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## THE USES OF SPACE IN TIMURID PAINTING

No reasonably attentive observer could fail to notice, after looking at a representative series of fifteenth-century Persian book paintings, that they obey certain conventions governing the depiction of space.<sup>1</sup> Many of these conventions, as it happens, differ significantly from those followed in Western painting, whether medieval or post-medieval, and therefore require those that look at them, at least if they are Westerners, to make certain visual and mental readjustments. Such readjustments are not in fact unduly difficult to make, which suggests that the thought world which generated the spatial conventions of Timurid painting is not as arcane as might at first appear. For those familiar with pre-Timurid Persian painting these conventions are even less foreign, since a surprising number of them may be detected, if only in embryonic form, in earlier Islamic book painting.

Such comments are not intended to deny the originality of the early imperial Timurid style; but, if they are well founded, they do suggest that in spatial values — as perhaps in other elements of these paintings — it is principally such qualities as polish, refinement, and assurance<sup>2</sup> that should compel admiration, and not the discovery of something brand new. Of course, the cumulative effect of such improved execution in all aspects of the painting does indeed create a palpable gulf between Timurid and earlier Persian painting. Nevertheless, that gulf is by no means simply attributable to a difference in kind — a quantum leap, so to speak; much of it depends upon differences of degree.

This point will emerge with greater clarity if some of the significant earlier examples of Persian, or for that matter Arab, painting are examined. Nevertheless, shortage of space excludes a fully detailed study of the evidence that bears on the uses of space in these and later paintings. It has seemed best, therefore, to highlight the salient developments in no more than four specific areas where spatial experiment is at its most intense, though this will not exclude passing references to some of the other relevant topics. The themes chosen here are architecture, the preference for solid blocks of color or form, the margin, and the use of empty space.

The first of these categories to be examined in this paper, namely architecture, will furnish useful examples of the differences in degree noted earlier. In Arab painting, as in the Hariri<sup>3</sup> and Dioscorides<sup>4</sup> manuscripts, the buildings are deliberately simplified and shown in long section as a sequence of compartments, each box containing a person or a group. The *Varqa va Gulshah* manuscript proves that the same mode was known in early Persian book painting.<sup>5</sup> In time, both Arab and Persian painters enriched this formula, as is shown by the frontispiece to the *Rasa'il* of the *Ikhwan al-Safa'* in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul,<sup>6</sup> or by the paintings produced in the Rashidiyya scriptoria at Tabriz.<sup>7</sup> They did so by breaking down the stark two-dimensional divisions of this nursery architecture — people lean over balconies,<sup>8</sup> draperies curl around columns instead of being contained between them,<sup>9</sup> groups of courtiers overlap the boundary between one spatial compartment and another.<sup>10</sup> The scene of Samson destroying the temple of Dagon in the Edinburgh *Jami' al-Tavarikh* explores new ground even more boldly, in that it integrates architectural form and subject matter in a meaningful way.<sup>11</sup>

By the time of the Demotte *Shahnama* significant further advances had been made. The architecture, being now much more extensively articulated and embellished,<sup>12</sup> no longer had the makeshift rickety air which characterized the stage-set buildings depicted earlier; and at times it overflowed with people. These people could be imagined as using it, perhaps even living in it. Nevertheless, the old sexpartite sectional division often still held good,<sup>13</sup> even though it no longer defined or restricted spatial movement within the picture. In the also undated but probably later illustrations to the *Kalila wa Dimna* in Istanbul,<sup>14</sup> and in some *Shahnama* illustrations of the later fourteenth century,<sup>15</sup> this formula was finally discarded in favor of a more variegated set of interiors, often richly decorated with carpets, tiles, carved stucco and wall paintings — a sumptuous backdrop against which the action unfolded.

All this gave late Jalayirid and early Timurid painters a solid base of achievement on which to build. They

seized the opportunity with both hands, and greatly expanded the range of architectural types to be depicted as well as their functions in the painting. Now, if a tripartite scheme were to be used, it might very well be decentralized and strikingly asymmetrical, with the ruler enthroned at the extreme right<sup>16</sup> or left; or an interior might be divided vertically into two unequal sections;<sup>17</sup> or it might consist of a single great chamber;<sup>18</sup> or the central part might expand to such an extent that the side wings would all but disappear.<sup>19</sup>

If we constantly remind ourselves of what in theory we know already, namely that these pictures were not individually isolated works of art operating in a vacuum, as their reproduction in today's art books subliminally implies, but were part of a sequence of illustrations in a book whose leaves would be turned over at intervals, so that each picture is enriched by those that precede it, another dimension of this variety will appear in its proper light. It can then be seen as an attempt to inject a shot of realism into this most hackneyed aspect of contemporary pictorial language. It drives home the point that one building is indeed different from another. Most strikingly of all, Timurid painters learned to suggest an architectural framework rather than to display it. In the Juki *Shahnama* scene of Tahmina entering Rustam's chamber,<sup>20</sup> it is the differences in plane within the architecture which help to structure the picture and above all to integrate it with the text (fig. 1). The vertical divisions of the architecture reinforce those of the text columns, and the blocks of color operate in harmony with that aim. Nevertheless, the correspondence is not exact, and this is designedly not so. Indeed, within the illustration proper the spatial divisions of the architecture, not the text columns, are echoed by an accumulation of seemingly insignificant detail — Rustam's bow and pillows, the candles and the servant.

Other details do not, so to speak, slot into this rectilinear grid, notably the carpet, the golden tableware, and the pose of Rustam himself. Thus the solid skeleton of the composition can easily accommodate minor divergences. Indeed, it is these so-called "minor" divergences which prevent the composition from becoming too obviously mechanical. Contrivance is there, of course, but it is decently masked. The key to the artist's success lies in maintaining an unobtrusive balance between an intellectually imposed order and the casual disarray of daily life.<sup>21</sup>

Even though the architecture depicted in Timurid paintings has attracted steadily increasing interest in recent times,<sup>22</sup> much still remains to be discussed about

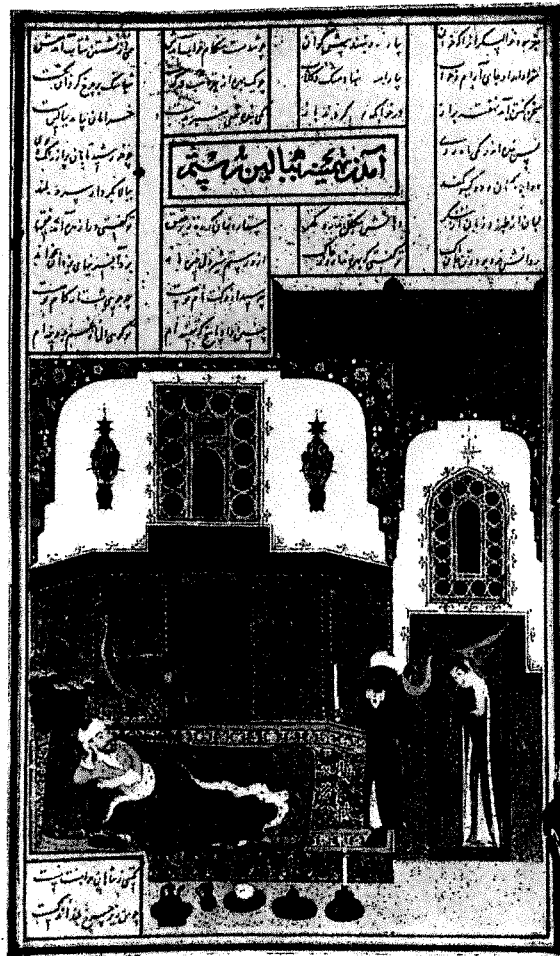


Fig. 1. Tahmina enters Rustam's chamber. *Shahnama* of Muhammad Juki, ca. 1440. London, Royal Asiatic Society, Morley 239, fol. 56b.

its spatial role. For example, many buildings embody an array of devices to draw the eye into the picture (fig. 2). Flights of steps are invitingly located near the bottom of the painting, their three-dimensionality suggested not by shading but via blocks of color.<sup>23</sup> People lean inquisitively over balconies<sup>24</sup> or peer in more timid fashion from half-shuttered windows<sup>25</sup> or through grilles.<sup>26</sup> Curtains are drawn aside to disclose figures stepping in or out of doors.<sup>27</sup> Drawbridges welcome the viewer into a castle and into the painting at the same time.<sup>28</sup> Empty half-open doorways operate as a kind of repoussoir.<sup>29</sup> The sides are often acutely angled, forming wings which unobtrusively nudge the attention towards the central space between them.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes these devices are



Fig. 2. Humay taken captive. *Mathnavi*s of Khwaju Kirmani, 831 (1427–28). Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, N.F. 382, fol. 53a.

used in concert at different levels, compelling the eye to move upwards and further into the painting.<sup>31</sup> Closely packed receding planes, often with people jammed between them — for example, curtain walls (frequently concentric) in depictions of castles,<sup>32</sup> of sieges,<sup>33</sup> or of pilgrimage to Mecca<sup>34</sup> — bring the third dimension to life. Sometimes nature is brought into the equation, as in the mountainous rocks which girdle Arjasp's impregnable fastness in the *Juki Shahnama* (fig. 3).<sup>35</sup> The prevalent contemporary fashion for composing a picture on several levels is often echoed in the architectural forms themselves, and these multiple stories may be stepped inwards from each other, again implying depth.<sup>36</sup>

A more dramatic version of the same idea is found in

the sharp zigzag movement of successive flights of stairs in the celebrated scene of Yusuf pursued by Zulaikha in the Cairo *Bustan* of 893 (1488) — a painting which implies the passage of time as well as a sequence of spaces (fig. 4).<sup>37</sup> The scene of Isfandiyar slaying Arjasp in the Brazen Hold from the *Gulistan Shahnama* made for Baysunghur in 833 (1429)<sup>38</sup> also has this double dimension of time and space, for the forbidding maze-like architecture of the fortress, with its discordant geometry of violently juxtaposed angles or planes, vividly evokes the hero's difficulties in penetrating the castle's successive lines of defense before he can get his hands on Arjasp (fig. 5).

In both these cases the explosive impact of the encounter between the two major protagonists owes much of its intensity to the earlier temporal and spatial build-up. The artist has responded to the accumulated suspense and eventual dramatic climax of the literary text with an extraordinarily apt visual equivalent whereby the principals of each tale confront each other at the very top of the picture — pictorially speaking, at the very last moment. Thus time is suggested by space. In order to ensure that the eye of the viewer does not get to this point too quickly, both pictures are punctuated by visual barriers: steps, walls, doorways, and abrupt changes of direction. All this slows down the action sufficiently to allow the dénouement its full impact. In both cases the victim of aggression is in the most literal sense backed into a corner. For Yusuf, escape lies just beyond the picture: God will open the closed door that seems to deny him deliverance.<sup>39</sup> For Arjasp, not so. The architecture becomes an instrument of destiny, progressively closing off each successive avenue of escape until death finally checkmates him. And at the moment that he is toppled from his throne (a detail not to be found in the text), the walls of his stronghold are themselves rocked — for that seems the obvious conclusion to draw from their drunken angles, a potent emblem of disorder. Essentially literary terms like metaphor, conceit, and suspense are the concepts that come most naturally to mind when one examines such compositions. As for the spatial qualities which they embody, the execution of the zigzagging forms in both paintings might technically be described as two dimensional, but of their three-dimensional effect there can be little doubt. Thus a form of intuitive perspective, enriched by temporal and narrative content, is being employed.

Another kind of perspective commonly encountered in the architecture depicted in Timurid painting is akin



Fig. 3. Isfandiyar kills Arjasp in the Brazen Hold. *Shahnama* of Muhammad Juki, ca. 1440. London, Royal Asiatic Society, Morley 239, fol. 278a.

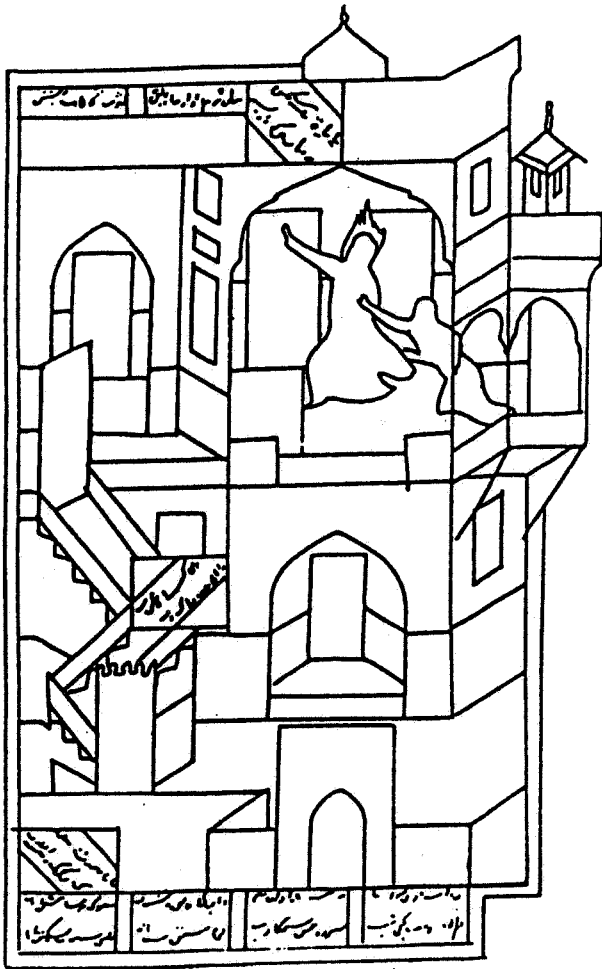


Fig. 4. Yusuf flees from Zulaykha. Sa'di, *Bustan*, 893 (1488). Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organisation, Adab Farsi 908, fol. 52b. Schema of design. (After Zain.)

to axonometric projection and might be termed parallel perspective. As with true axonometric projection, the effect is initially startling, but it takes only a little while to get used to it.<sup>40</sup> Closely linked to this dramatic way of presenting a building is the deliberate exaggeration which is so standard a feature of the architecture in Timurid miniatures. An almost theatrical attenuation was already earlier a marked feature of actual Ilkhanid architecture, but this is not enough to explain the paramount role of exaggeration in the architecture shown in Timurid paintings. An element of visual hyperbole is, of course, entirely appropriate for buildings described hyperbolically in poetry, but it also had spatial implications. These sheer cliff-like façades are often kept

designedly bare of intrusive ornament so that the sense of mass which they generate is unimpaired, though glowing bands of tilework enrich their doorways and cornices.<sup>41</sup> They shoulder their way into the painting and impose a sense of scale and space on the scenes enacted in front of them (fig. 6). In other words, like a vault in an actual building, they make a small space seem bigger than it is.<sup>42</sup> This is especially so when, despite their negligible breadth, they stretch to the entire height of the picture.<sup>43</sup> Very often they occupy the left-hand margin so that, for an eye trained to move automatically from right to left, they close off the picture space.

