b) Concerning the Wadi'l-Qura expedition.
205a (24a) Concerning 'Umra'I-Qada.
206a (25a) Concerning the army which the Prophet sent out in the eighth year.
206b (25b) Concerning the war of al-Muta.
207a (26a) Concerning the conquest of Mecca.
210b (29b) Concerning the Hunayn expedition.
211b (30b) The Battle of Hunayn. The Prophet's life is threatened.
212b (31b) Concerning the Ta'if expedition.
214b (33b) Concerning the Tabuk expedition.

4 Freer Gallery folio numbering in brackets.
Concerning 'Ali bin Abi Talib (peace be upon him) summoning 'Adi bin Hatim Ta'i.

Concerning the Arab tribes offering their submission to the Prophet.

Concerning the farewell pilgrimage.

Concerning the campaigns of the Prophet.

Concerning the campaign of the pilgrimage made by the Prophet.

Concerning the wives of the Prophet.

Mention of the clients (maudiyân) of the Prophet.

Mention of the Prophet's mounts.

Mention of the Prophet's monasteries (dayrân).

Mention of the attributes of the Prophet.

Mention of the names of the Prophet.

More on (dîgar) the death of the Prophet.¹⁵

Concerning the death of the Prophet.

Concerning the caliphate [of Amîr al-mu'minin Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him].

Concerning the burial of the Prophet.

Concerning the dispatch by Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, of Usama bin Zayd with an army to attack Rum.

The tradition of Aswad the Liar.

Concerning the Arabs who revolted after the death of the Prophet.

Concerning Khalid bin al-Walid and his campaign against Tulayha the Liar.

Concerning the God-fearing Murabbidan, and the killing of them.

Concerning Salma bint Malik and her campaign against Khalid bin al-Walid.

Concerning Fuja'a and Nujba and their attacks against the apostate Arabs. Concerning Shajah bint al-Harith and Musaylima the Liar and the campaign of Khalid bin al-Walid against them.

Concerning Khalid bin al-Walid against Malik bin Nu'ayra.

Concerning Musaylima bin Hayb the Liar.

¹⁵ It is not clear why the first of two consecutive headings on the death of the Prophet should be introduced by the word “dîgar”; a small Persian “٢” has been inscribed above both headings and the folios have not been misplaced.
Appendix I

234a (53a) The death of Musaylima at the hand of the Ethiopian slave, Wahshi.

236b (55b) The tradition of al-‘Ala al-Hazzami and the people of Bahrain.

237b (56b) Concerning the apostates of ‘Uman and Muhr-a.

238b (57b) Concerning the apostates of Tihama.

Concerning the apostates of Yemen.

239a (58a) Concerning the apostates of Yemen. The copyist closes the account prematurely, and somewhat peremptorily, with the following comment: “We know the tradition of Muhajir and ‘Ikrima in Yemen which follows after this.” In common with the “abbreviated” redaction, some seventeen sections which follow, on the conquest of Iraq and Syria by Khalid ibn al-Walid, including the Muslim victory against the Byzantine force on the Yarmuk in 16/637, have been omitted.

*R C +* 239a (58a) Concerning the death [of Abu Bakr] and the appointing to the caliphate of Amir al-Mu'minin ['Umar bin al-Khattab], may God be pleased with them both.

Concerning the conquest of Damascus.

239b (58b) Concerning the capture of Fihl and Baysan.

Concerning al-Muthanna bin Haritha against ‘Ajam in the time of ‘Umar [may God be pleased with him].

240a (59a) Concerning the Narnariq expedition.

Concerning the victory of Gaskar.

240b (59b) Concerning the Battle of the Bridge.

241a (60a) Concerning the Battle of Buwayb.

241b (60b) Concerning the Battle of Qadisiyya.

Concerning Yazdijird bin Shahriyar.

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16 This interpolation is not present in RAS 22. The excised text describes the siege and destruction of the Banu Kinda. This includes the fates of the Prophet’s ‘wife for a day’ who had been sent back to her people, whom Abu Bakr ordered to be killed despite ‘Ikrima having married her before the start of the campaign; and remonstrance to Muhajir for punishing by mutilation, on his own initiative, the singing girl who had satirised the Prophet and the Muslims, rather than following his orders that all the women should be sold into slavery.

