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Citation for published version:
George, A 2011, 'The Illustrations of the Maqamat and the shadow play', *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World*, vol. 28, pp. 1-42. <http://www.brill.com/muqarnas-volume-28>

Link:
Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Published In:
Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World

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Download date: 12. Oct. 2024

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THE ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE *MAQĀMĀT* AND THE SHADOW PLAY

Arabic book illustration is nearly as old as the Islamic world itself, having been in existence since at least the eighth century.[1] Scattered textual and material evidence about its early phases suggests that for a long time it remained largely conventional in its themes and static in its iconography. Then, with the onset of the thirteenth century, the number of extant manuscripts surges. These attest to a transformed visual language in which the frozen characters of earlier times begin to move almost palpably on the page, accomplishing an ever wider array of actions. A fresh sense of life had been breathed into their limbs, and narrative themes multiplied, with a new clarity of line and buoyancy of spirit. The present article explores the relationship between this period of Arabic book illustration and the popular art of the shadow play, with a primary focus on the *Maqāmāt*.

The *Maqāmāt* of al-Hariri (d. 1122) appear to have been among the most frequently illustrated works of this era and in many ways represent the peak of this pictorial tradition. The text is a masterpiece of Arabic literature, consisting of fifty episodes that relate the adventures of their rogue hero, Abu Zayd of Saruj, at the four corners of the Islamic world. Armed with his unmatched mastery of the Arabic language and shameless talent for deception, Abu Zayd appears in different scenes under the guise of a succession of characters—a young man, an old woman, a doctor, a holy ascetic, and so on. By some extraordinary show of deception and linguistic prowess, he leads the gullible to offer him generous rewards. His mischiefs are recounted with a mixture of indignation and wonder by the narrator, al-Harith ibn Hammam.

Written in a combination of highly sophisticated rhymed prose and verse, the *Maqāmāt* were primarily aimed at educated audiences, before whom the text would be delivered orally during literary gatherings. Eleven illustrated copies of the work are dated or datable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[2] In their original context, these books and their images would have brought a visual dimension—and a touch of their own humor—to these essentially aural events.[3] By virtue of their narrative structure and content, the *Maqāmāt* also had a latent performative dimension that could be more or less fully brought out by different reciters. This linked the text to a broad range of genres that existed in the public place, such as storytelling (the *qiṣṣa*), live theater (the *ḥikāya*) and the shadow play (*khayāl al-ẓill*). Among these, the latter art form shared with the *Maqāmāt* the particularity of combining man-made images with the oral delivery of a text to live audiences.

The shadow play had grown, by the thirteenth century, into a literary genre in its own right—and one that was sometimes connected textually with al-Hariri's work. Conversely, manuscript illustrators faced with the challenge of creating narrative imagery for the *Maqāmāt* drew much of their inspiration from the shadow play. The impact of this performative art on book illustration of this period was briefly discussed in a 1934 article by Richard Ettinghausen.[4] Thereafter, it was mentioned in passing by several writers, most notably Oleg Grabar, though it was never explored in detail.[5] Yet as will soon become apparent, it represents a key element in our understanding of the *Maqāmāt*. This work stands out as the most representative case of an interpendence that extended far and wide in Arabic book painting of this period, as we shall see.

THE SHADOW PLAY

The shadow play is an art form with ancient roots leading back East, possibly to India or Central Asia.[6] The date of its introduction in the Islamic world is unknown, but it appears to have been well established there by the early eleventh century, when a detailed description of its workings was given in the *Optics* (*Kitāb al-Manāẓir*) of Ibn al-Haytham (d. ca. 1039), who lived most of his life between Iraq and Fatimid Egypt. In the following decades, it was commented on as an allegory of wordly existence in the writings of Ibn Hazm (d. 1064), the Andalusian man of letters and theologian, and of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), who was born in Tus, at the eastern end of modern Iran, and spent his career between Baghdad, Nishapur, and Damascus.[7] The contrasting backgrounds of these writers suggest a wide geographical spread, and several more accounts in texts confirm the continuous presence of this art form in different parts of the Islamic world between that period and the sixteenth century.[8]

The principal extant playwright, Ibn Daniyal (d. 1310), was an ophthalmologist by profession. Born and educated in Mosul, he moved to Cairo at the age of nineteen, in the wake of the Mongol invasions, and remained there for the rest of his life.[9] Some of his preserved verse implies that shadow plays could be performed in public places, in the courtyards of houses, in inns and taverns, and in palaces.[10] Other textual sources also mention performances in front of Saladin in the twelfth century, of different Mamluk rulers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and of the Ottoman sultan Selim I after the latter conquered Cairo in 1517.[11] The shadow play had thus anchored certain types of narrative imagery at the heart of Muslim urban life long before the explosion of similar themes in book illustration.