These buildings typify the reliance of the Timurid artist on solid blocks of form or color — the second category to be explored in this paper. This emphasis deserves separate study. Like "space," "block" is a somewhat loaded word, and in particular it has its implications for the treatment of the third dimension in Timurid painting. It is impossible to glance through a typical selection of these pictures without becoming aware of the reliance placed on such blocks by one artist after another. Often these blocks are buildings, and especially ones whose wide expanses of relatively plain brickwork lend them a formidable presence in the picture (fig. 7). Other blocks of this kind may be created by rectilinear or multifoil pools of water, dadoes, doors, floors, balconies, windows, shutters, or platforms. It is a prerequisite of their compositional role that they should be as monochrome as is consistent with their nature. Thus they too establish a presence in the picture, something that is much more than mere decorative infill or background. They have an obvious spatial significance. When figures are set against such blocks of color they are pushed forward into a different space. The boldness of the chromatic contrast is enough to achieve this, as can be verified by comparing a typical painting in which such devices are employed with earlier paintings which use a single-color ground or merely the color of the paper itself as a backdrop. In such cases a distinct spatial ambiguity may be noted; the figures float.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, when figures are embroiled amidst a fully detailed backcloth, as in the Demotte *Shahnama*, the very proliferation of detail may prove distracting and work against a full realization of the third dimension.<sup>45</sup>

A rather different example of how the idea of a block works is revealed by the contemporary practice of deliberately copying an earlier composition. Various degrees of copying may be noted, from a 1 : 1 correspondence to the reproduction of only a single element from an earlier

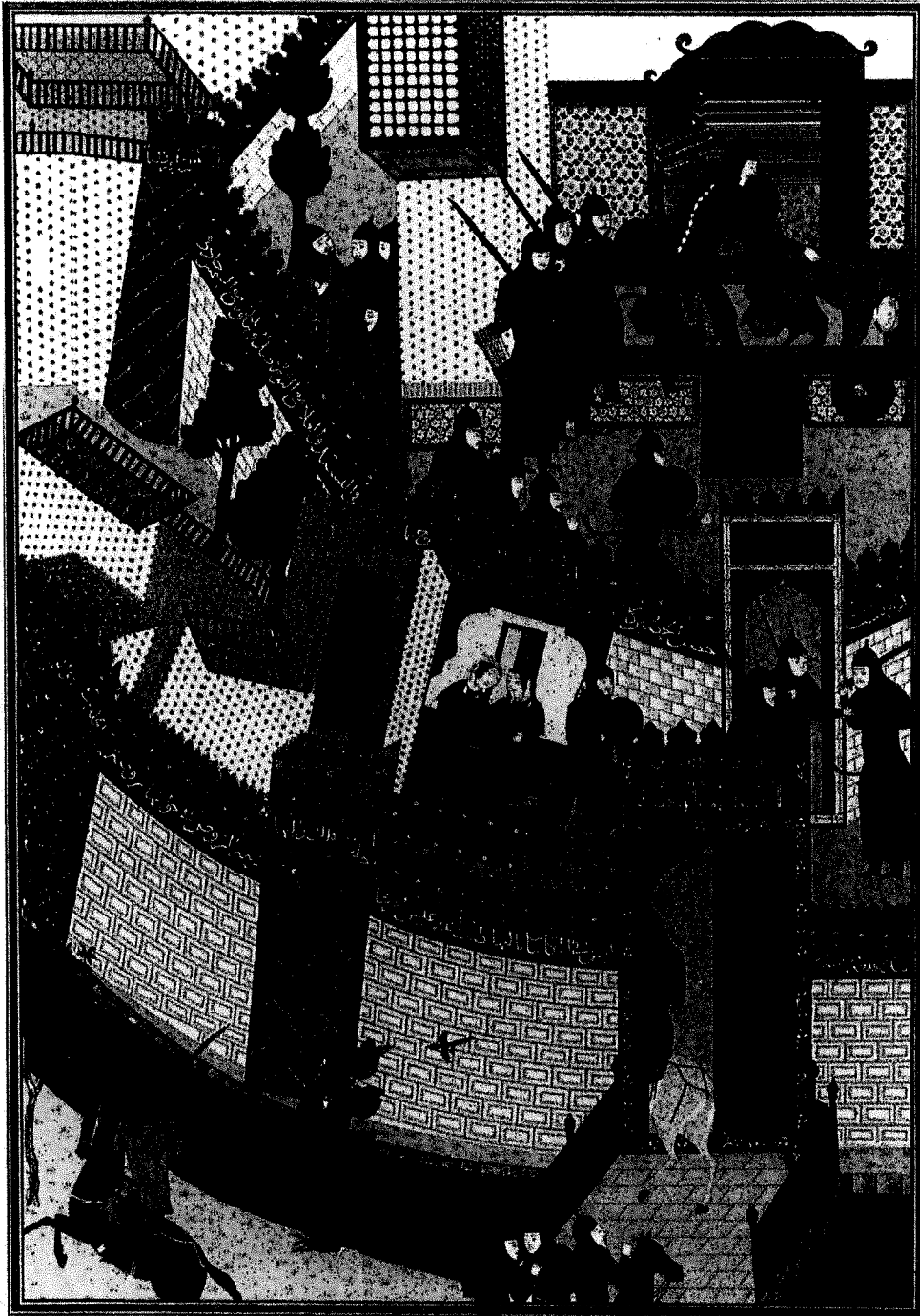


Fig. 5. Isfandiyar kills Arjasp in the Brazen Hold. *Shahnama* of Baysunghur, 833 (1429). Tehran, Gulistan Palace Museum.

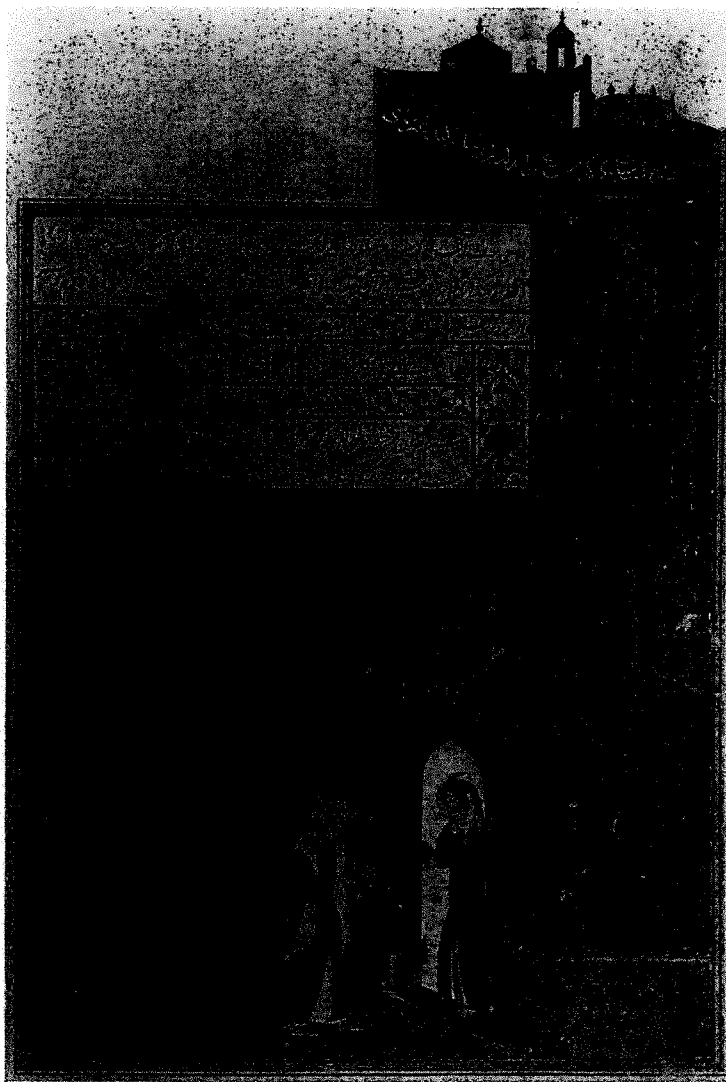


Fig. 6. The poet and the maiden. Sa'di, *Gulistan*, 830 (1426). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 119, fol. 38b.

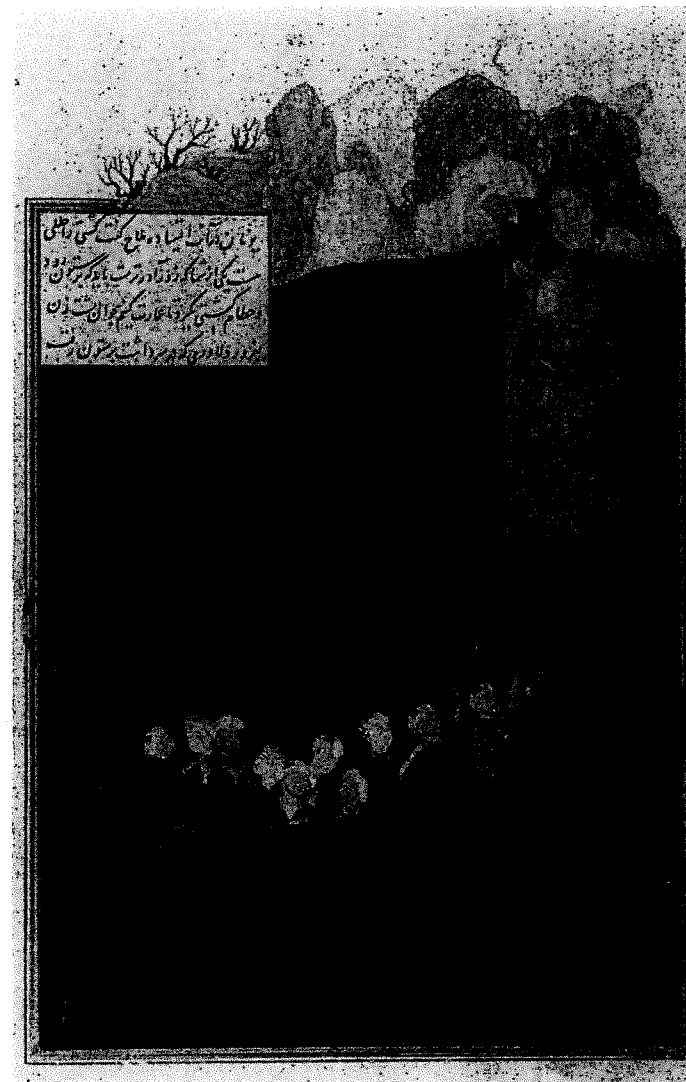


Fig. 7. A boat and a tower. Sa'di, *Gulistan*, 830 (1426). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 119.

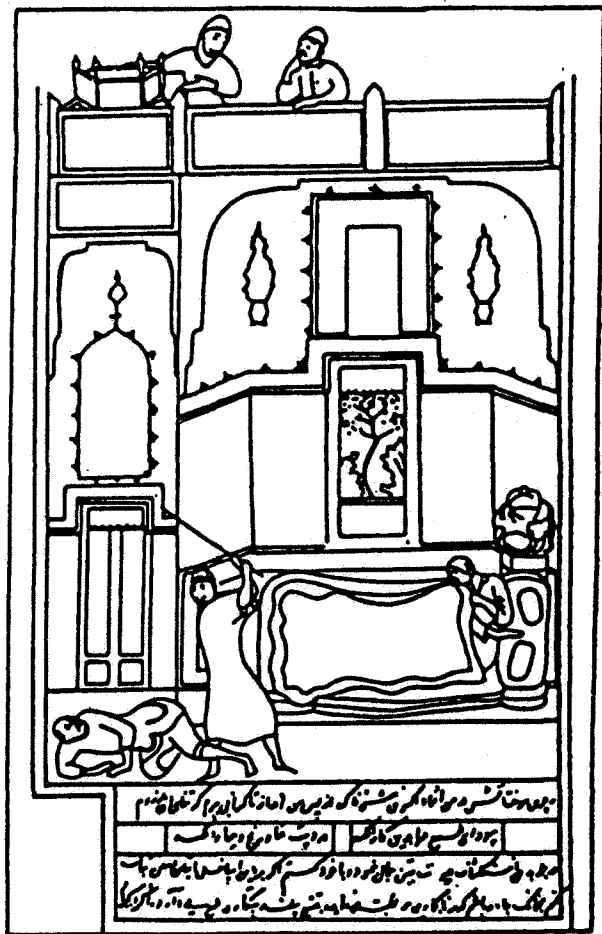


Fig. 8a. The thief discovered in the bedchamber. Nasr Allah Abu'l-Ma'ali, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 833 (1429). Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library, R. 1022. Schema of design. (After Zain.)