17 This feature is standard in all five of Daniel’s ‘control group’ of fourteenth-century “abbreviated” redactions: Royal Asiatic Society 22 (Morley 9) dated 701/1302; Süleymaniye Library, Fatih 4285 dated 702/1303, Fatih 4281 dated 725/1325 and Leiden University Library, Cod. 1612 dated 754/1353-54.
Appendix 1

242a (61a) Concerning the Amarth expedition.

242b (61b) The encounter at Amarth during the Battle of Qadisiyya.

Concerning the Battle of Aghwāth.
Concerning the Battle of 'Imas.

243a (62a) Concerning the Qadisiyya expedition and the death of Rustam bin Farrukhzad.

Concerning the foundation of Basra.

243b (62b) Concerning the conquest of the cities in the time of 'Umar, may God be pleased with him.

244a (63a) Concerning the capture of Hims (Emesa)
Concerning the conquest of Qinnasrin.
Concerning the conquest of Qaysariyya (Caesarea).
Concerning the conquest of Ajnadayn.

244b (63b) Concerning the capture of Bayt al-Muqaddas (Jerusalem) and Egypt.

245a (64a) Concerning the capture of Mada'in (Ctesiphon) and the incident of the spoils.

245b (64b) Concerning the capture of Hulwan.
Concerning the capture of Takrit and Mawsil (Mosul).

246a (65a) Concerning the conquest of Masiran and Shirwan.

246b (65b) Concerning the Second Battle of Hims.
Concerning the conquest of the Jazira.

- 247a (66a) Concerning Khalid's return from Syria to Madina and 'Umar's going to Syria.

- 247b (66b) Concerning 'Umar's going to Syria.

248b (67b) Concerning the dismissal of Mughira bin Sha'ba and his replacement as governor of Basra by Abu Musa al-Ash'ari at Basra.

249b (68b) Concerning the capture of the towns of Ahwaz.

250a (69a) Concerning the departure of the Muslims from Bahrain to Fars.

250b (69b) The capture of the remainder of Ahwaz and the capture of Hurmizan, King of Ahwaz.

252a (71a) The capture of Egypt and Iskandariyya.

252b (71b) Concerning the capture of Nihawand.

254b (73b) Concerning the capture of Isfahan.

255b (74b) Concerning the capture of Hamadan by Nu'aym bin Muqarrin.
Concerning the capture of Rayy, Damawand and Qumish (sic).
Concerning the capture of Gurgan and Tabaristan.
Concerning the conquest of Adharbayjan and Darband-i Khazaran.
Concerning Yazdijird's going to Khurasan and the capture of towns.
Concerning the capture of all the towns of Fars.

Concerning the capture of Kirman.
Concerning the capture of Sakistan (Sistan)
Concerning the capture of Makran.

Concerning the Battle of Birut.
Concerning the offensive of Salma bin Qays against the Kurds on the order of [Umar, may God be pleased with him.]
Concerning the killing of Amir al-Mu'minin 'Umar bin al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him.
Concerning the genealogy of 'Umar bin al-Khattab [caliph's name scored through], may God be pleased with him.
Mention of the character of 'Umar bin al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him.
Concerning the council (shārāj) held after the death of 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, and the caliphate of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, and mention of the people's swearing of allegiance to him.

The election of 'Uthman to the caliphate.
The judgement of 'Uthman against 'Ubayd Allah bin 'Umar concerning Hurmizan the King of Ahwaz.
Mention of the amirs and army sent to the frontiers by [Uthman, may God be pleased with him,] and what this shows of his character.

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8 This heading has been subjected to particularly violent abuse.
Volume 2 (F47.19) cont.

266a (85a) Concerning the conquest of Ifriqiyya, Andalus and the towns of the Maghrib.

266a (85a) Concerning Mu'awiya's conquest of Qubrus (Cyprus) and the land of Rum (Byzantium).

266b (85b) Concerning the departure of 'Abd Allah bin 'Amir bin Kurayz to Khurasan.

Concerning the falling of the Prophet's ring from 'Uthman's hand into the well at Arish.