While shadow plays may have originally been improvised or handed down from master to pupil as oral compositions, by the thirteenth century they could also be substantial literary works, as is evident from the three surviving plays (sing. *bāba*) by Ibn Daniyal. In the introduction to the first one, he writes that he was driven to take up his pen by the puppet master (*rayyis*) ʿAli ibn Mawlahum, following complaints from the public that performances had become dull and repetitive. The plays that he wrote in response to this injunction are couched in a sophisticated form of Arabic. Notwithstanding incursions of Egyptian dialect, they seem primarily aimed at an educated audience versed in poetry and literature.[12] Their affinity with the *Maqāmāt* can be perceived at several levels.

Perhaps as a response to the expectation of change expressed by his audience, Ibn Daniyal gave each of his three plays a different narrative framework. The title of the first one, *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, can be literally translated as "The Spectrum of the Apparition." It implies a parodical reference to the eponymous motif of Arabic poetry, and is also the name of a central character in the play, a deformed hunchback who is summoned at the outset: "Oh Tayf al-Khayal, oh perfection of symmetry!"[13] The presenter then opens the feast by reciting a poem in praise of the beauty of Tayf and of all things "crooked." Tayf greets the audience while performing a dance and singing verses. He recalls his sinful days in Mosul and how he eventually repented of them. He has come to Cairo, he tells us, to search for his old companion in debauchery, the Amir Wisal (here, literally, "Prince Intercourse"). But what he finds looks to him like a spectacle of desolation, for the sultan has declared war on Iblis (Satan) and destroyed all places of entertainment—a reference to the violent campaign launched in 1267 by Baybars, the Mamluk ruler of Egypt (r. 1260–77), against wine, drugs, and prostitution.[14]

Tayf al-Khayal goes on to recite an elegy for "our master Iblis" before the Amir Wisal is called forth and makes his entry, a soldier with a *sharbūsh* (a fur-lined, triangular hat) and ruffled moustache (*sibāl manfūsh*).[15] He introduces himself in rhymed prose reminiscent of the *Maqāmāt*, in a parody of the heroic style, boasting that, among other feats, he can "steal better than sleep and [is] more experienced in pederasty than Abu Nuwas." The succession of roles he claims for himself recalls Abu Zayd, though the main purpose here is laughter rather than deception and the Amir's "roles" are simply stated, not enacted. "I can give better slaps than a baker's hand," he says, "... I can croak better than a frog....":

> I give evening amusements, I gamble. I am a butter, a boxer, a slanderer, a blasphemer, a carper, an intruder, a disturber, a threatener, an ascetic, a murderer, a boor, a fine gentleman, a rough customer, a slippery one, a

> pander, a man capable of anything. I play the dandy, the man about town; I play the lord, the juggler. I strut about, I limp, I dance. So do not show ignorance of my standing, now that I have disclosed my secrets to you![16]

The Amir Wisal recalls with intense nostalgia—but without a trace of prudery—his past encounters with both sexes. He advises Satan to stay away from Egypt for fear of its unyielding ruler. Wisal then professes his intention to abandon his old ways and the main intrigue of the play ensues: the search for a lawfully wedded wife through the services of an old, depraved matchmaker, reaching its climax with the unveiling of the bride's breathtakingly ugly face.

At the close of *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, Wisal decides to go on pilgrimage to Mecca in order to seek forgiveness for his sins, in much the same way that in the *Maqāmāt* Abu Zayd repents at the end of his life and becomes a true ascetic, capable of working miracles. The third of Ibn Daniyal's plays, *al-Mutayyam* (The Love-struck One), ends in a similar fashion. In the introduction, the narrator compares himself to al-Harith (the witness of Abu Zayd's mischiefs in the *Maqāmāt*);[17] the main part of the drama involves a parody of Arabic love poetry in which the main character recalls his sexual encounters with young men, as well as his endless drinking bouts, orgies, and gambling parties. Al-Mutayyam's sinful reminiscences are brought to an end by yet another act of repentance, as the Angel of Death awakens him to his dissolute condition and prompts him to beg for God's forgiveness shortly before he passes away.