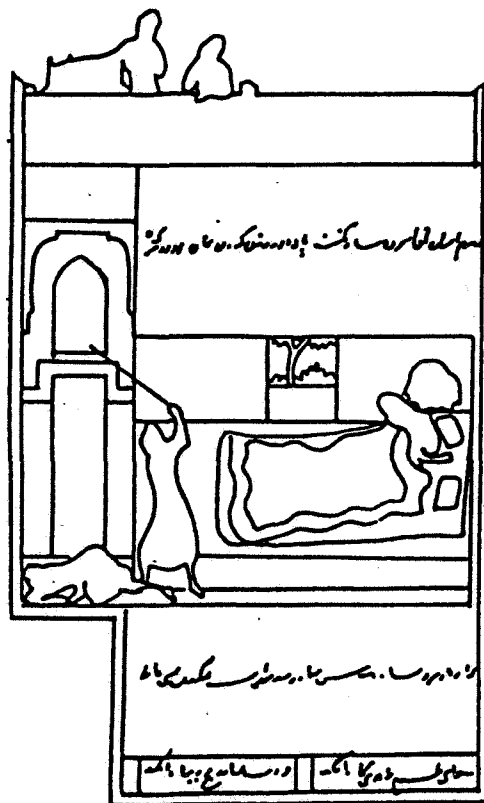


Fig. 8b. The thief discovered in the bedchamber. Nasr Allah Abu'l-Ma'ali, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 834 (1430-31); the paintings are earlier. Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library, H. 362, fol. 24a. Schema of design. (After Zain)

painting. The background to this practice has been convincingly elucidated by A. Adamova,<sup>46</sup> here it will be enough to focus on an intermediate stage. In two versions of a scene from the *Kalila wa Dimna* of the thief discovered in the bedchamber, the later artist (fig. 8a)<sup>47</sup> copies his predecessor's painting (fig. 8b)<sup>48</sup> very closely, except that he removes the slab of text behind the bed and replaces it with an entire and, as it were, prefabricated unit comprising the whole wall, complete with windows and medallions. He thereby significantly enriches the visual texture of the painting. Whatever the motive for this change — and among other reasons one might suggest that the more tightly spaced hand employed in the later manuscript required more room to be set aside for architecture and less for text, if the basic

layout of the earlier page were to be preserved unchanged — it does suggest that this artist, at least, blocked out his compositions. Thus a component could be removed and replaced by something quite different without loss to the integrity of the painting. It is only a small step from this to regarding such a picture as being composed of potentially interchangeable parts. The parallel of movable scenery in a theater springs to mind. The placing of elements that cannot so easily be treated as blocks, such as individual figures and certain types of landscape elements<sup>49</sup> or furnishings, then becomes critical for the definition of space.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this system of blocks used with greater virtuosity than in the bathhouse scene in the British Library *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 900 (1494—

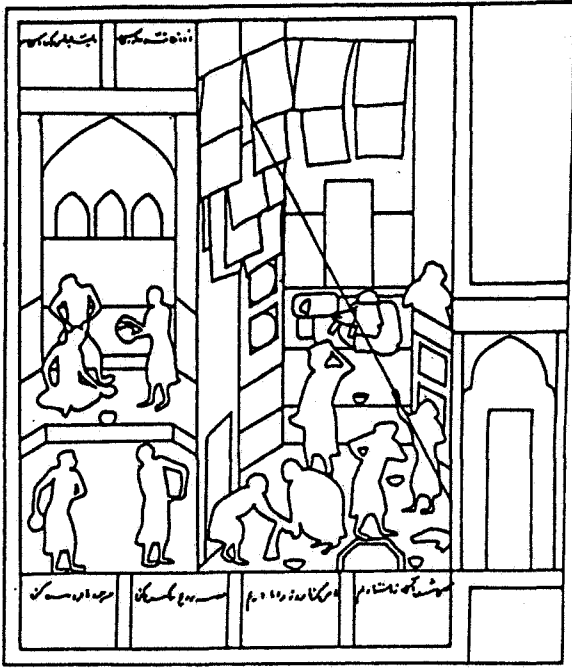


Fig. 9. Bathhouse scene. Nizami, *Khamsa*, 900 (1494–95), London, British Library. Or. 6810, fol. 27b. Schema of design. (After Zain)

95),<sup>50</sup> where against all expectation the upper part of the picture, usually treated in a relatively neutral manner, has stolen the limelight (fig. 9). Spatial values, brilliantly evoked by the long pole of the bath attendant, interlock with the powerful chromatic accents of the bath towels, at one level emblems of humble daily life but, compositionally speaking, colored blocks set at angles to each other in real space. With all this visual interest concentrated in the central well of space, it is no wonder that the caliph and his barber at the far left, though ostensibly the subjects of the painting, are totally upstaged. Lisa Golombek has provided a possible explanation of this apparent *lèse majesté*.<sup>51</sup>

It is now time to investigate the third category mentioned above, namely the spatial role of the margin. This provides a further (and endlessly instructive) example of how Timurid painters improved on their predecessors rather than fashioning an entirely new way of seeing. The invasion of the margin was by no means a novel idea. In some thirteenth-century Arab paintings, for example, the artist plots his composition within an invisible frame, and when that is broken, the effect is scarcely less striking than it would have been had such a frame existed — as in the case of the banners

in the famous scene of the pilgrim caravan in the Schefer manuscript of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri.<sup>52</sup>

Many Ilkhanid paintings reflect an awareness that the area outside the picture frame has a certain potential for the extension of the action within that frame. Yet they also betray uncertainty as to what to do with this discovery. Hence the rather timid employment of the broken frame at this period. Admittedly the artist may score minor coups of wit or surprise. Thus in the Morgan Bestiary's image of entwined elephants, despite the sense of tremendous powers unleashed, only the extreme tip of one tusk breaks the margin, and that by millimeters.<sup>53</sup> Conversely, in the Rashidiyya battle scenes, furiously galloping warriors are crammed into a narrow oblong frame well down the page with a substantial slab of text above, but their lance tips and pennants pop out at the top of the page.<sup>54</sup> The purpose of this device is not clear; the idea feels somewhat tentative. And indeed, for the most part Ilkhanid painters were content to toy with this unfamiliar concept. The dangers of using it with more boldness than discretion or understanding are vividly illustrated by a slightly later Mamluk manuscript, the *Sulwan al-Mut'a*, where in two images the boar transfixed between picture and margin is not so much entering the paintings as gatecrashing it (fig. 10).<sup>55</sup> Piggish behavior indeed.

Oddly enough, the Demotte *Shahnama* and the Istanbul *Kalila wa Dimna* make rather less use of the broken margin than might have been expected after the promising beginnings which this feature had known in slightly earlier Persian painting, though in both these manuscripts the artists experimented intensively with the related concept of the framed picture as a mere segment of a wider image, a window on a much bigger world — an idea which of course has spatial implications.<sup>56</sup>

It is therefore to late Jalayirid and early Timurid painting that one must turn for a serious exploration of the device of the broken frame or the area outside the principal image. The ideas are ingenious and their sheer range is exhilarating. Repeatedly the entire relationship between text and image on the page is turned topsy-turvy. In the *Kulliyat* of Khwaju Kirmani of 798 (1396), tiny flags of text are engulfed by the picture itself, as if a few portentous words were a magic casement opening into another and brighter world.<sup>57</sup> Sometimes in that manuscript the frame is, so to speak, not required because the picture proper comes to an end well short of it, leaving an almost unbroken *cordon sanitaire* of empty and ambiguous space between image and frame.<sup>58</sup> The ambiguity is intensified because here and

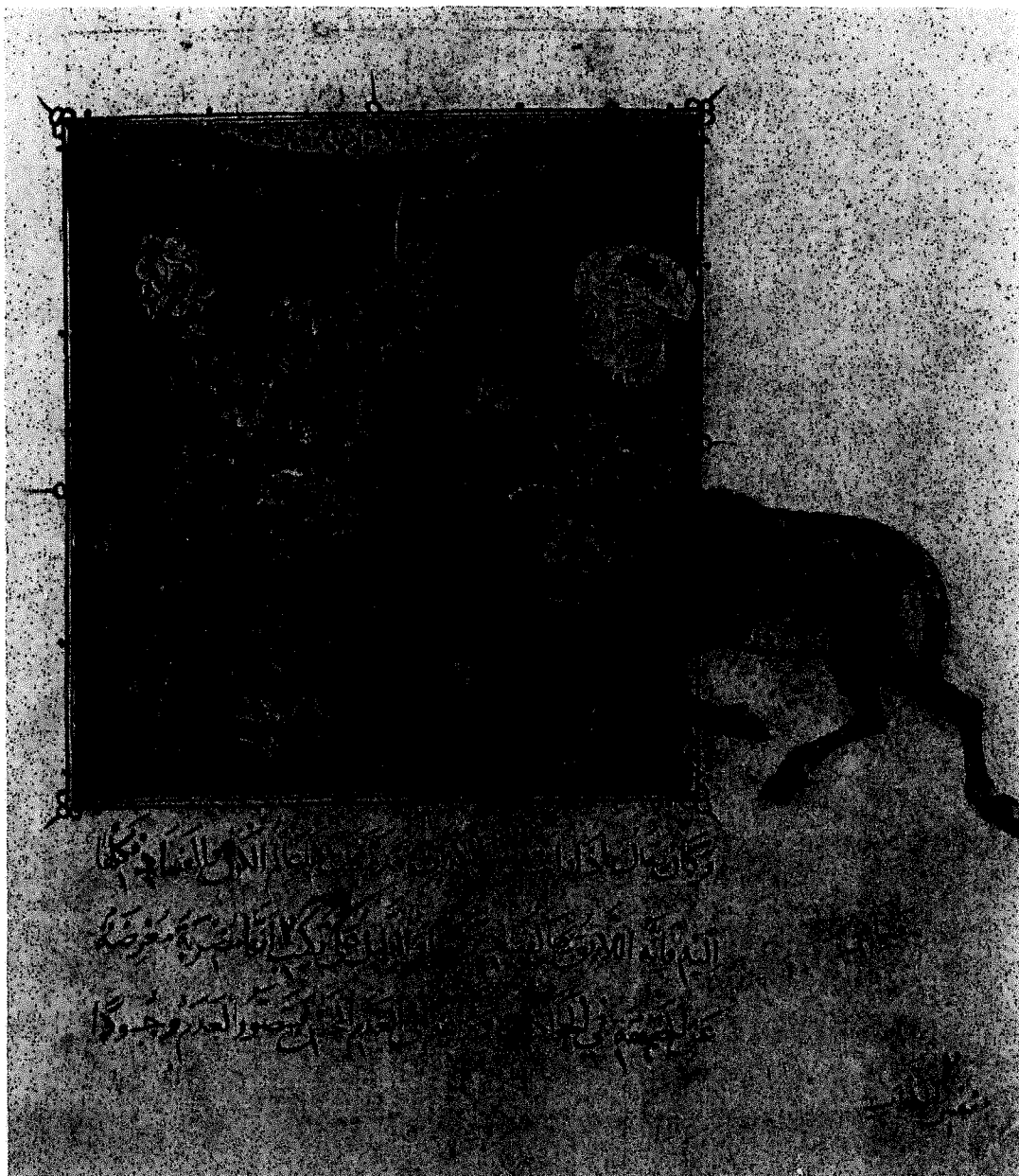


Fig. 10. The horse and the boar. Ibn Zafar, *Sulwan al-Mufa*, 14th century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 54.1.

there the branches of trees brush the frame.