267a (86a) Concerning the expedition of Dhat al-Sawar.

- 267b (86b) Mention of the names of those men sent by 'Uthman to Sham (Syria).

- 268a (87a) Concerning the emergence of 'the return' ('raj'at) and the fomenting of sedition against 'Uthman.

+ 269b (88b) Concerning the killing of 'Uthman bin 'Affan, may God be pleased with him'.

* R C + 270a (89a)

Concerning the people's swearing of allegiance to the Amir al-Mu'minin 'Ali bin Abi Talib, may God be pleased, and the beginning of his caliphate over men.

* R + 270b (89b)

Concerning the governors sent to the cities by 'Ali, peace be upon him, and the opposition of Talha, Zubayr and 'Aysha.

271b (90b) Concerning Talha, Zubayr and 'Aysha's departure for Basra.

272a (91a) Concerning the confrontation between 'Uthman bin Hanif and Talha and Zubayr.

- 273a (92a) Concerning the Battle of the Camel; Talha, Zubayr and 'Aysha against 'Ali.

+ 275b (94b) Concerning Egypt in the time of 'Ali bin Talib, peace be upon him.

276a (95a) The departure of 'Amru bin al-'As to Mu'awiya in Sham (Syria).

276b (95b) Concerning the Battle of Siffin.

278a (97a) The Battle of Siffin.

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9 The word “madhhab” (the doctrine of) has been omitted from this text.

20 i.e. the doctrine of the second coming of the Prophet.

31 The blessing has been restored in black ink, but not 'Uthman's name.
Concerning the Kharijites turning against ‘Ali.

Concerning the arbitration between ‘Ali, peace be upon him, and Mu’awiya by Bu Musa and ‘Amru bin al-‘As.\(^3\)

Concerning the war of the Kharijites against ‘Ali, peace be upon him.

Concerning the war of the Kharijites against ‘Ali, peace be upon him, at Nahrawan.

The killing of Muhammad bin Abi Bakr, peace be upon them both.\(^3\)

Concerning the Banu Najjyya.

Concerning the amirs sent by Mu’awiya to the Hijaz and Iraq.

Concerning the killing of Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, peace be upon him.

Concerning the genealogy of Amir al-Mu’minin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, the duration of his [caliphate]\(^4\) and the number of his children and wives, peace be upon them.

The swearing of allegiance of the people of Iraq to Hasan bin ‘Ali, peace be upon them both.

Concerning the killing of Hasan bin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, peace be upon them both.

Concerning Ziyad’s returning from Fars to join Mu’awiya.

Concerning the death of Mu’awiya and the caliphate (khalifat) of Yazid,\(^5\) the period of his rule and his children.

The genealogy of Mu’awiya.

Concerning the rule (mamlukat) of Yazid bin Mu’awiya and the people’s swearing of allegiance to him.

Concerning the killing of Husayn bin ‘Ali, peace be upon them both.\(^6\)

Concerning Salm bin Ziyad’s governorship of Khurasan.

Concerning ‘Abd Allah bin Zubayr in Mecca.

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\(^3\) Both name and blessing have been rubbed.

\(^4\) The word “caliphate” has been rubbed.

\(^5\) i.e. Yazid I.

\(^6\) i.e. the Battle of Karbala in 61/680.
Appendix I

290b (i09b) The tradition of the Battle of al-Harra.

291a (i10a) Concerning Husayn bin Numayr and ‘Abd Allah bin Zubayr at Mecca.

The death of Yazid bin Mu‘awiya.

291b (i10b) Concerning the swearing of allegiance to Marwan al-Hakam.

292a (i11a) Mention of the Battle of Marj Rahit between Marwan and Zuhhak.

Concerning the sedition which arose in Khurasan after the death of Yazid.

292b (i11b)

Concerning the party (ṣi‘āt) [of ‘Ali] gathering from Kufa [to revenge the blood of Husayn.]

Concerning Sulayman bin Surad’s leaving Kufa to revenge the blood of Husayn.

293a (i12a) Concerning the battle of ‘Ayn al-Ward.

293b (i12b) Concerning the death of Marwan bin Hakarn and his genealogy and his years.