The parallel with the *Maqāmāt* is most pronounced in the second of Ibn Daniyal's plays, *ʿAjīb wa gharīb* (literally "Amazing and Strange," here with the meaning "The Amazing [Preacher] and the Stranger"). After a brief introduction by the puppet master, there enters the hero, Gharib, who presents himself as one of the *Banū Sāsān* (Brotherhood of Tricksters), leading a life of wandering and exile, surviving by their wits and ability to deceive the gullible.[18] As with the other two plays, Gharib begins by crudely reminiscing about his past sexual adventures and goes on to enumerate some of the professions he once pretended to have mastered, such as the training of bears, monkeys, and dogs; cock fighting; jurisprudence; poetry; astrology; medicine; eye surgery; herbal medicine; philosophy; and preaching.[19] He withdraws to be succeeded by a gallery of twenty-three different characters, starting with the fake preacher ʿAjib and including an acrobat, an astrologer, a quack doctor, a trader in amulets, a clown, a trainer of cats and mice, a rope dancer, and a camel driver. Each personage introduces himself and describes his profession using specialized language.[20] The parallel with the *Maqāmāt* is immediate with regard to their shared repertoire of tricks and impersonations. These three plays are characterized by an uninhibited sense of humor together with a taste for satire and unadulterated obscenity; they are couched in lively and elaborate prose, rhymed prose, and verse—a patchwork of styles that again echoes the *Maqāmāt*.[21]

Ibn Daniyal's plays are the only ones to survive in writing from that era, but in his day they may have been part of a broader written repertoire, as suggested by their introductory remarks and some additional fragments of evidence.[22] These written works would have existed alongside a dominant oral tradition that was still alive in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century. The range of themes addressed in the genre as a whole must have been wider than Ibn Daniyal's remaining output might suggest; their subject matter may sometimes have been less crude, and geared towards the imaginary. One fascinating piece of evidence in this respect is the *Naẓm al-sulūk* (Poem of the Way), by the Sufi writer Ibn al-Farid (d. 1235), who lived in Cairo at the time of our oldest illustrated manuscripts.[23] In this text about the path to illumination he writes:

> In illusion's sleep the spectrum of the shadow theater (*ṭayf khayāl al-ẓill)* brings to you what translucent curtains reveal. You see forms of things in every garb displayed before you from behind the veil of ambiguity: the opposites in them united in every guise; silent, they utter speech; though still, they move; themselves unluminous, they scatter light. You laugh gleefully, as the most merry of men rejoices; weep like the bereaved and sorrowing mother, in deepest grief; mourn, if they moan, the loss of some great happiness; are jubilant, if they do sing, for such sweet melody.[24]

Emotion, light, and animation emerge as the key ingredients of a poignant spectacle in which colored figures behind a screen move, speak, and sing, stirring up

laughter and tears in the audience. This formed the basis of a profound metaphor of existence that was also exploited by other writers. Ibn al-ʿArabi (d. 1240), to cite but one, wrote in his *Futuḥāt al-Makkiyya* (Meccan Revelations), composed over a period of some three decades spent between Mecca, Anatolia, and Damascus, that the shadow theater is a parable of this world, moved by an invisible force and marred by appearances, its screen acting as a veil between the beholder and the Truth.[25] Ibn al-Farid alone, however, has recourse to a tantalizingly detailed list of themes to evoke these plays: birds singing in trees; camel races; ships tossed at sea; armies in huge battalions, clad in mail and steel with their swords and spears; flaming flares; catapults fired at fortresses; jinns; fishermen and their nets; fowlers catching birds; oceanic monsters; lions and their prey; beasts hunting other beasts.[26] At the end of this passage, he reminds us that "you may glimpse at yet other shapes that I have omitted to mention, having relied but on the best exemplars."[27]