The *Divan* of Sultan Ahmad, datable to ca. 1400–5, achieves a precarious balance between text and image. On one page (fol. 17a) an imposing fourteen-line panel of text occupies the central space (fig. 11). But life in the margin goes on regardless, as if indeed it were the text

itself that had been marginalized. An ox whose body had been bisected and overlapped by the text panel looks back inquiringly into that panel. A couple with a baby plod off the page, while above them a flock of birds flies out into the same unknown land. The right-hand side of the page is left absolutely blank, again an ambig-

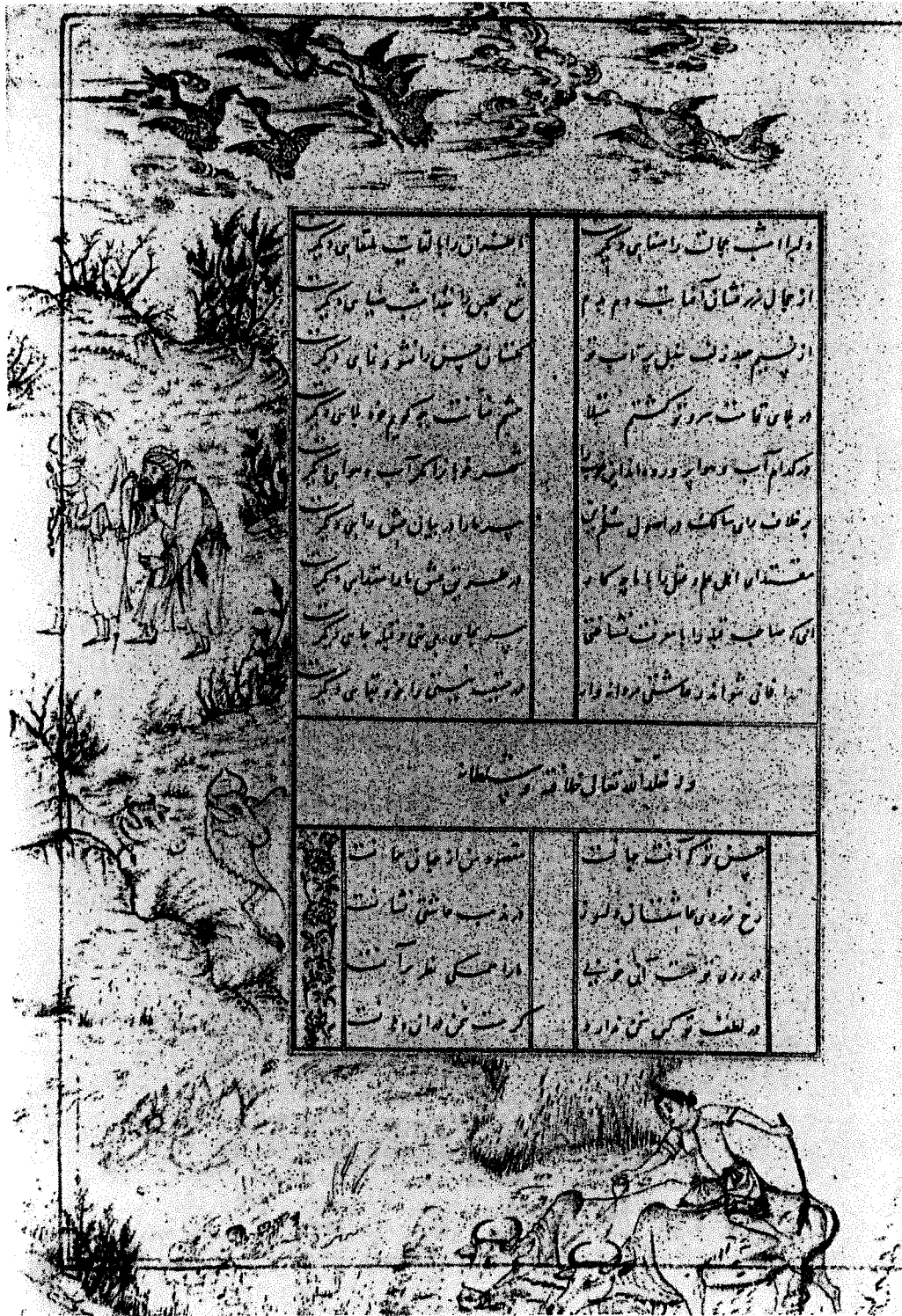


Fig. 11. The Valley of the Quest. Divan of Sultan Ahmad, ca. 1400-5, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 32.30, fol. 17a.

uous touch, for out of this emptiness there suddenly materializes a busy genre scene. A further outer margin line unconnected with the text panel is superimposed on this tableau but in no way constrains it.<sup>59</sup>

In another marginal painting from the same volume, which is one half of the only double-page spread in the manuscript (fols. 22b–23a), the ideas are bolder still: people or animals are moving off the page to right and left and two mounted men, both looking backwards, exchange glances across the central text panel. A similar interchange of glances between two figures, one strategically placed at the inner margin of each page so that they eye each other across the spine of the book, serves to unite the two pictures. On the right of fol. 23a, the hindquarters of several sheep can be seen diving into the space “behind” that panel, while to the left several horses’ heads peer out from its margins.<sup>60</sup> In this very innovative manuscript, then — in which, moreover, the illustrations so to speak ostentatiously take second place to the text — the artist has invoked several conflicting notions of reality, and it is hard to suppress the suspicion that he is in fact playing with them. The text frame of fol. 17a is not broken at all; indeed, its multiple lines emphasize its separation from the rest of the page. The other margin, by way of contrast, serves no apparent purpose; it is not so much broken as totally ignored. Once again, therefore, the direction of the Arabic script from right to left can be seen to infiltrate the conventions of painting.

Sometimes the frame is not physically broken at all, but the effect is as if it had been, as in the Gulbenkian Anthology in Lisbon, dated 813 (1410–11), where King Nimrud is shown on the right-hand page with his catapult while Abraham occupies the left-hand page, seated in a flowery meadow within an aureole of flame.<sup>61</sup> The double image (fig. 12) can only be understood as a near-punning conceit, with the gutter of the book symbolizing the space across which Abraham has been hurled into the fire. Our space, the reader’s space, is therefore pressed into service for the painting. It is a concept familiar in Byzantine wall decoration, especially in the post-iconoclastic period.<sup>62</sup> In the Ilkhanid version of the attempted execution of Abraham, as found in the *Jami<sup>c</sup> al-Tavarikh* produced a century earlier, the story is also told *seriatim* from right to left, but it is compressed into a single image<sup>63</sup> and thus excludes the spatial subtlety of the Timurid rendering of this tale.

The frontispiece to Baysunghur’s *Kalila wa Dimna* in the Topkapi Saray Library, dated 833 (1429), also employs the space outside the picture without needing to

break the frame, but in this case the message is different (fig. 13).<sup>64</sup> There is no need to dilate here on the numerous devices employed in this double frontispiece to establish a visual continuity between the two pages. Suffice it to say that the artist does his utmost towards this end, using color, directional indicators, body language, landscape features, and the way the composition is blocked out. The salient fact, however, is that the gutter of the manuscript, a notionally neutral element in the physical form of the book, is made to stress the gulf between ruler and ruled. For the time being the courtiers so patiently waiting in line<sup>65</sup> are excluded from the royal presence and its all-too-obvious privileges of food, wine, music and *Lebensraum*.

The frame-breaking device lends itself to many different uses in Timurid painting, and virtually all of them are bound up with space. On occasion the energy and dynamism generated by the painting spill through, indeed crash through, the frame. In a manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizami in the Topkapi Saray Library dated 849 (1445–46), Khusraw is just riding out of the frame when he turns round and spies Shirin in the pool, back in the picture (fig. 14).<sup>66</sup> Here the extension of the landscape into the left margin, into a spatially ambiguous world, is entirely appropriate to the idea of the prince making his way to a distant destination. Thus the margin is used to foster the notion of two separate but complementary worlds, and the prince’s backward glance is the link between them. But in many cases the expansion into the margin is unrelated to the action, as in the image of Bahram Gur killing the dragon in the British Library *Khamsa* of 848 (1442) (fig. 15).<sup>67</sup> It is as if the world of the picture bulges out into the margin simply because the picture is powerless to contain it. Riotous vegetation spills out of the frame and by virtue of this untrammelled growth becomes an image of freedom, an effect particularly beloved of Turkmen painters.<sup>68</sup> Often a sense of fun can be detected in the way that the artist plays with contrasting spaces or conjures up a world outside the painting. Surely a broad pun is intended when, as in the *Kalila wa Dimna* of 834 (1430–31) in the Topkapi Saray Library, the painting depicts a man who has fallen into a well that itself sinks the best part of three lines down into the text<sup>69</sup> — an idea already encountered a century earlier in a *Shahnama* produced in 741 (1340–41) for an Inju vizier.<sup>70</sup>

In the British Library *Khamsa* of 1494 at least one example of breaking the frame can be assigned a meaning with somewhat greater confidence (fig. 16). Among the seventeen mourners who bewail the death of Laila’s



Fig. 12a-b. King Nimrud casts Abraham into the fire. Anthology of 813 (1410). Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, L.A. 161, p. 646.

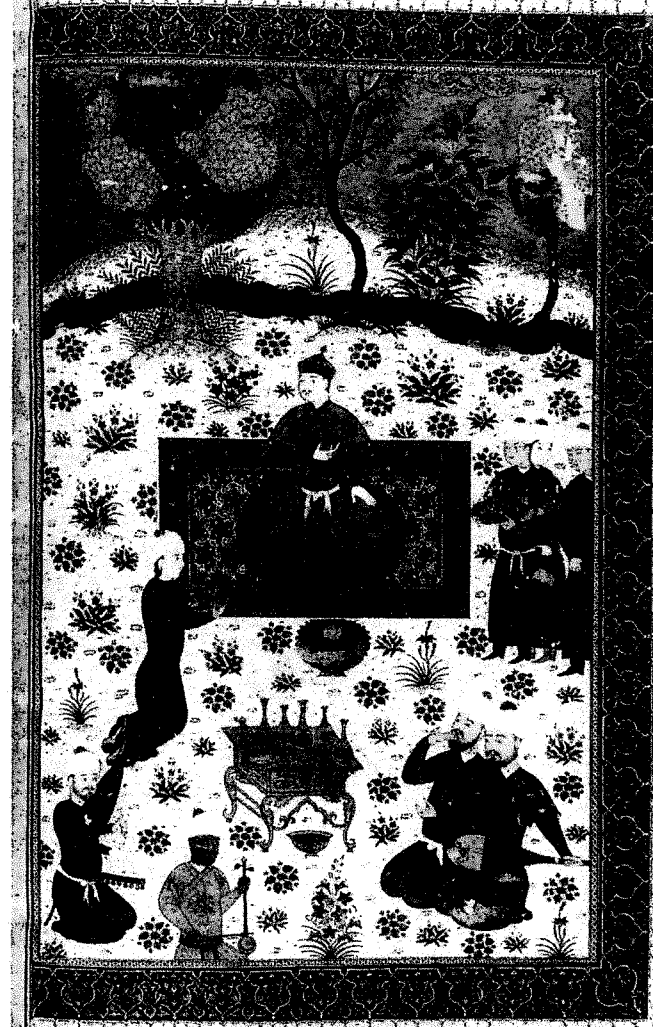
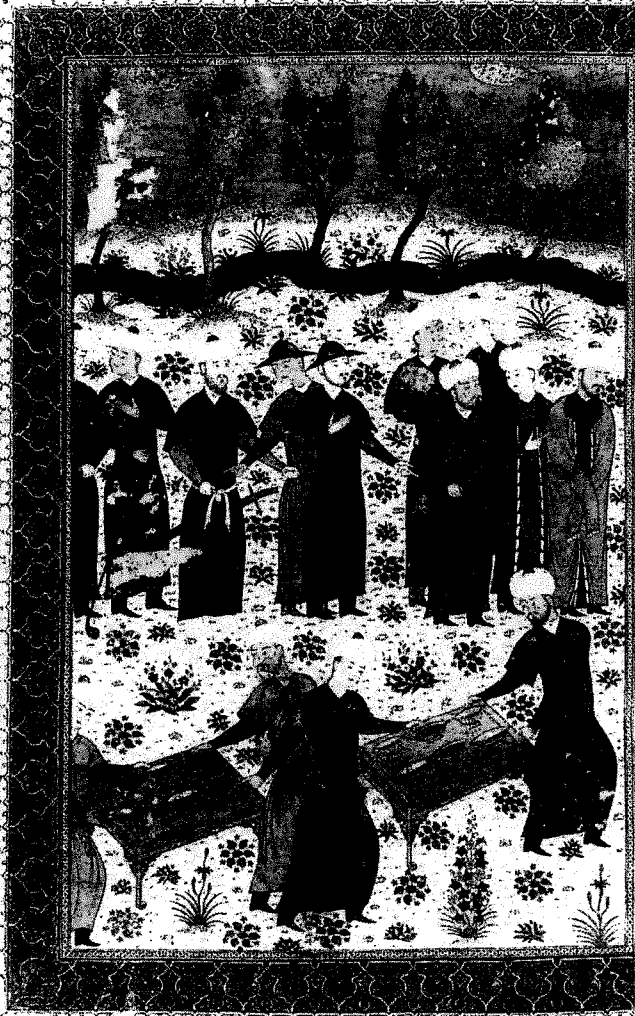


Fig. 13a–b. Frontispiece. Nasr Allah Abu'l-Ma'ali, *Kalila wa Dimna*, 833 (1429). Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library, R. 1022, fols. 1b-2a.

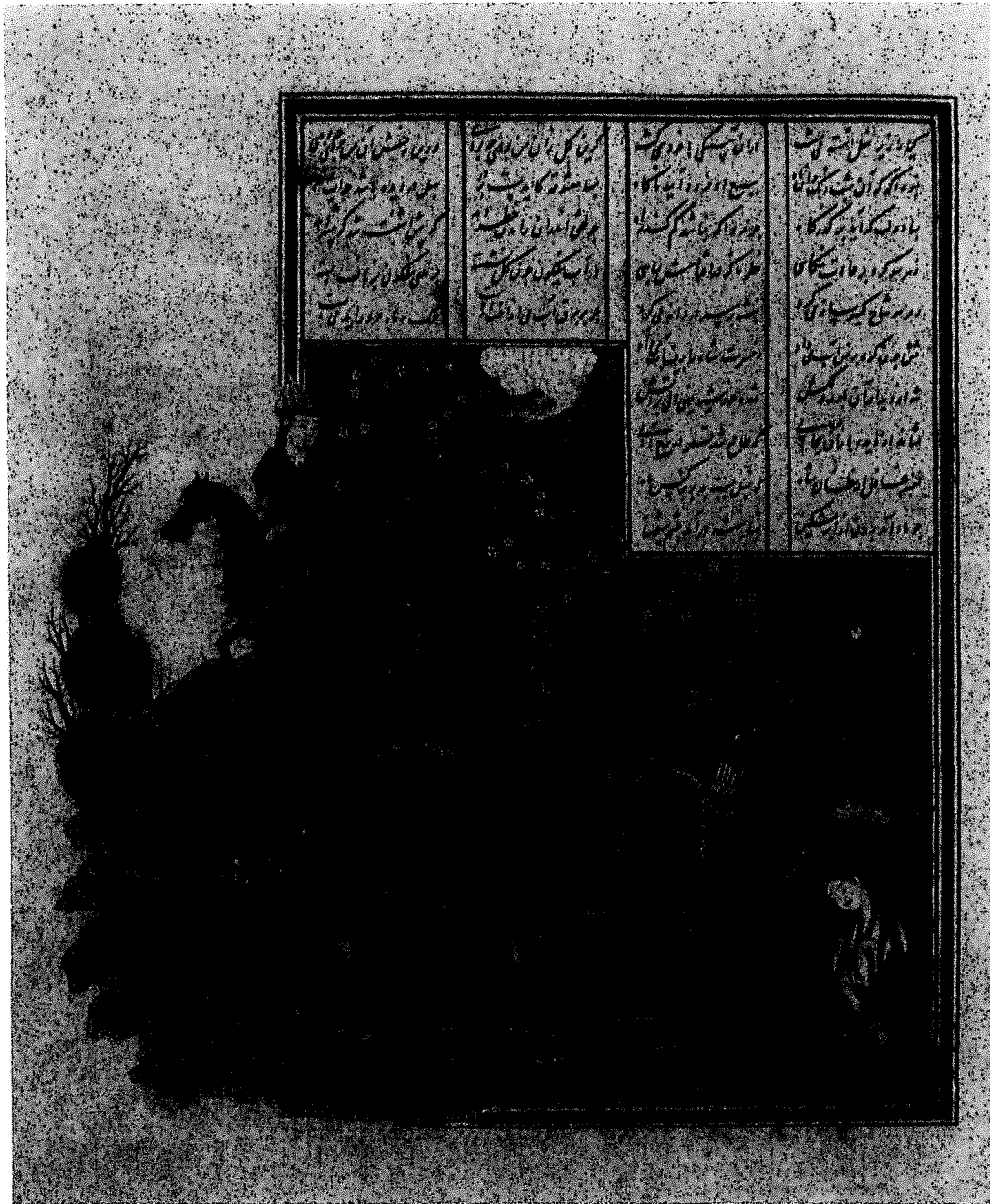


Fig. 14. Khusraw spies Shirin. Nizami, *Khamsa*, 849 (1445–46). Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library, H. 781, fol. 40a.