Concerning the Kharijites of Basra and the Azraqites and their war (jānå) against Muhallab.

294a (i13a) Concerning Mukhtar’s move to Kufa to revenge the blood of Husayn.

295a (i14a) Concerning the war (jānå) of Mukhtar against ‘Ubayd Allah bin Ziyad.

295b (i14b) The opposition of the people of Kufa together with Mukhtar.

296a (i15a) The revolt which occurred in Basra because of Mukhtar.

Concerning ‘Ubayd Allah Zubayr’s [sic] capture of Muhammad-i Hanafiyya in Mecca and his imprisonment.

C - 296b (i15b)

Concerning the chair (kurså) of Amir al-Mu‘minin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib.

Concerning the killing of ‘Ubayd Allah Ziyad at the hand of Ibrahim bin Malik.

Concerning the war between Mukhtar and Mus’ab bin al-Zubayr and the killing of Mukhtar.

297a (i16a) Concerning the return of the Azraqites from Fars and Kirman.

297b (i16b) Concerning the battle which occurred between ‘Abd al-Malik and the son of his uncle, ‘Amru bin Sa‘īd.

298a (i17a) Concerning the coming of ‘Abd al-Malik to Iraq and the killing of Mus’ab.

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This section heading is on the top line of the folio; it appears that Ali’s name was added separately, above the heading but probably at the time the heading was first written; all but the tail of the “ṣd” was cropped when the folios were remounted.

“... revenge the blood of Husayn” has been erased and subsequently rewritten in black ink.
Concerning the battle between Muhallab and the Azraqites on the death of Mus'ab.

Concerning the conquest of Khurasan at the hands of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan's agents.

Concerning Hajjaj's war against 'Abd Allah bin al-Zubayr and the killing of 'Abd Allah bin 'Abd al-Malik.

[In accordance with the "abbreviated" redaction, some nine sections covering Hajjaj's governorship of Iraq have been heavily edited and condensed into one. The Freer text differs from Daniel's 'control group' only in that it begins again with the last heading in the missing sequence, concerning Qatari bin al-Fuja’a.]

The war of Qatari bin al-Fuja’a against Muhallab until the time he (Qatari) was killed.

Concerning Muhallab's coming to Khurasan and the campaign (ghāl) of 'Ubayd bin Abi Bakara against the King of Kabul.

Concerning the revolt of 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Ash’ath against Hajjaj bin Yusuf.

The Battle of Dayr al-jamajim.

The calamitous war between Hajjaj and the Pisar-i Ash’ath.

Concerning the death of Pisar-i Ash’ath.

Concerning the deposition of Yazid bin Muhallab from Khurasan and the reason for it.

Concerning the death of 'Abd al-Malik [bin Marwan, the period of his rule and the number of his wives and children] and their names.

Concerning the reign (pādrshāhī) al-Walid bin 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan.

Concerning Qutayba bin Muslim in Khurasan.

Qutayba's capture of Paykand.

Concerning the capture of Bukhara, Kish and Nakhshab and the killing of Nayzak.

Concerning Qutayba's expedition to Khwarazm (Shahr-i Khwarazm).

Concerning the capture of Samarqand.

I regret that within the scope of this dissertation, I have not so far been able to carry out detailed comparisons between the abridged sections in the Freer manuscript and those in other copies of both the "abridged" and "full" redactions, in order to establish if and how they differ.
312a (131a) Concerning the campaign of Qutayba bin Muslim against Chach and Farghana.

312b (131b) Concerning the escape of Yazid bin Muhallab from imprisonment by Hajjaj.

313b (132b) Concerning Hajjaj’s killing of Sa’id bin Jubayr and the death of Hajjaj.

• R 314a (133a)
Concerning the death of Walid bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan and the reign of his brother Sulayman and the number of his wives and children, and the genealogy of Walid.

314b (133b) Concerning the capture of Kashqar and Qutayba’s expedition to China (China).

315a (134b) Concerning Qutayba’s revolt (jgj in Khurasan.

318a (137a) Concerning Yazid bin Muhallab’s governorship of Khurasan.