THE OLDEST EXTANT PUPPETS

By an extraordinary chance, it is possible to parallel these descriptions with an extant set of figures. Eighty or so early shadow puppets were discovered by Paul Kahle, a German Orientalist who purchased them from two puppeteers in Menzaleh (al-Manzala), near Damietta, Egypt, in 1909.[28] They had been bought from a pasha in Cairo in the eighteenth century and had remained in the same family thereafter.[29] Many of their features, from clothing to types of headgear, converge to suggest a Mamluk origin, and one emblem that adorns four of the puppets—a circle enclosing a central strip with a lozenge in its middle—stood for the office of a *jamdār* or "master of the robes" at the Mamluk court.[30] The same symbol reappears on other objects in a variety of media dated 1287 to 1372,[31] but is attested within a tripartite division of the field only between about 1339 and 1371.[32] The puppets, in sum, appear to reflect a Mamluk context in the mid-fourteenth century.[33]

One detail in the figure of a ship with its passengers, however, contradicts this conclusion: its central character is bringing to his mouth a thin, supple hose leading to a twofold vertical base, which clearly seems to be a water pipe.[34] Tobacco did not appear in the Islamic lands until the discovery of the New World, and archaeological excavations in the Middle East have only yielded smoking devices in strata datable to periods after the late sixteenth century.[35] Smoking, furthermore, is not mentioned in textual sources before the early modern era: until then, hashish and other opiates were rather chewed or prepared as drinks.[36] This puppet could, in other words, be the Ottoman recreation of a Mamluk prototype, which raises issues about the date of the whole set. Do these puppets belong to the fourteenth century, the seventeenth century, or the intervening period? Should they be viewed as a unitary group, or were they produced at different times, with older Mamluk puppets serving as models for newer ones? These questions may not receive a definite answer until the actual objects, their leather, and their technique of manufacture have been studied again in depth. But whether we regard them as original or imitative, their Mamluk character remains undisputed. Even in the figure of the ship, the man with a water pipe wears the headgear of a Mamluk official, the *dawādār* (bearer of the royal inkwell).[37] These objects can be regarded as the earliest examples of their art form, and as probable indicators of how puppets looked and functioned in the Mamluk era, in general if not in every detail. They constitute the material remains of the shadow theater that are closest in time to illustrated manuscripts of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.

The figures are large—typically over 60 centimeters and, in many cases, half the size of a man. Their design was articulated by cutting fine parallel strips and circles out of leather sheets to create contrasting areas of geometrical patterning. Thinner sheets of colored leather, of which a few traces remain, were stitched around the main armature to generate areas of coloring (fig. 1).[38] The complete figures were assembled at the joints so that they could be moved with sticks by the puppet master. The result of this consummate art was the projection of fine variegated figures onto a backlit screen behind which he (or indeed she) brought them to life.[39] Candles and a dark atmosphere were required for the artifice to be effective, making night the preferred time for performances. In one recorded setup, the puppets

Fig. 1. Shadow puppet of a man carrying a tray, with remaining areas of color. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; ca. 84 x 25 cm. Offenbach am Main, Ledermuseum. (Photo: courtesy of the Ledermuseum)

Fig. 2. Shadow puppet of a man with two falcons. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; current height: 43 cm. Present location unknown. (After Paul Kahle, "Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten I," *Der Islam* 1 [1910]: fig. 11)

would be piled up in a box or basket in their order of appearance, taken out during the play, then placed in a second box once their role had been performed.[40]

The puppets discovered by Kahle encompass a wide variety of themes. One can at times discern a broad affinity of types with Ibn Daniyal's characters: for example, the description of the Amir Wisal cited above finds an echo in the puppet of a falconer, with his hat and bristling moustache (fig. 2).[41] Sexual themes are uncommon, though at least one extant character directly attests to their existence (see pp. 23–24). On the whole, these figures resonate more closely with Ibn al-Farid's poetic descriptions: they include people from different walks of life, with their assorted accessories (soldiers, falconers, riders, servants, prisoners, vendors, sailors, mahouts and their elephants, camel riders, a man with a peacock); various kinds of ships, with their crews in action; architectural settings (a house on two floors with figures in motion, a storage room for jars, an arched background for three running archers); wild animals and fantastic creatures (crocodiles, fish, eagles and birds, at times with human heads); and so forth.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE *MAQĀMĀT* AND THE SHADOW PLAY

The shadow play thus presented its urban audiences with a repertoire of scenes and forms ranging from the mundane to the fantastic, often with a penchant for the erotic. In the same period, the demand for illustrated books appears to have exploded in the Islamic world, stemming from an enlarged social base that went beyond courtly circles to include the higher echelons of urban society. This prompted a growing range of craftsmen to try their hand at pictorial art. In the process, visual references to the shadow play were introduced into their work.