husband, only one breaks the frame, and that is the keening figure on the rooftop.<sup>71</sup> He it is who announces the death to a wider world — a world in which readers of the manuscript are perhaps intended to be included. In this case the unmistakable visual association with a muezzin is susceptible of still further layers of meaning.

More commonly the roofline and the upper margin are broken by a dome, usually silhouetted against the ground color of the paper.<sup>72</sup> This is a standard formula for the revels of Bahram Gur with one of his seven princesses — the only concession to the outside world, for attention is entirely focused on the private paradise within.



Fig. 15. Bahram Gur kills the dragon. Nizami, *Khamsa*, 846 (1442); this painting probably dates to ca. 1492. London, British Library, Add. 25900, fol. 161a). Schema of design. (After Zain)

In the burial scene from the *Mantiq al-Tayr* of 888 (1483),<sup>73</sup> a tree breaks the margin, escaping from the somber mortality of the main scene and celebrating — perhaps in deliberate contrast — the birds and their nest, a promise of new life even in bleak mid-winter (fig. 17). Since, however, the margin is thickly dusted with flecks of gold, the artist has chosen to envelop the tree with its own private balloon of space, a space that is of a different color from that of the sky in the main picture.<sup>74</sup> Here again a play upon reality may be suspected. A portion of the tree — the most obviously dead part of it — is in the picture proper and is hung with pennants which, to judge by the larger pennant held by the man at the door of the funerary compound, may refer to the burial. So much, at first sight, for the connection with death. How appropriate that the upper part of the tree, with its reference to life, should exist in an unmistakably different space. Yet so rich is the visual texture of the painting that even this division is precarious, for an emissary of death from the lower part of the picture threatens the birds in their fragile refuge. A black snake wriggles its way up the trunk towards the nest. The moral is tolerably clear: in the midst of life we are in

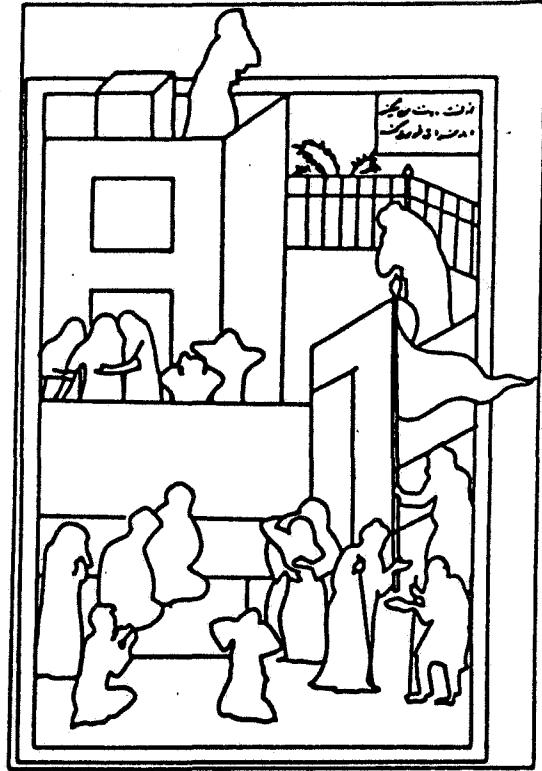


Fig. 16. Mourning scene. Nizami, *Khamsa*, 900 (1494–95). London, British Library, Or. 6810, fol. 135b. Schema of design. (After Zain)

death, an iron law not only for man but for all creatures.<sup>75</sup> In other miniatures, too, it is quite plausible that a tree — a living thing — swaying out into the margin is intended to suggest escape from a confined world.<sup>76</sup>

Most puzzling of all are the cases like fol. 20a of the *Tarikh* of al-Tabari in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, dated 874 (1469) (P. 144), where a deliberate ambiguity is set up in the scene which shows King Jamshid teaching crafts to his subjects (fig. 18).<sup>77</sup> An extension beyond the frame — in this case a tree-top — occupies a separate space, in effect a tiny box of its own with a beige ground color quite distinct from the ultramarine sky of the main scene. It is not a continuous extension of the picture space like the tree in the *Mantiq al-Tayr* scene, because a slab of text has already closed off that space, nor is it simply an extra feature attached to the frame. On the other hand, it is linked by its background color to the trees of the upper left margin, which in their turn are abruptly sundered from the main scene by a thick gold vertical line. In effect, therefore, the trees at

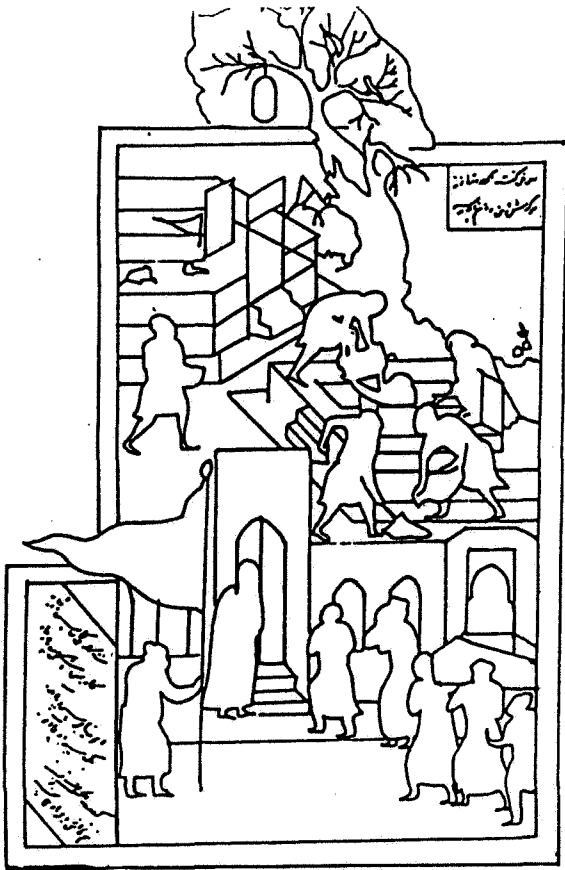


Fig. 17. Scene in a cemetery. 'Attar, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, 888 (1483). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 63.210.35, fol. 35a. Schema of design. (After Zain)

the top and the right of the painting form a separate space which obeys its own laws, neither being a straightforward extension of the picture space nor belonging simply to the margin. Several distinct spaces, several separate perceptions of reality, thus co-exist on the one page.<sup>78</sup> Numerous other examples, each subtly different from the next, could be cited to show how Timurid painters subverted the convention of the picture frame, and indeed recast its whole shape quite radically by allowing certain elements to drift in seemingly inevitable fashion beyond its confines.

And so to the fourth and final category for discussion. Spatial values in Timurid painting are most effectively brought into play by allowing ample room for emptiness. In a literal, if paradoxical, sense, space is suggested by space. Important figures generally have plenty of

room in which to move. Of course there are some exceptions. It is quite true that some figures are closely embowered in blossoming plants<sup>79</sup> — indeed, in some sense they are plants<sup>80</sup> — and seem to be on parade or participating in some *tableau vivant*. Yet even these are each set in a corridor of personal space, virtually insulated from unwelcome overlap. This is not to deny that overlap occurs, thought it is noticeable that its effect is often modulated by locating the overlapping figure at a different level from the one that is being overlapped.<sup>81</sup> By dint of the most careful calculation Timurid painters were often able to load their picture space with large numbers of figures — a dozen, twenty, or thirty at a time — all suitably scaled in proportion to the other details in the picture.<sup>82</sup> Yet miraculously pictures manage to avoid looking overcrowded. The reason is precisely because the figures are allowed room for maneuver. Each such person clearly occupies his own space. Thus there is no danger of a group of figures being lumped into an amorphous and spatially ill-defined huddle.

A further advantage of this system is apparent when figures are disposed serially along a diagonal (figs. 3 and 17) or vertical (fig. 12) plane. Each successive person in such a composition, whether isolated, overlapped or overlapping, can be understood as announcing a new plane.<sup>83</sup> When this elegant solution is compared with the unthinking repetition of the coulisse device in Ilkhanid painting, with the intersecting lines placed millimeters apart and thus making a nonsense of their original intended function as definers of plane,<sup>84</sup> it will be seen what giant strides had been made in the redefinition of pictorial space. It is thought-provoking, to say the least, that a similar process was taking place more or less contemporaneously in Western European painting. The new vision of space developed by the Van Eycks and Masaccio merely uses a different visual language to express much the same interests. It is as well to remember, too, the very different approach to spatial problems that is to be found in Yuan painting, to which Persian painters had increasing access in the early fifteenth century through the embassies exchanged between China and the Iranian world.<sup>85</sup> Whether the new interest in spatial problems evinced by early Timurid painters was influenced by specific cross-cultural contacts or whether, in a looser sense, such ideas were merely in the wind at that time is a topic for future investigation.<sup>86</sup>

Most common of all, perhaps, are scenes in which the figures are caught in mid-activity, silhouetted in some distinctive pose with clear space all around them. The viewer is invited to move on to the next frame in his



Fig. 18. Jamshid teaching the crafts. Al-Tabari, *Tarikh* (trans. into Persian). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 144, fol. 20a.

imagination and to complete the actions thus temporarily arrested. Perhaps this is why so many scenes of execution in paintings of the period depict the moment just before violent action.<sup>87</sup> In scenes of murder or actual death, on the other hand, the moment that the blow is struck — the moment of maximum drama — is the one selected.<sup>88</sup> The slaying of Arjasp in the Brazen Hold as rendered in the Juki *Shahnama* is one such example (fig. 3).<sup>89</sup> The two protagonists are isolated in the center of the castle courtyard. Its startling white ground, in strong contrast to the tawny brick walls encircling it, allow it to function as an almost empty stage, with the spotlight trained on Isfandiyar and Arjasp. That the dramatic potential of this conflict is so fully realized owes much to the imaginative use of empty space, itself heightened by color. Similar techniques are often employed in scenes of Rustam killing Suhrab.<sup>90</sup> In the case of more crowded scenes, this concept of an action shortly to be completed naturally implies a three-dimensional world.

A somewhat different way of approaching this notion of emptiness is to consider it in terms of interval. Although in architecture that concept is used principally to determine the balance of solids and voids, in Timurid painting it has a much wider application. It can cover the placing of complementary or contrasting colors; or the size of the color blocks themselves; or the shape, size, and location of text or inscription panels; or the manipulation of people, trees, furnishings, and so on as abstract elements of composition.

Moreover, as in an actual building, this awareness of interval, this sensitivity to its nuances, does not necessarily imply regularity. In certain Ilkhanid paintings, such as those of the Rashidiyya manuscripts, the disposition of figures often follows a beat as regular as a metronome.<sup>91</sup> The rhythms of imperial Timurid painting are much subtler than this. Space is denied to some areas only to be lavished on others. The contracting and expanding rhythms of design may owe something to the discipline of calligraphy, in which some painters<sup>92</sup> were well versed, or even (one may suspect) to music. Mere onlookers to the action often overlap, though the group they form will itself tend to be isolated, so that it can function visually as a block, while those who really count towards the story or scene have plenty of room to move.<sup>93</sup> Such gradations in the amount of space allotted to people, and for that matter to furniture or to certain natural forms, can have wider ramifications than mere design. They can reflect narrative concerns or social hierarchies. So can degrees of centrality or the interplay

of various levels along the vertical axis. In all of these aspects the notion of interval, with a corresponding spatial awareness, is of critical importance. Of course not all of these ideas are new, but their conscious manipulation on this scale is unprecedented.