319a (138a) Concerning Sulayman bin ‘Abd al-Malik’s dispatch of Maslama against Qustantina (Constantinople).

319b (138b) Concerning the capture of Tabaristan and Gurgan by Yazid bin Muhallab.

321a (140a) Concerning the death of Sulayman bin ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwan.

321b (140b) Concerning the caliphate of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and Maslama bin ‘Abd al-Malik’s return from Rum.

323a (142a) The imprisonment of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz bin Muhallab and his escape.

323b (142b) Concerning the death of ‘Umar bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.

C Concerning the caliphate of Yazid bin ‘Abd al-‘Aziz bin ‘Abd al-Malik and the beginning of his dealings with Yazid bin Muhallab.

325b (144b) Concerning the war between Yazid bin Muhallab and Maslama and ‘Abbas and the killing of Yazid.

327a (146a) Concerning Jarrah bin ‘Abd Allah al-Hakami’s war in the land of Armaniyya.

C 327b (146b)
Concerning the caliphate of Hisham bin ‘Abd al-Malik.

328a (147a) Concerning Jarrah bin ‘Abd Allah against the Khazars and the Harbshan.

328b (147b) Concerning Hisham bin ‘Abd al-Malik’s dispatch of Sa’id al-Harishi to wage war against the Khazars.

329b (148b) Concerning the governorship of Maslama over Armaniyya.

Footnotes:
39 Folios 312 and 313 have been transposed in rebinding; they are cited here in their correct order and with corrected folio numbers.
31 i.e. Yazid II.
Concerning the governorship of Junayd bin ‘Abd al-Rahman in Khurasan.

Concerning the governorship of Yusuf bin ‘Amru al-Thaqafi over the Two Iraqs.

The death of Zayd bin ‘Ali bin al-Husayn bin ‘Ali bin Abi Talib, peace be upon them.

Concerning the flight of Yahya bin Zayd bin ‘Ali and his going to Khurasan.

Concerning the caliphate of ‘Abd al-Malik.

Concerning the killing of ‘Abd al-Malik and the caliphate of his son Yazid and the succession of his brother Ibrahim.

Concerning the caliphate of Marwan bin Muhammad.

Concerning Nasr bin Sayyar in Khurasan.

[At this point, in common with the "abbreviated" redaction, some seven sections on events in Khurasan and the rise to power of Abu Muslim have been condensed into one.]

Concerning the revolt of Abu Muslim, Sāhib Dawlat al-‘Abbās.

[Again, in accordance with the "abbreviated" redaction, some seven sections covering the activities of Abu Muslim’s general, Qahtaba bin Shabib al-Ta’i; the ‘Abbasid propagandist Abu Salama al-Khalal; the murder of the Shi’i/‘Abbasid claimant, the Imam Ibrahim, by the Umayyad caliph Marwan and the transfer of the future ‘Abbasid caliph, Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffah, to Kufa, have been condensed into one.]

Concerning the caliphate of Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffah, ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Ali bin ‘Abd Allah bin al-‘Abbās, may God be pleased with him.

The enthronement of Abu’l-‘Abbās al-Saffah, the first ‘Abbasid caliph.

Concerning the coming of Marwan bin Muhammad from Harran to Mawsil and his war with ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Ali.

Concerning ‘Abd Allah bin ‘Ali’s going to Syria and the killing of Marwan bin Muhammad.
Concerning Saffah’s brother, Abu Ja'far,™ making war on Yazid bin Hubayra.

Concerning Bu Ja’far’s going to Khurasan.
Concerning Muhammad Sul’s governorship of Armaniyya and Adharbayjan.

Concerning Bu Muslim’s going on pilgrimage to Mecca from Khurasan.
Concerning the death of Saffah and the people’s swearing of allegiance to Bu Ja’far Bu Dawaniq.™

[The above section ends with an abbreviated version of the death of Abu Muslim. Then, in accordance with the “abbreviated” redaction, some twenty-four sections covering the insurrections, ‘Alid revolts and heresies (including that of al-Muqanna‘) following the death of Abu Muslim have been omitted, and the reigns of al-Mansur and al-Mahdi abbreviated. According to Daniel’s comparison of section headings, RAS 22, SL, Fatih 4285 and Leiden, Cod. 1612 also insert a section on the death of al-Mansur and accession of al-Mahdi, which is not included in SL, Fatih 4281 or in the Freer text. However, although a heading for the second deposition of ‘Isa bin Musa, with which the Freer text continues, is present in copies of the “full” redaction in Daniel’s list, it appears to be omitted from the manuscripts in his “abbreviated” group.]