The phenomenal success of al-Hariri's work among wealthy, literate audiences of the Arabic-speaking world must have provided a particular incentive to enhance its material presentation with images. The craftsmen who found themselves in the most favorable position to respond to this demand were scribes. The illustrator of Paris Ms. Arabe 5847 (now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France), al-Wasiti, belonged to their ranks, as shown by another surviving work in his hand: a small, unadorned copy of the *Rabīʿ al-abrār* (Spring of the Righteous), a work of literary edification by al-Zamakhshari (d. 1144), which was probably produced for sale in the market.[42] Likewise the fine pictures of London Ms. Or. 9718 (in the British Library) were the work of Ghazi ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman (d. 1310), a renowned calligrapher in his hometown of Damascus who had ties to the world of theologians.[43]

The images produced in this tradition were articulated, first by outlining figures and objects in a continuous solid line, typically drafted in red then partly or wholly finished in black, and by applying a uniform color fill to relevant surfaces.[44] A frequent additional ingredient was the patterning of textile surfaces with folds, scrolls, and geometrical forms. The skills involved find a direct correspondence in the work of scribes. Calligraphy was based on a mastery of the line, straight or curved, that could naturally be transposed to outlines.[45] Traditionally, scribes were often also trained in the art of illumination, with its vibrant palettes of colors and elaborate designs. Some mastered the whole process of book production and binding, a polyvalence somewhat immodestly summed up by al-Rawandi, when he wrote at the beginning of the thirteenth century: "I have learned seventy types of script and practised as a copyist of the Qur'an, an illuminator and a binder—skills I have acquired to perfection."[46] The most elemental ingredients of Arabic book illustration—its clarity of line and vivacity of color—were thus already present in this craft, and only awaited to be given a new form and spirit suited to narrative imagery.

There may also have been specialized illustrators, although evidence of their work is lacking for the *Maqāmāt*. In a *Materia medica* of Dioscorides kept at Mashhad (Iran) that dates to the twelfth or thirteenth century, the copyist left a note indicating that the illustrator (*muṣawwir*) had put an image in the wrong place; this slightly irritated comment implies that they were two different persons.[47] Whatever their exact range of skills, book illustrators of this period are likely to have sought inspiration in the world around them to create narrative scenes for their books. This would have been particularly true of the *Maqāmāt*, which, having been composed in the early twelfth century, required the invention of illustrations involving characters in dialogue, disguise, and shifting poses. Scribes and craftsmen working in cities such as Damascus, Baghdad, or Cairo would naturally have been exposed to the shadow theater in their daily life, and several defining iconographic features derived from this art form can be discerned in the illustrations of the *Maqāmāt*.

Completed in 734 (1334), the Vienna *Maqāmāt* can be ascribed, on the basis of decoration and several iconographic details, to Mamluk Egypt—a context close to that of the earliest extant puppets.[48] Here, as so often in the corpus, scenes are enclosed within simple theatrical frames, with curtains tied on either side or at the top, and set against a gold background. The figures are highly stylized, their bodies represented as compact masses with rigid inflexions of the hips or joints. This generates a stiff, almost mechanical sense of movement, often with unnatural contortions of the hips and necks. The faces are large, broad, and slightly square, with expressionless, frozen eyes that do not necessarily convey the direction of the gaze. All these features recall the shadow play and extant puppets, where the limbs move at the joints but the eyes remain immobile. Some particular types also echo the Menzaleh corpus, as illustrated, for example, by the comparison of a bearded guard with his robe and stick in manuscript and puppet alike (figs. 3 and 4).

The most famous *Maqāmāt* illustrator, al-Wasiti, used a different visual language, but one in which the imprint of the shadow play is equally present. In the twelfth *maqāma*, Abu Zayd passes himself off as an ascetic able to protect a caravan on its journey from Syria to Iraq through incantations he has received in a dream. The caravan arrives safely at the first town beyond the desert, whereupon the travellers offer the "holy man" a generous reward. Al-Harith next discovers him in a tavern, as he recounts:

Fig. 3. Shadow puppet of a man with a stick. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; height: 61 cm. Present location unknown. (After Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," fig. 8)

Fig. 4. Abu Zayd and a youth in front of the governor of Rahba (tenth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, Rajab 734 (March 1334). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. A.F. 9, fol. 36r (37.5 x 25.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