The various components of the composition naturally do not function entirely on this rarified and somewhat abstract plane. They also have their proper and obvious function as people, as trees, and so on. But there can be no doubt that they operate in two distinct modes. Moreover, these two modes affect each other, though they are not in conflict. The spacing of the columns on the façade of a classical Greek temple can be sensed instantaneously as "just right" and one may safely leave it to the specialists to justify that intuition scientifically by carrying out a battery of measurements. The placing of elements in many an early Timurid painting seems to be as precisely calibrated as the intercolumniations of the Parthenon. The aesthetic satisfaction to be derived from such apparently inevitable placing does not impair, but rather enhances, the narrative or ceremonial purpose of a specific painting, to say nothing of that painting's wider ramifications as a luxury object in a royal book. Such reflections again take us far beyond the spatial values which operate in such paintings, further evidence, if any were needed, that these pictures were most thoroughly thought out, *durchkomponiert*. Thus each constituent element — in this case, even empty space or interval — had its part to play. Timurid paintings do not wear their hearts on their sleeves; their secrets must be prised out of them one by one.

One last use of empty space is worth noting briefly, not least because it has a direct association with a Persian literary *topos*, the motif of the winter night.<sup>94</sup> In studying early Timurid painting one is repeatedly conscious of looking in, almost eavesdropping, on an extraordinarily privileged, almost transfigured, world which has successfully shut out real life with its bustle, noise, disorder, privation, and squalor.<sup>95</sup> This is surely no accident. Exclusion is part of the intent. It underlines the gulf between the haves and the have-nots. Hence the very visible presence of disappointed suitors,<sup>96</sup> suppliants,<sup>97</sup> beggars,<sup>98</sup> and other unfortunates. The plight of the underprivileged is expressed in multiple ways. Gestures are a favorite method — a pleading upturned gaze,<sup>99</sup> arms wrapped around a shivering torso,<sup>100</sup> hands frantically extended to ward off attack<sup>101</sup> or beseeching pity.<sup>102</sup> Colors can serve to tell the same story: a glacial pale green, often set off by a cool violet, surrounds the various victims in one painting after another in the

Chester Beatty manuscript of Sa'di's *Gulistan*, and is in poignant contrast to the hot vermilion used for the palatial buildings from which they are excluded. It is hard not to believe that, for this artist at least, the cool colors like pale green and mauve connoted distress, while the bright orange-reds suggested well-being. And of course spatial means — above all, empty space — are also employed to reinforce these subtle distinctions.

Two further images from the Dublin manuscript of the *Gulistan*, both of them seascapes, are especially relevant in this context. In one painting, a drowning man clutches desperately on to his rescuer, both of them isolated in a vast expanse of water, while the passengers on a boat that is just too far away reach out unavailing hands (fig. 19). In the other, a poor wretch, marooned on top of a high pale-green tower that rises sheer out of the ocean, gestures in despair towards a boatload of people that draws slowly away from him (fig. 7).<sup>103</sup> Some stretch out their arms to him, and as in the companion picture it is the unbridgeable gulf between the victim and his fellow men that is underlined by these futile gesticulations. Space and color are therefore used in tandem to suggest a threatening mass. In their original state, when the pitiless sea would have been rendered as a sheet of glittering silver, the effect of these two pictures would have been much more subtle than it seems now, when oxydization has destroyed the balance of colors.

A single example must suffice to show how all these methods worked smoothly in concert. In the Dublin *Gulistan* a deceptively simple painting illustrates a brief text describing how the poet, wandering in the noonday heat through the alleys of a town, chanced to encounter a maiden who appeared as if by magic from a doorway and offered him a much-needed drink of iced water (fig. 6). Sa'di then intimates gracefully and in verse that the sight of her has afflicted him with a profounder thirst which no mere drink could assuage. The lady's reply is not recorded, though no doubt she too quoted verse at him in abundance.<sup>104</sup> This brief and ambiguous encounter is the point of departure for the artist, who builds on it his own commentary, full of wit and sly humor. In a telling reversal of the setting described in the text, with its reference to the poet sheltering against the heat in the shadow of a wall, he sets Sa'di against a pale-green ground, while the girl comes out of an orange-red building which seems almost to glow with heat. These are the two dominant colors of the painting and can perhaps be seen as appropriate equivalents for the two major themes of passion and rejection. But why are they, so to

speak, reversed? Closer examination suggests that the painter is playing a kind of cat-and-mouse game in his choice of colors. The warm-hued building has a marble dado of cool violet and the wall above and around the maiden is spangled with pale-green stars. The doorway in which she stands, silhouetted against a pure white ground, is framed in tilework of blue and green. She herself is clad, promisingly enough, in orange; but that is her outer garb only, and beneath it can be glimpsed a pale green shift. The iced beverage which she offers the poet is contained in a bowl of the same jade-green color. His outer robe, in contrast, is blue — the color of renunciation — and is echoed, as just noted, in the doorframe. The message of this subtle interplay of colors seems to be that hopes are raised only to be dashed. The body language of the two figures bears this out. The setting conjures up an ample space, yet this contains only two diminutive figures. In one sense it dwarfs them; but in another, it ensures that attention is focused on them. Their hands almost touch — but not quite. She stays just behind the mauve threshold, which thus seems to bar his entry. She proffers the drink, but he has not yet received it. Thus gesture reinforces the message of color. But it is the contrast between their surroundings that is most explicit: unbroken emptiness for him, but for her a blossoming garden against a golden sky. Thus in his own domain the artist goes decisively beyond his literary source, and does so by means of a visual language every whit as allusive as the text itself.

To summarize, then, the paradise garden, the *hortus conclusus* with all its connotations of bliss, privilege, luxury, the beloved, the palace and its good cheer — all of these are out of reach. They are behind fences, balconies, shutters, and protected by high walls<sup>105</sup> and by closed<sup>106</sup> or guarded<sup>107</sup> doors. Much the same is true of the audience hall where the monarch sits enthroned.<sup>108</sup> Thus spatial values are made to carry an emotional charge, whether of longing or loneliness, frustration or fear.

This paper has discussed only four of the many spatial devices wielded by Timurid painters: architecture; the use of blocks; the margin; and emptiness. They suffice, however, to show the total overhaul of spatial values in Persian painting which Timurid artists completed, though such values are often enough of only secondary importance in any given painting.<sup>109</sup> Gone is the obsessive and rapidly meaningless piling up of intersecting linear planes so dear to many Ilkhanid paintings. Gone too are the other overly literal spatial devices of that school, such as the coulisse system or the gnarled

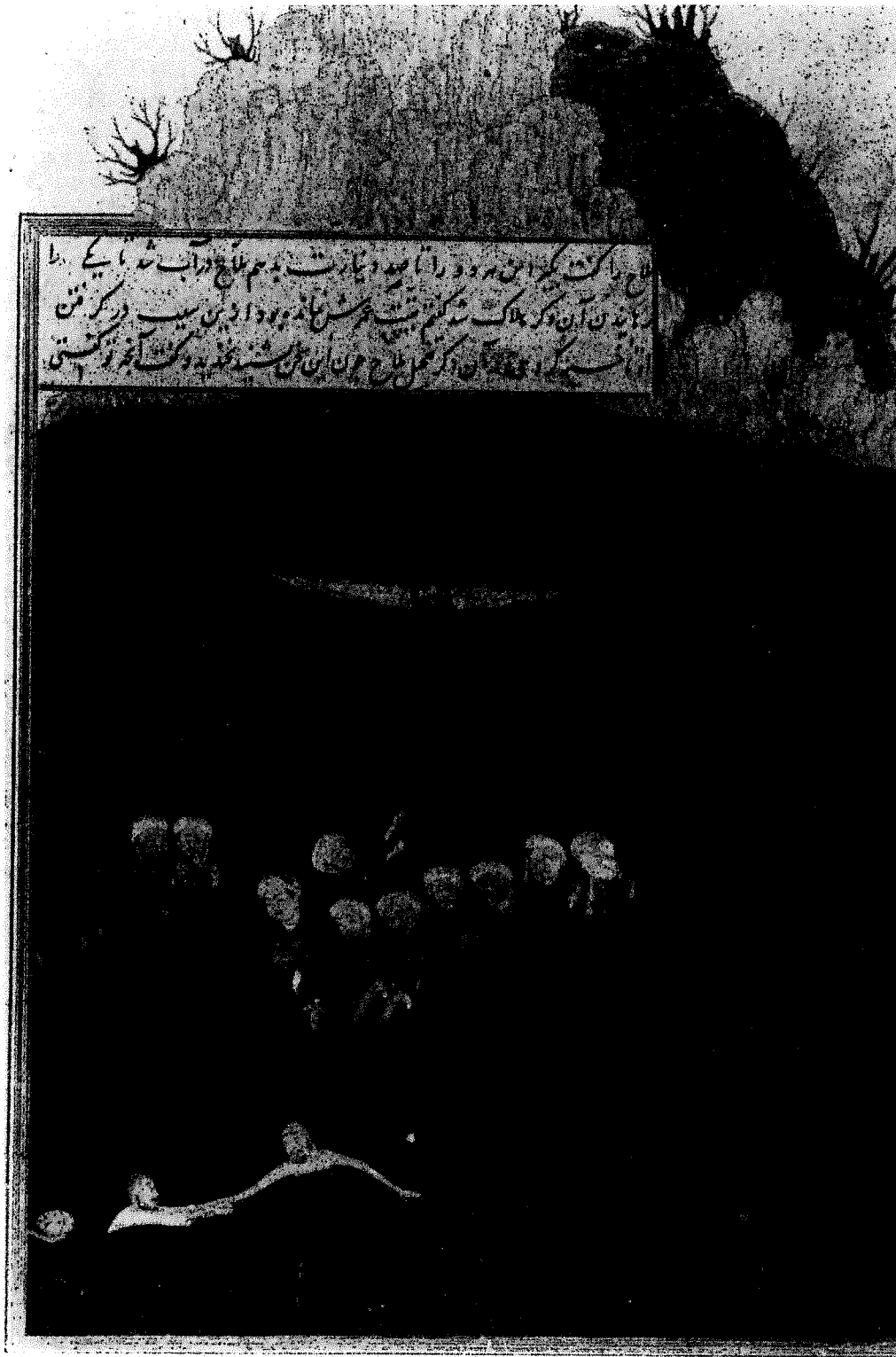


Fig. 19. The rescue of a drowning man. Sa'di, *Gulistan*, 830 (1426). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, P. 119.

tree root which straddles two or more planes. So firm is the artist's grasp of interval that a painting can be full of people and yet not seem overcrowded. Narrative or ceremonial scenes are given a credible three-dimensional environment by a few carefully chosen props (buildings, trees, furnishings), all of them placed with equal care, and equally by the painter's confident manipulation of planar contrasts: upper versus lower ground plane, interior versus exterior, foreground versus background. Even the most unlikely elements of a design contribute to creating a sense of space; the way that the paving of a floor is laid, or the direction of a water conduit that marks the central axis, or a tree of artfully random and uneven growth which nevertheless helps to parcel out the space.

It is symptomatic of this total control of the conventions being employed that even logically conflicting planes cannot mar the spacious serenity of mature Timurid miniatures, as in the scene of Laila and Majnun at school from the British Library *Khamsa* of 1494, where the enclosure around the tree is shown in adequate isometric perspective at an angle of about 45° while the octagonal pool right beside it is presented at an angle of 90° (fig. 20).<sup>110</sup> No doubt the artist, if challenged in these pettifogging literal terms, would have retorted that in both cases he had selected the viewpoint that would reveal the nature of the object with maximum clarity. This same tree, incidentally, illustrates how a deliberate contrast may be set up between natural forms, which are treated with remarkable freedom and liveliness, and man-made forms characterized by an equally remarkable rigidity. The result is to evoke two adjoining but quite distinct environments — distinct even in their spatial concepts.

The spatial implications of color still await a detailed examination.<sup>111</sup> Complementary colors, repeated accents of identical colors in different places, or pairs of colors in rhythmic alternation, could reinforce spatial distinctions even if they could not quite create them, as shown by the widely accepted convention that color could be used anti-naturalistically (for example, orange mountains or trees with blue leaves) in obedience to laws of internal chromatic harmony which are still very imperfectly understood by modern scholarship. Sometimes, as in the tree with autumn leaves in the school scene just mentioned, a clutter of colors suggests three-dimensional space very successfully, but that particular illusion does not extend to the rest of the painting, though perhaps this illogicality would not have struck the painter himself.

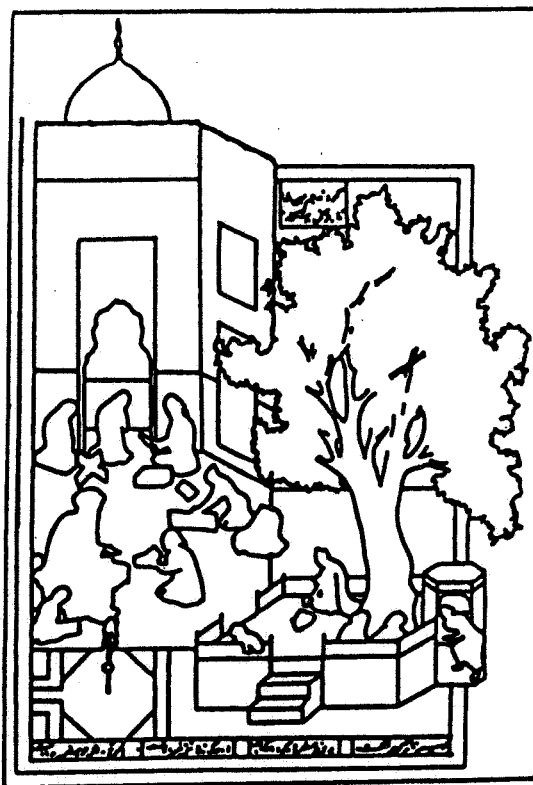


Fig. 20. Laila and Majnun at school. Nizami, *Khamsa*, 900 (1494–95) London, British Library, Or. 6810, fol. 106b. Schema of design. (After Zain)

Gesture too plays its part, though its expressions are deliberately subdued. Heads inclined towards each other, eye contact established from one side of the page to the other, or between figures at windows and those at ground level, a slight twisting of the torso, an outstretched hand or arm, all of these can be seen to function as links in a compositional chain that has spatial implications.<sup>112</sup> Majnun wringing his hands forlornly on the skyline as the rival clans battle it out in the foreground shows how the eloquence of mime can be harnessed to serve spatial ends.<sup>113</sup>

Given that everything about early Timurid painting is designed to cultivate a heightened sensibility to nuance, the deliberately coded spatial settings analyzed in this paper belong with the arrested poses, the intense palette, and the other hallmarks of the style. Space — like everything else in these paintings — has been transfigured and operates as a quasi-Platonic ideal. This

paper has tackled only a few of its mysteries; more await the microscope. But the code *can* be broken.