• R 342a (161a) Concerning al-Mahdi’s deposition of ‘Isa bin Musa as heir in favour of his sons Mahdi [sic]™and after him Harun.

342a (161a) Concerning the Amir Ya’qub bin Dawud.
343b (162b) Concerning the death of Mahdi, his age and children.
344a (163a) The character of Mahdi.
C 345a (164a) Concerning the caliphate of Musa al-Hadi.
345b (164b) Concerning the appearance of the Zindoqs (Zanadiq) in the time of Mahdi and Hadi.
346b (165b) Concerning the death of Hadi and the manner of it.
C 347a (166a) Concerning the Caliphate of Harun al-Rashid.

™ This is a rare occurrence of “Abu” rather than “Bu” in a section heading. Abu Ja’far was the future caliph al-Mansur, also known as “Bu Dawaniq” (lit. “Father of Farthings”, on account of his avarice).
™ The caliph al-Mansur.
™ This is clearly a scribal error and should read al-Hadi; similarly in fols 343b–344a.
Appendix I

[The next three section headings also occur in RAS 22 and Leiden, Cod. 1612, but not in SL, Fatih 4285 or SL, Fatih 4281.]

347b (166b) Concerning Harun’s swearing the oath to Muhammad al-Amin and the dispatch of Fadl bin Yahya to Khurasan.

347b (166b) Concerning the appearance of Yahya bin ‘Abd Allah al-Hasani in Tabaristan.

348a (167a) Concerning the coming of Fadl bin Yahya al-Barmaki to Khurasan.

Concerning Harun al-Rashid’s taking away the title of heir apparent from his son Ma’mun and making Amin his heir.

348b (167b) Concerning the family of the Baramaka (Barmakids), Harun al-Rashid’s change of attitude towards them and the reason for it.

350a (169a) Concerning Harun al-Rashid’s journey to Rayy on account of affairs in Khurasan.

Concerning the revolt of Rafi’ bin al-Layth bin Nasr at Samarqand, the deposition of ‘Ali bin ‘Isa from Khurasan and the dispatch of Harthama to Khurasan.

351a (170a) Harun al-Rashid’s going to Khurasan.

Harthama’s going to Bukhara and the capture of those towns.

C 351b (170b) Concerning the death of Harun al-Rashid and the caliphate of Ma’mun (396).35

352a (171a) Concerning the disruption between Muhammad al-Amin and ‘Abd Allah al-Ma’mun and what befell between them.

[In common with the Daniel’s “abbreviated” group, with the exception of the Leiden manuscript, some six sections on the civil war between the sons of Harun al-Rashid, Muhammad, later the caliph al-Amin and ‘Abd Allah, later the caliph al-Ma’mun, have been condensed into one.37]

354a (173a) Concerning the killing of Muhammad al-Makhlu’ (the deposed).38

C 355a (174a) Concerning the caliphate of al-Ma’mun.

Concerning the revolt of Bu Saraya and the ‘Alawiyya.

356a (175a) Concerning the killing of Harthama bin ‘Ayan.

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35 I.e., Fadl bin Yahya al-Barmaki.
36 This is a scribal error for “Amin.”
37 For example, compare with BL, Add 7622, fols 445–450.
38 i.e. Muhammad al-Amin.
Concerning the disturbances of Hasan bin Sahl, and Ma'mun's anger with him.

Concerning Ibrahim bin al-Mahdi and the conditions of contract of his caliphate in Baghdad.

Concerning the death of Ma'mun, his character, his age and the extent of his kingdom.

Concerning the caliphate of al-Mu'tasim-bi'llah.

Concerning Mu'tasim's building of Samarra.

Concerning Babak al-Khurrami and his war against the Afshin.