> I went by night to the wine hall in disguised habit; and there was the old man in a gay-colored dress, amid casks and wine vats. And about him were cupbearers surpassing in beauty, and lights that glittered, and the myrtle and the jasmine, and the pipe and the lute. And at one time he bade broach the wine casks, and at another he called the lutes to give utterance; and now he inhaled the perfumes, and now he courted the gazelles.[49]

From these indications, al-Wasiti has extrapolated what Grabar aptly called "the picture of a bar in the thirteenth-century Muslim world" (fig. 5).[50] The scene is set within a schematic architectural frame that echoes the principal extant prop from the Menzaleh collection (fig. 6). Some details, such as the young male or female character trampling grapes to make wine in the lower right, or the jars and the oud player in the lower left, seem inspired by real life. Abu Zayd, dressed in red and wearing a white beard, is drinking wine in an age-old posture of rulership, his legs forming a lozenge as he holds a cup and a handkerchief, one hand above the other.[51] An element of satire may be read into the discrepancy between the setting for this scene, the dubious credentials of its central figure, and the "royal" connotation of his bearing.[52] Al-Harith stands more casually to the right of Abu Zayd. He is depicted with an upright body, a face in profile, and arms that clearly

Fig. 5. Abu Zayd and al-Harith in a tavern (twelfth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, 634 (1237), copied and illustrated by al-Wasiti. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 5847, fol. 33r (37 x 28 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

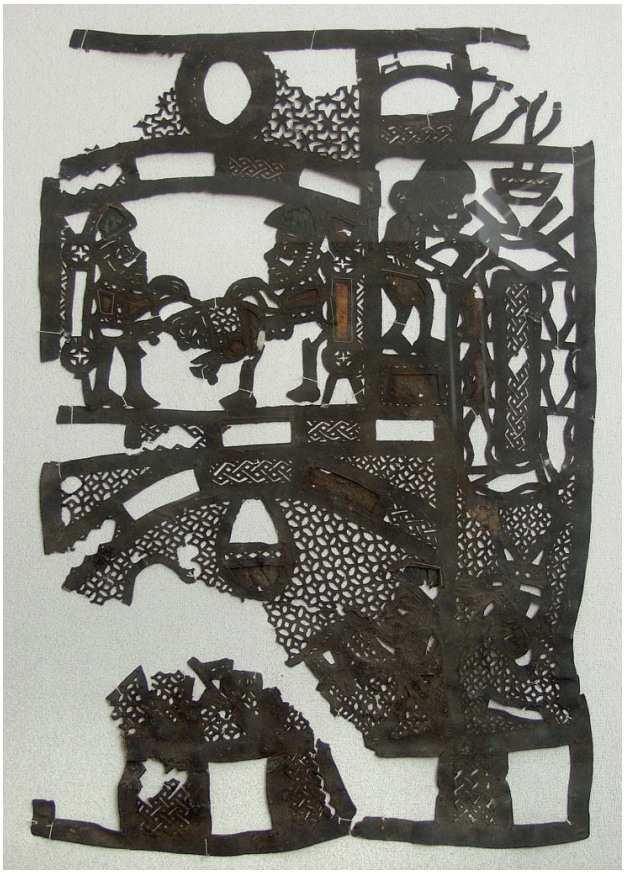

Fig. 6. Shadow puppet of a two-story building. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; 70 x 47 cm. Offenbach am Main, Ledermuseum. (Photo: courtesy of the Ledermuseum)

Fig. 7. Shadow puppet of a man carrying a peacock. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; height: 88 cm. Offenbach am Main, Ledermuseum. (Photo: courtesy of the Ledermuseum)

extend out of the body in a way that once again recalls a shadow puppet: compare him, for instance, with the bearded man in figure 7. His clothes, on the other hand, are articulated with drapery folds specific to the realm of manuscripts. Al-Wasiti's particular talent resides in his smooth and refined rendering of faces, and most of all in his ability to integrate such disparate elements into vibrant, unified compositions.

Similar remarks can be extended to other illustrated versions of the *Maqāmāt*. Human figures tend to convey emotions or actions through amplified gestures rather than facial expressions or naturalistic body movement. In some manuscripts—the Vienna *Maqāmāt* are a good example—the body joints, particularly the elbows and knees, meet in a rigid way that calls to mind an articulated object; in others, such as Ms. Arabe 5847 and Ms. Arabe 3929 (in the Bibliothèque nationale), the limbs are more supple, but equally animated. Figures and their faces are often depicted in profile, their silhouette strongly in evidence; the legs and hands markedly extend out of the torso, as in the shadow play, where this feature is essential for the action to be clearly understood by the audience.