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## NOTES

*Author's note:* Given the importance of color in the paintings under discussion here, the references to published reproductions which are given in the following footnotes will be to color plates wherever possible. Whenever possible, too, I have used the simplified schemata of Timurid paintings published by D'zul Haimi Zain, to whom I must express my warm gratitude for allowing me to do so. Of course such schemata can offer only a travesty of what the paintings look like, but for the topics discussed in this paper, they help to concentrate the mind and perhaps reveal some of the artist's own thought processes. Finally, the illustrations have been carefully selected not only to complement passages in my text that refer specifically to them, but also with the more general intention of providing supplementary visual material for all four of the topics examined here.

- To the best of my knowledge there has been only one attempt to study these conventions in some detail: D. H. Zain, *Formal Values in Timurid Miniature Painting* (Kuala Lumpur, 1989). For similar work on Arab painting, see David James, "Space-forms in the Work of the Baghdad *Maqāmāt* Illustrators," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37, 2 (1974): 305-20.
- For an extended assessment of these qualities, see E. J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting* (Lugano, 1968), pp. 26-28; Eleanor G. Sims, "The Timurid Imperial Style: Its Origins and Diffusion," *aarp* 6 (1974): 57-58, 64; Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor G. Sims, "The School of Herat from 1400 to 1450," in Basil Gray, ed., *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia* (London and Paris, 1979), pp. 154, 156, and 158. See also Grube's "Two Kalilah wa Dimnah Codices Made for Baysunghur Mirzā: The Concept of the 'Classical Style' Reconsidered," *Problemi dell'età timuride. Atti del III Convegno internazionale sull'Arte e sulla Civiltà Islamica* (Venice, 1979), p. 115.
- For relevant color illustrations, see Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), p. 121; P. J. Müller, *Arabische Miniaturen* (Geneva, 1979), pl. 13; and D. Stewart, *Early Islam* (Weert, 1975), pp. 92-93.
- Bernard Lewis, ed., *Islam and the Arab World* (London and New York, 1976), p. 197.
- Ibid.*, p. 104.
- Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 98-99.
- See the copy of the *Jami' al-Tavarikh* in the Edinburgh University Library, ms. Arab 20, fols. 17a, 42a, 52a, and 54a (David Talbot Rice and Basil Gray, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-Din* (Edinburgh, 1974), pls. 21, 29, 34-35; and Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (Geneva, 1961), p. 25.
- Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 98-99. This idea can in fact already be found in the Schefer Hariri of 634 (1237) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. arabe 5847, in the scene of Abu Zaid in the tavern, where a servant hands down a jug of wine from the upper floor. For a color plate, see Stewart, *Early Islam*, p. 95.
- Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, pp. 98-99; here, too, parallels from an earlier Hariri ms. may be cited, *ibid.*, pp. 106-7 (the Leninograd *Maqamat*), where figures hug the columns of the audience chamber.
- See the Edinburgh *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, fols. 143a and 147a (Talbot Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, pls. 69-70); and Basil Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* (London, 1978), pl. 31.
- Fol. 11a (Talbot Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, pl. 15).
- Oleg Grabar and Sheila S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History* (Chicago, 1980), pls. 28 and 30.
- T. Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* (London, 1985), p. 53 (Garshasp enthroned).
- Gray, *Persian Painting*, pp. 38-39; Jill S. Cowan, *Kalila wa Dimna: An Animal Allegory of the Mongol Court* (New York and Oxford, 1989), pl. 2.
- Gray, *Arts of the Book*, pls. 20-22.
- K. Adahl, *A Khamsa of Nizami of 1439: Origin of the Miniatures — A Presentation and Analysis*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Figura Nova Series 20 (Uppsala, 1981), illustrations of fols. 42a, 75a, 82b, 202a, 267b, 302b, and 324b. Often there is a narrative quality in such placing, e.g., the conversational scenes in Baysunghur's copy of the *Chahar Maqala* (Eleanor G. Sims, "Prince Baysunghur's *Chahar Maqaleh*," *Sanat Tarihi Yilligi* 6 [1976], fig. 3) or the game of chess in the British Library Anthology of 1468 (ms. Add. 16561), fol. 36b (B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniatures* [New York, n.d.], pl. 8). For a lesser degree of displacement of the royal figure in an otherwise centralized composition, cf. fol. 30b of the *Juki Shahnama* (London, Royal Asiatic Society, ms. 239: I. Stehoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timurides* [Paris, 1954], pl. 65).
- As in the scene of the thief discovered in the bedchamber, from the *Kalila wa Dimna* of 834 (1430) in the Topkapi Saray (see F. Çağman and Zeren Tanindi, trans., expanded, and ed. J. M. Rogers, *The Topkapi Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* [London 1986], pl. 57).
- As in the scene of Luhrasp enthroned from Baysunghur's *Shahnama* (Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* [London and New York, 1939], pl. 870).
- Cf. Bahram Gur with the Indian princess in the black pavilion, from the *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 849 (1445-46) in the Topkapi Saray, fol. 168a (Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray Museum*, pl. 60).
- J. V. S. Wilkinson and L. Binyon, *The Shah-Namah of Firdausi: The Book of the Persian Kings* (London, 1931), pl. op. p. 24.
- But cf. the destructive analysis of this painting by Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), pp. 52-56.
- Asma Serajuddin, "Architectural Representations in Persian Miniature Painting during the Timurid and Safavid Periods." Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1968; Michele A. de Angelis and Thomas W. Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).
- Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 123.
- E.g., in the celebration of the day after the wedding from the *Kulliyat* of Khwaju Kirmani in the British Library, ms. Add. 18113, fol. 45b (Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*

- [Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles, Calif., 1989], p. 55) or in the fire ordeal of Siyavush from the Juki *Shahnama* (S. Simmonds and S. Digby, *The Royal Asiatic Society: Its History and Treasures* [Leiden and London, 1979], frontispiece). Perhaps the best example is that from the *Gulistan* of Sa'di in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, P. 119, fol. 9a (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 87).
25. Compare Khusraw before Shirin's palace in a Nizami datable to 1405–10 in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. no. 31.36 (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 33); or Laila and Majnun in Paradise from a *Khamsa* dated 854 (1450) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 13.228.3, fol. 181b (B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings from the 14th to the 19th Century* [Boston and Toronto, 1965], pl. 75).
  26. E.g., the scene of Humay in the fairy palace from the Vienna ms. of the *mathnavis* of Khwaju Kirmani (Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 13) or the leaf showing Farhad being brought before Shirin, from a lost *Khamsa* of Nizami of ca. 1405–10 (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 54).
  27. E.g., the scene of Majnun at the Ka'ba from Baysunghur's Anthology dated 823 (1420) in the Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin I.4628, fol. 305a (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 34); and the celebration of the birth of Majnun from the *Khamsa* of Amir Khusraw, dated 890 (1485) in the Chester Beatty Library, P. 163, fol. 104b (*ibid.*, pl. 58).
  28. E.g., Faramarz mourning over the coffins of Rustam and Zavarā, from Baysunghur's *Shahnama* (*Survey*, pl. 871), the slaying of Arjasp in the same ms. (Ernst J. Grube, *The World of Islam* [Feltham, 1967], pl. 57) or the picture of the Mongols besieging a city, in the *Tarikh-i Jahan Gushay* of Juwaini dated 841 (1438) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. pers. 206, fol. 149a (Gray, "The School of Shiraz," *Arts of the Book*, p. 143).
  29. Cf. the scene of Khusraw before Hurmuzd from the British Library ms. of the *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 900 (1494–95), Or. 6810, fol. 37b (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 283), or fol. 135b of the same ms. (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 123). For an open door used in the same way, see the depiction of a funeral procession in an undated late Timurid painting in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, no. 10.678 (M. G. Lukens, "The Language of the Birds: The Fifteenth-Century Miniatures," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* [1967], p. 331, fig. 23).
  30. Cf. the Nizami of 849 (1445–46) in the Topkapi Saray, H. 781, fol. 168a (Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray Museum*, pl. 60). Sometimes, especially when the royal figure is at one side of the picture, only one such angled wing is employed, thereby drawing attention to him (e.g., fol. 62a in the same ms.; see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 108, or the manuscript of the *mathnavis* of Khwaju Kirmani in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, N.F. 382, fol. 10b, for which see Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 13).
  31. E.g., in the scene of Tahmina visiting Rustam from a lost early Timurid manuscript in the Fogg Museum of Art (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 130). It is noticeable that the angled wings in the upper part of the picture suggest yet further recessions of space.
  32. Such as the British Library *Khamsa*, Or. 6810, fol. 273a (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 250).
  33. For example, the siege of Gang Bihisht from the Juki *Shahnama* (Wilkinson and Binyon, *Shah-Nameh*, pl. 12).
  34. As in the Topkapi Saray *Khamsa*, H. 781, fol. 111b (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 54; for a detail, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 219), or the Anthology dated 813 (1410–11) in the British Library, Add. 27261, fols. 362b–63a (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 118).
  35. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 134.
  36. As in the British Library Khwaju Kirmani ms., fol. 26b (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 46).
  37. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 294 (Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organisation, Adab Farsi 908, fol. 52b). For a penetrating discussion of this painting, see Lisa Golombek, "Toward a Classification of Islamic Painting," in *Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York, 1972), pp. 28–29, to be supplemented by Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 292.
  38. Grube, *World of Islam*, pl. 57. For a brief analysis of this picture, see Basil Gray, *The Shahnameh of Ferdowsi. The Baysonghori Manuscript: An Album of Miniatures and Illuminations* (Tehran, 1971), p. 94.
  39. Lisa Golombek rightly draws attention to the descending staircase to the left, suggesting that it refers to God's speedy succour for the faithful. And this is not all. Given the frantic gesture of Yusuf, with his arm outflung up to the left, it is hard to ignore the unusual placing of the text panel, which dips down sharply from the horizontal to meet the line of his arm. Is it too fanciful to suggest that this is Bihzad's way of harnessing the pictorial layout to suggest that the divine help alluded to in the text is on the way, that Yusuf has only to call on the name of God to be answered?
  40. Examples include the depiction of Khavarnaq in the *Khamsa* dated 835 (1431) in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, VR-1000, fol. 251a (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 120), and the court scene in the *Bustan* of Sa'di dated 893 (1488) in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo, fols. 1b–2a, especially fol. 2a — the left-hand page (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 260–61).
  41. A typical example is fol. 26b of the Anthology of Baysunghur dated 831 (1427) in the former Berenson collection at I Tatti, Settignano (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 86). The walls of such buildings also bear low-key detailing such as brick-end plugs, which ensures that they do not strike a discordant note of plainness amidst the visual splendors which surround them.
  42. Cf. the remarkably original image on p. 125 of the Anthology dated 813 (1410–11), in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (L.A. 161), where Bahram Gur contemplates all seven of the princesses at once (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 75).
  43. Compare the fire ordeal of Siyavush from the Juki *Shahnama* (Simmons and Digby, *Royal Asiatic Society*, frontispiece, or the same scene from the Epics, ms. dated 800 (1397–98) in the Chester Beatty Library, P. 114, fol. 14b (Robert Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting* [Edinburgh, 1977], pl. opp. p. 53), or the gardening scene on fol. 240a of the *Shahnama* of ca. 1420 made for Ibrahim Sultan and now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Ouseley Add. 176 (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, [Oxford, 1933], frontispiece). Sometimes these buildings are so narrow they become mannered, as in the case of yet another version of the fire ordeal of Siyavush, in the British Library Anthology of 813 (1410–11), fol. 295b (B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniatures* [n.p., 1957], pl. 3).
  44. This is particularly noticeable in Arab painting; for a typical example, see Esin Atıl, *Katila wa Dimna: Fables from a Fourteenth-Century Arabic Manuscript* (Washington, D.C., 1981), p. 44.