Babak parleys with the Afshin Haydar, general to the Caliph al-Mu'tasim.

Concerning the death of Mu'tasim and the duration of his caliphate and his life.

In common with Daniel's "abbreviated" group, short accounts of the caliphates from al-Wathiq to al-Muktafi follow; apart from the Leiden manuscript, this section of the text is without headings.

Concerning the caliphate of al-Muqtadir-bi'llah.

The final extant folio describes the death of al-Muktafi; according to Rawshan's edition, this occurs some two-thirds through the section. The last three lines on the folio, together with those from several preceding folios, have been cropped, probably due to water damage. (Fig. 39b).

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Bal'ami/Tabari–Rawshan ed. (1366a/1987–8), vol. 2, p. 1304. Unfortunately, Rawshan's edition does not record the points in the text where the manuscripts used come to an end. RAS 22 includes continuations to Bal'ami's text down to the death of al-Mustarshid (r. 512–529/1118–1134), and is not, therefore, a fair comparison. However, as previously noted, Daniel has identified a group which end with the death of al-Muktafi (r. 289/902–295/908) and/or al-Muqtadir (r. 295–320/908–932), Daniel (1990), p. 290. The database shows that among the "abbreviated" group SL, Fatih 4285, dated 702/1303 also ends with the death of al-Muktafi. A close comparison with this Sulaymaniye text should, therefore, help an assessment of the 'minimum' number of folios that the Freer text may have lost; this remains to be done.
APPENDIX II
Size of calligraphy in section headings

In general terms, the calligraphy used for the headings breaks down into three sizes which have been designated as follows:

- "o" calligraphy is the same size as the text;
- "+1" ascenders and opening and/or final consonants are circa "+.25" larger than those in the body of the text;
- "+2" ascenders and opening and/or final consonants at circa "+.5" larger than those in the body of the text.

By way of a representative sample, the section headings for the life of the Prophet are listed below, together with the other headings in the sequence; the placement of illustrations has also been included together with:

R marks headings emphasised by additional ruling lines;
underline marks incidents of particular importance in the life of the Prophet and Muslim community; line numbers are also given for these headings (33 lines per text block);
bold marks the position of a painting.

136b, 1.26 The birth of our Prophet.

137b The tradition concerning the nursing and nurturing of the Prophet.

138a The purification of Muhammad's heart by three Divine messengers.

138b Concerning the death of Nushirwan ... and the reign of his son Hurmiz.

139b Concerning Bahram Chubin and the wars which he waged.

141b Concerning the the wars of Saba Shah, King of the Turks, against Bahram Chubin.

Concerning the rebellion of Bahram Chubin against King Hurmiz.

142a Concerning Bahram Chubin and the fairy maiden.

143b Concerning Parwiz and Bahram Chubin.

145b Concerning Parwiz and the King of Rum (Byzantium) until he (Parwiz) returned to Mada'in (Ctesiphon).

146b Khusraw Parwiz kills two Turks in a battle with Bahram Chubin.

147b Concerning the reign of Parwiz following the capture of Bahram Chubin.
Appendix II

+1 148a The story of Bahram Chubin in Turkestan.
+1 148b Concerning the end of Parwiz, his greatness and his power in the kingdom.

+1 148b Mention of some of the miracles and signs of our Prophet.

+1 149a The war between Arab and 'Ajam at the wells of Dhu-Qar.
+1 152a The letter sent by the Prophet to Kisra.
0 152b The reign of Shiruya and the killing of Parwiz.
0 156a The reign of Ardashir bint Shiruya.
0 The reign of Shahrabaz.
0 The reign of Puran Dukht bint Parwiz.
+1 156b The reign of Azarmi Dukht bint Parwiz.
+1 The reign of Kisra bin Mihr-Hasis.

+1 R 157a, l.12 The commencement (āghā) of our Prophet Muhammad Mustafa and [obliterated but probably, “his family”,] ... may God be pleased with them (Pl. 44a)

157b The genealogy of the Prophet.
+1 161b Concerning the marriage of Khadija bint Khuwaylid to Mustafa.

+1 162b The tradition concerning the destruction of the Ka'ba by Quraysh and its rebuilding.
+1 163a Concerning the bringing of revelation to the Prophet.