In most scenes, the action is set in a flat plane, with characters facing each other on the same horizontal level against a blank background, like puppets pressed against the white screen of the shadow theater.[53] The figures are inordinately large in relation to their setting, again like shadow puppets on a screen: for example, the ones shown in figures 1, 2, and 21 (see p. 24) are taller

Fig. 8. Abu Zayd before the governor of Merv (thirty-eighth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Saint Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, Ms. S.23, p. 256 (total page dimensions 25 x 19 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

than the architectural prop of figure 6. In outdoor scenes, the groundline is either absent or represented by a thin patch of grass or ground that looks like a prop. The protagonists face each other along this line, seemingly placed there by an invisible hand.[54] Indoor scenes are enclosed in a flat, schematic frame to which a curtain is often attached, as if to unveil a stage. The frame is typically drawn as a simple rectangle; another common form is the tripartite house drawn in red and spread over one or two floors (fig. 8). These two generic types can serve to represent just about any kind of building, from a tavern to a palace, to an Indian household, and so on.[55] By their schematic nature, they recall architectural props; indeed, as already noted, the same tripartite composition occurs in the principal extant such artefact (fig. 6). A plethora of small characters is performing different tasks on both levels of this unidentified building, as in al-Wasiti's tavern (fig. 5) and in other scenes.[56]

The curtains themselves evoke the shadow theater stage, which in all but the simplest settings would have required a framing device to create a backstage and conceal the performers and their accessories from the public. As might be expected, such paraphernalia have not survived from medieval times, but if later Ottoman and Chinese examples are anything to go by, they may have

consisted of a solid frame covered with textiles and curtains.[57] Indeed, at the beginning of each play, Ibn Daniyal refers to the unveiling of the screen *(jalā al-sitāra)*, although this could also have been achieved by simply lighting the candles.[58]

Ships and boats are, after architecture, the most frequent background elements in *Maqāmāt* illustration. They are represented in a flat outline that makes them look like objects placed by a hand, this time onto a patch of stylized water (fig. 9). Their form is schematic in nature, again with disproportionately large human figures that are often drawn in profile.[59] On the decks of larger sea ships are rooms or small domed cabins that frame passengers in the same manner that architectural structures do in other images. These features can once again be linked to the imperatives of visibility in the shadow theater, and to extant puppets of ships (fig. 10).

The approach to the human silhouette, the picture frame, and spatiality manifested in these manuscripts marks a break from long-established Christian traditions of iconography. In Byzantine and most Syriac manuscripts, three-quarter and frontal views dominate, profiles are rare, and figures have solemn expressions and restrained movements, usually with straight legs, upright bodies, and elbows close to the chest. Frames, when they exist, consist of decorative illumination rather than schematic architecture.[60] Architectural elements are included within this frame and treated as part of the landscape, with figures standing before and beside it (fig. 11). Curtains are uncommon and attached not to the picture frame but to the architecture within; they are spread outwards horizontally, often tightly tied, and typically accompany images of Christ and saints. Their form suggests a resonance not with the performance stage but with the *katapetasma,* the curtain that in churches separates the sanctuary from the nave, and hence the sacred from the worldly.[61] The ships that appear in Byzantine illustration, notably for scenes of Christ walking on the sea, are given more depth than in the *Maqāmāt* by showing both sides of the hull. Their figures have a more logical size in relation to the vessel as a whole; the latter also occupies a proportionally smaller part of the image.[62]

Christian illustrators tended to spread their figures between a foreground, a middle ground, and a background, rather than flattening them into the same plane; a tentative impression of depth was often created by making them stand at different points within this receding surface, or having them sit on an object with perspective lines.[63] In the *Maqāmāt,* only a few compositions, notably in the Wasiti and Saint Petersburg manuscripts, reach comparable spatial complexity by expanding on these devices and inventing new ones.[64] One such innovation is the depiction of an audience seen from behind—a detail particularly favored by the illustrator of the Saint Petersburg manuscript (fig. 8), but also used by others.[65] This gives the reader holding the book a sense of involvement with the scene, as if he or she were seated behind a first row of spectators—the very kind of glimpse one may have caught at a shadow play.