45. As in the case of Bahram Gur killing the dragon (*Survey*, pl. 839).
46. In her paper found elsewhere in this volume. Cf. N. Titley, "Persian Miniature Painting: The Repetition of Compositions during the Fifteenth Century," in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.-10. September 1976*, ed. W. Kleiss (Berlin, 1979), pp. 471-91.
47. Zain, *Formal Values*, p. 7. This manuscript (Topkapi Saray Library, R. 1022), is dated 833 (1429) and is therefore earlier than the other *Kalila wa Dimna* made for Baysunghur (Topkapi Saray Library, H. 362), which is dated 834 (1430-31). But the paintings of H. 362 are, as Ernst Grube has cogently argued, earlier than the text they adorn; he tentatively assigns a Jalayirid date to them ("Two *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Codices," pp. 116-19, 121).
48. Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray*, pl. 57 (Topkapi Saray Library, H. 362, fol. 24a).
49. This can be seen by comparing, as Miss Titley has done, two versions of the lover outside the beloved's castle (*ibid.*, figs. 1 and 2). In the later version (the *Khamsa* in the Topkapi Saray, H. 781, fol. 73b) the trees in the far corner of the courtyard in Humayun's palace (British Library ms. of Khwaju Kirmani, fol. 18a) have been replaced by a slab of text with nine *bays*. The effect is precisely to destroy the sense of space which permeates the earlier painting.
50. Or. 6810, fol. 27b (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 117).
51. Elsewhere in this volume.
52. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arabe 5847, fol. 94b.
53. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, p. 134, though the branches of the tree protrude far further.
54. Talbot-Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, p. 181 top.
55. Esin Atıl, *Art of the Arab World* (Washington, D.C., 1975), p. 113. The parent ms. has an almost identical scene on fol. 39b (current foliation), also involving a boar. Other examples of frame-breaking in the same ms. are much more modest: the detached leaf published by Atıl, (*ibid.*, p. 114) and fols. 31a, 41a, 44a, 82b, 86b, 90a, 97a, 100b, 104a, and 104b; cf. the facsimile of the text and the accompanying book by A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Sulwān al-Mutā' fi 'Udwān al-Atbā': A Rediscovered Masterpiece of Arab Literature and Painting* (Kuwait, 1985), pp. 82, 86, and 118. Nor is the clumsiness vis-à-vis the frame encountered occasionally in the *Sulwān al-Mutā'* exceptional in Mamluk painting; cf. Atıl, *Kalila wa Dimna*, pp. 13, 20, 22, 24-25, 27-28, and 30, though here too it alternates with only tiny transgressions of the frame (*ibid.*, pp. 16, 19, 31, 47-48, 51, and 53). Clearly both notions coexisted quite happily.
56. For the Demotte *Shahnama*, cf. Grabar and Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History*, pl. 28, and Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 837; for the *Kalila wa Dimna* ms., cf. Cowan, *Kalila wa Dimna*, pls. 1-4, 13-14, and 26.
57. Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 46; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 55.
58. Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 47. Teresa Fitzherbert, in an unpublished paper delivered at a symposium entitled "The Iconography of Islamic Art," held in Edinburgh in October 1990, drew attention to (among many other aspects of this fascinating picture) the panel of text which it incorporates, whose second line contains a multilayered and therefore untranslatable play on words with the central idea of "the turning world." The marked leaning to the left in this composition accentuates the impression of whirling speed, as if the world were spinning on its axis; even the birds are caught in the vortex. The moment of truth for the lovers is the still center of this turning world. It would be hard to find a subtler integration of text and image than this.
59. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 56. Cf. Esin Atıl, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C., 1978), pp. 18-19.
60. Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 49 (fol. 23a). One horse too — like the sheep opposite — is even diving back into the area behind the panel.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 79 (p. 646 of L.A. 161).
62. See the extended discussion of this topic in Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948; repr. London 1976), pp. 22-25, 27, 30-35.
63. See the Edinburgh *Jamī' al-Tavarikh*, fol. 3b (Talbot Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, pl. 7).
64. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 110-11 (Topkapi Saray, R. 1022, fols. 1b-2a).
65. The nature of the composition encourages the belief that yet more of them are waiting out of sight.
66. Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray*, pl. 59 (H. 781, fol. 40a).
67. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 282; this picture (Add. 25900, fol. 161a) was painted ca. 1492 and may fruitfully be compared with the depiction of the identical scene on fol. 157a of Or. 6810 in the British Library (*ibid.*) since the later version, though largely identical, allows margin and image to merge, not collide, by making the ground color of the scene the same as that of the margin. Image and margin thus blend imperceptibly together — yet another example of how Timurid painters used color as a means of playing with space.
68. E.g., in the *Khamsa* of Nizami (H. 762) in the Topkapi Saray dated 880 (1475-76) and 886 (1481), fol. 177b (Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray*, pl. 72), or in the *Dastan-i Jamal u Jalal* of Asafi in the Uppsala University Library, O Nova 2, fol. 43a (Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images*, cover plate).
69. Topkapi Saray, H. 362, fol. 27b (Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray*, pl. 58).
70. Grube, *World of Islam*, pl. 38.
71. Or. 6810, fol. 135b (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 122).
72. For example, the British Library *Nizami*, Or. 6810, fol. 37b (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 283); the Cairo *Bustan*, fol. 52b (*ibid.*, p. 294), and the Dublin *Gulistan*, fol. 9a (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 87).
73. Richard Ettinghausen et al., *Islamic Art* (New York, n.d.), pl. on unnumbered p. 26.
74. It is hard not to connect this device with the fashion for *abri* painting (Richard Ettinghausen, "Abri Painting," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon [Jerusalem, 1977], pp. 354-56, repr. in his *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon [Berlin, 1984], pp. 773-89). Oddly enough, Ettinghausen did not essay a connection between the examples of *abri* painting which he cited and the related phenomena in Persian painting.
75. The Sufi undertones in this painting have been admirably analyzed by R. Milstein in her article, "Sufi Elements in Late Fifteenth-Century Herat Painting," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, pp. 362-64. I am grateful to Bernard O'Kane for pointing out this snake to me.
76. Thus in the scene from the Topkapi Saray *Kalila wa Dimna*

- (supra, n. 65) of the man who has fallen into the pit, the plight of the victim is underlined by the two trees which, unlike him, break free from their confines. The same goes for the camel in this picture.
77. Robinson, *Persian Drawing*, pl. 20.
  78. For other examples of multiple spaces in one picture, see the painting of Laila and Majnun in Paradise (above n. 25) or the scene of Bahram Gur killing the dragon in a *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 1444-45 in the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Ryl Pers 36, fol. 157a; Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 73).
  79. Such as the courtly personages on a leaf from a lost ms. of (or incorporating) the *mathnavi*s of Khwaju Kirmani in the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, Inv. 3727 (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 117).
  80. Cf. Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures*, p. 11, and idem, "The Arts of the Book," in *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope (New York, 1945), pp. 147-48.
  81. E.g., the frontispiece to the Cairo *Bustan* (Adab Farsi 908, fols. 1b-2a; Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 260).
  82. As in the scene of the construction of Khavarnaq from the British Library *Khamsa*, Or. 6810, fol. 154b, *Persian Painting*, p. 116). In this context it is noteworthy that Rustam, though consistently described in the *Shahnama* as "elephant-bodied," is not depicted as substantially larger than other warriors.
  83. For a typical example, see the prisoners before Khusraw in the Gulbenkian Anthology (L.A. 161, p. 47; Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 77).
  84. E.g., the painting of the *simurgh* in the Pierpont Morgan Bestiary, (E. J. Grube, *The World of Islam* [Feltham, 1967], pl. 36), or Muhammad, Abu Bakr, and the old woman with the herd of goats in the Edinburgh *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, fol. 57a (Talbot Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, pl. 37).
  85. Cf., for example, *A Persian Embassy to China. Being an Extract from the Zubdatu'l-Tavarikh of Hafizi Abri*, trans. K. M. Maitra (Lahore, 1934; reprt. New York, 1970), and the next note.
  86. For the subject of these cross-cultural relations at large, see T. Sugimura, *The Encounter of Persia with China: Research into Cultural Contacts Based on Fifteenth-Century Persian Pictorial Materials*, Senri Ethnological Studies no. 18 (Osaka, 1986); for briefer guides, see Çağman, Tanindi, and Rogers, *Topkapi Saray Museum*, pp. 114-20, 153-56, and Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, pp. 182-95.
  87. Typical examples are the Div Akwan about to throw Rustam into the sea (from the Juki *Shahnama*, fol. 185b; Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 90) or the Christian monk falling from the rooftop in the presence of 'Ali in the British Library Anthology, Add. 27261, fol. 305b (G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Persian Illustrated Manuscripts* [London, 1965], pl. 3).
  88. E.g., Gustaham beheading Farshidward (Juki *Shahnama*, fol. 206b, Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 91).
  89. Fol. 278a (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 134): "Child Rowland to the dark tower came."
  90. Cf. the Edinburgh *Jami' al-Tavarikh*, fols. 16b, 34a, and 138a (Talbot Rice, *Illustrations to World History*, pls. 20, 27, and 65).
  92. Such as al-Wasiti, who was responsible for the Schefer Hariri, or al-Husain b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Umar b. Muhammad al-Sufi, who produced the *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Marsh 144 (Melikian-Chirvani, *A Rediscovered Masterpiece*, p. 171). It remains questionable, however, given the degree of specialization in Timurid ateliers, whether this practice was followed to any significant extent in the mss. dealt with in this article, though cases do exist, e.g., Aqa Mirak (C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman* [Paris, 1908, reprt., Osnabruck, 1972], p. 331).
  93. This principle is well illustrated in the scene of the wrestling match on fol. 14a of the Dublin *Gulistan* (Gray, *Arts of the Book*, pl. 46).
  94. I am grateful to Professor Christoph Bürgel for this observation.
  95. In the scene from the Baysunghur *Shahnama* where Gulnar espies Ardashir one may note a staggering of spaces, perhaps arranged with narrative intent, in that the prince is enclosed within a fence (and thus privileged), but is still separated from the maiden high above him by a closed and guarded door (Gray, *Album*, pl. 31).
  96. To take one example among many, cf. Khusraw at the palace of Shirin in the Nizami ms. of ca. 1405-10 in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., no. 31.36 (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 33). Even if this disappointment is only temporary, the fact of exclusion remains.
  97. E.g., Khusraw before his father Hurmuzd in a *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 868 (1463-64) in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (P. 137, fol. 31a; see Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images*, pl. opposite p. 35) or the same scene in the British Library *Khamsa*, Or. 6810, fol. 37b (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 283).
  98. Such as the dervish (formerly a vizier) in the Dublin *Gulistan*, fol. 9a (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 87).
  99. As in the love scene from Baysunghur's Anthology at Settignano, fol. 27b (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 86) and the numerous versions of Shaykh San'an and the Christian maiden.
  100. See above, n. 98.
  101. As in the case of the distressed poet in the snow attacked by dogs (Dublin *Gulistan*, fol. 32b; B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles* [London, 1967], pl. 10).
  102. E.g., Bizhan in the pit in the Juki *Shahnama* (Wilkinson and Binyon, *Shah-nama of Firdausi*, pl. 11). The same gesture can denote expostulation, as in the scene of Dara and the herdsman on fol. 20a of the Cairo *Bustan* (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 293).
  103. Cf. A. J. Arberry, E. Blochet, M. Minovi, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. W. Robinson, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1959).
  104. *Sadi: Gulistan or Flower-garden: Translated, with an Essay by James Ross* (London, n.d.), pp. 221-22.
  105. E.g., the scene from Baysunghur's *Shahnama* where Zal and Rudaba embrace. Here the high wall in the foreground creates an impassable barrier between the lovers and the outside world (Gray, *Album*, pl. 18).
  106. As in the scene from the *Shahnama* of Ibrahim Sultan (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 176, fol. 240a), which depicts a toiling gardener watched from above by a quintet of elegantly unemployed ladies (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* [Oxford, 1933], frontispiece).
  107. E.g., the love scene in the Anthology of 1407 (Topkapi Saray, H. 796, fol. 34b), where the *hajib*, a well-dressed medieval bouncer often shown wielding his stick, is indeed a key element in creating this notion of exclusiveness. For further examples, see the *Shahnama* frontispiece of ca. 1444 in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 102), and the British Library *Khamsa*, Or. 6810, fol. 214a (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 62).

108. Thus in the scene of Luhrasp enthroned from the *Shahnama* of Baysunghur (*Survey*, pl. 870), the less favored courtiers sit out in the cold, totally cut off from the action by the outer wall of the chamber, while in the frontispiece to the Cairo *Bustan* (Adab Farsi 908, fols. 1b-2a) the only person to break the frame is the kneeling figure falling backwards out of the picture as he tries to ward off the blows of the *hajib*.
109. In certain images from the *Kalila wa Dimna* in the Topkapi Saray Library (R. 1022), dated 833 (1429), for example, space is suggested only technically or marginally, by means of overlap; the artist's conception of the main theme is divorced from any sustained exploration of spatial values (e.g., the lion killing the bull [fol. 46b., Gray, *Persian Painting*, p. 84], or the owls and the crow [fol. 66a, *ibid.*, title page]).
110. Or. 6810, fol. 106b, Gray *Persian Painting*, p. 123. Compare, too, the scene of the peeping Tom on fol. 47b of the *Khamisa* of Nizami datable to 1426 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Ettinghausen et al., *Islamic Art*, pl. on unnumbered p. 25) and its close copy in the British Library *Khamisa*, Or. 6810, fol. 190a (Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, p. 275).
111. Cf. some acute remarks on this topic by Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures*, p. 53.
112. Typical examples include the painting on silk depicting the encounter between Humay and Humayun (*Survey*, pl. 878), the king and the beggar in the *Mantiq al-Tayr* ms. in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, dated 892 (1487-88) (*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Autumn 1978, p. 22) and Humay at the court of the emperor of China from the British Library ms. of the *Kulliyat* of Khwaju Kirmani, fol. 12a (Gray, *Arts of the Book*, p. 65). More generally, one might note the tendency in such late Timurid manuscripts as the British Library Nizami, Or. 6810, for people to coalesce into pairs and groups.
113. This is from a *Khamisa* of Nizami in the British Library (Add. 25900, fol. 121b) and is datable to ca. 1492-93 (R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Persian Painting of the Fifteenth Century* [London, 1958], p. 16 and pl. 7). It is instructive to note how this picture reworks and intensifies the ideas already present *in nuce* in the earlier depiction of the same subject in the Topkapi Saray *Khamisa* dated 866 (1461), fol. 115a (Gray, ed., *Arts of the Book*, pl. 66). In the later version the number of warriors has been pruned from fourteen to nine and the horizon is much lower, allowing Majnun to be silhouetted to much greater effect against the gold sky. In the earlier picture the large empty expanses of gray ground serve no such purpose. The tree beside him in the earlier version has also been removed. All these changes, obvious enough in themselves, have resulted in a much more poignant version of this tragic encounter.