+1 164a Concerning ["the conversion to Islam of Abu Bakr"; heavily defaced but insufficient space for a blessing].
0 165a Concerning [erased and subsequently rewritten: “the conversion to Islam of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him.”]
+1 170a The departure of the Prophet for Ta'if.
170b Muhammad converts the Paris to Islam.

+1 171a, l. 33 Concerning the Prophet's hijra from Mecca to Madina (Pl. 47a)

Rawshan's list of section headings begins with “The genealogy of the Prophet”. Daniel’s database of section headings begins with the caliphate of Abu Bakr and includes a field for Zotenberg’s headings.
Appendix H

173b Mention of the calendar instituted by the Prophet.

175a Mention of the expeditions (ghazvýl).

175b The Waddan expedition.

176a Concerning the Anwat expedition.

176b Concerning the first Badr expedition.

177b Concerning the great Badr expedition.

178a The Battle of Badr (1) The angelic host is sent to assist the Muslims.

178b Mention of the expeditions between Badr and Uhud (Pl. 48).

179a Concerning the expedition against the Banu Qa'a (Pl. 48).

179b Concerning the Sawiq expedition.

180a Concerning the expedition against the Banu al-Nazir (Pl. 48).

180b Concerning the Dhat al-Riqa' expedition.

181a Concerning the Battle of the Ditch (Aandaq).

181b The Durnat al-jandal expedition.

182a The Battle of Badr (2) The death of Abu Jahl, and the casting of the Meccan dead into dry wells.

184a The Battle of Badr (2) The death of Abu Jahl, and the casting of the Meccan dead into dry wells.

184b The Kudr expedition (Pl. 48).

185a Concerning the expedition against the Banu Qa'a (Pl. 48).

185b Concerning the Sawiq expedition.

186a Concerning the Dhat-Amarr expedition and the killing of Ka'b al-Ashraf.

186b Concerning the killing of Sallam bin al-Huqayq, the leader of the Jews of Khaybar.

187a Concerning Bir-Ma'una.

187b Concerning the expedition of al-Mur'id.

188a Concerning the Prophet's wish to marry Zaynab bint Jahsh.

188b Concerning the Battle of the Ditch (Khanday).

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189b The Dumat al-Jandal expedition.

190a Concerning the Banu Qurayza expedition.

190b Concerning ‘Ayya, the lie which was laid against her and her innocence.
Appendix II

1. Concerning the al-Fasa' expedition undertaken by our Prophet and his companions (yārān).

2. Concerning the messengers sent by the Prophet to the kings of the earth.

3. Concerning the Faddak expedition.

4. Concerning the Wadi'l-Qura expedition.

5. Concerning 'Umrā'l-Qada.

6. Concerning the army which the Prophet sent out in the eighth year.

7. Concerning the war of al-Muta.

8. Concerning the conquest of Mecca.

9. Concerning the Hunayn expedition.

10. The Battle of Hunayn. The Prophet's life is threatened.

11. Concerning the Ta'if expedition.

12. Concerning the Tabuk expedition.

13. Concerning 'Ali bin Abi Talib (peace be upon him) summoning 'Adi bin Hatim Ta'i.

14. Concerning the Arab tribes offering their submission to the Prophet.

15. Concerning the farewell pilgrimage.

16. Concerning the campaigns of the Prophet.

17. Mention of the pilgrimage made by the Prophet.

18. Concerning the wives of the Prophet.

19. Mention of the clients (maudhūyān) of the Prophet.

20. Mention of the Prophet's monasteries (daryān).

21. Mention of the attributes of the Prophet (Pl. 47b).

22. Mention of the names of the Prophet (Pl. 47b).

23. More on (dāgar) the death of the Prophet (Pl. 47b).

24. Concerning the death of the Prophet.

* It is not clear why the first of two consecutive headings on the death of the Prophet should be introduced by the word "dāgar"; a small Persian "z" has been inscribed above both headings; the folios are not misplaced.
+1 1.33 Concerning the caliphate [of Amir al-mu'min Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him].
+1 1.3 224a (43a) Concerning the burial of the Prophet.
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