Nothwithstanding significant divergences, Christian iconography did also provide the basis of significant stylistic elements in *Maqāmāt* illustration. The compositions with compact groups of standing listeners and the manner of drawing some faces shown in semi-profile seem dependent on this source.[66] The same can be said of the straight drapery folds ultimately rooted in the classical tradition, although distinctive scroll folds also appear in Islamic manuscripts. The haloes of Christian saints became a standard fitting that could be used at will, as in figure 17 (see p. 20), where the characters were clearly not meant to radiate holiness. The treatment of the sky in some *Maqāmāt* images—a thin blue slice of a circle hanging from the upper frame—can also be traced to Byzantine and other Christian iconography.[67] As we shall see, the illustrative mode heralded by the *Maqāmāt* in turn left its mark on some Christian manuscripts produced in the Islamic lands in this period.

Some elements of *Maqāmāt* illustration do not find protoypes in either Christian sources or the shadow theater. The stylized trees often seen in backgrounds may bear a relationship to the semi-abstract vegetal motifs that were a staple of architectural and textile ornament in the Islamic world, and had also entered the imagery of some Arabic versions of Dioscorides.[68] A few recurrent human subjects—notably the enthroned ruler, governor, or judge—can be linked to the traditional imagery of kingship in Islam, a detail already noted in al-Wasiti's tavern scene (fig. 5). Another example is the image of a seated ruler drinking from a cup in the frontispiece to the Vienna *Maqāmāt* (fig. 12). His static pos-

Fig. 9. A ship bound for Oman (thirty-ninth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Saint Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, Ms. S.23, p. 260 (total page dimensions 25 x 19 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Russian Academy of Sciences)

Fig. 10. Shadow puppet of a ship with soldiers. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; 49 x 67.5 cm. Present location unknown. (After Paul Kahle, "Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten II," *Der Islam* 2 [1911]: fig. 43)

Fig. 11. Gregory and his father. Gregory Nazianzenus, *Homilies*, eleventh century. Mount Athos, Monastery of Saint Panteleimon, Ms. Cod. 6, fol. 281r (total page dimensions 24.5 x 20 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Monastery of Saint Panteleimon)

ture and activity once again reflect the age-old Islamic iconography of the banquet, itself rooted in the Sasanian imagery of rulership.[69] Surrounded by angels, his portrait is set within a framing illumination reminiscent of Mamluk Korans.[70] But an acrobat irrupts into the foreground, bringing an animated touch to this pompous *entrée en matière*. The articulation of his joints makes him look as if he were literally being moved by a stick, bringing to mind the acrobat Hassun al-Mawzun (Hassun the Balanced), who "bends [his body], tumbles over and walks like a crab" in *ʿAjīb wa gharīb*.[71] The refreshing intrusion of this character in the Vienna manuscript can be seen as a metaphor of the changes that swept across Arabic book illustration of this period.

The illustrations of the *Maqāmāt,* in sum, reflect a figural style and a mode of scene visualization rooted in the shadow theater and largely shaped by its requirements of performative expressivity and clarity. These elements were transposed onto the pages of books and blended with other sources, notably Christian ones, in an individual manner by their illustrators. As a result, a variety of contrasting patterns can be observed across the corpus. Paris Ms. Arabe 3929 and London Ms. Or. Add. 22114 (in the British Library), for example, have dissimilar styles of illustration: the figures are supple, colorful, and animated, with some facial detail, in the former manuscript, whereas in the latter they are more corpulent and stiffly articulated, with schematic eyes and a relatively toned-down palette. Yet in both cases, the features outlined above are so prominent that the impression of seeing a shadow play in action often becomes striking.[72] The same is true of numerous sim-

Fig. 12. Frontispiece. Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, Rajab 734 (March 1334). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. A.F. 9, fol. 1r (37.5 x 25.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek)

ple outdoor or framed scenes in the other nine extant illustrated copies of this work made in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.[73] But in their case, more complex dynamics can often be perceived in the treatment of other subjects.

The human figures in Ms. Arabe 5847, the Saint Petersburg manuscript, and Istanbul Ms. Esad Efendi 2961 (in the Süleymaniye Library) are broadly comparable with those in Ms. Arabe 3929, with their smooth articulation of movement, expressive limbs, and tentative impression of volume derived from the treatment of clothes and faces.[74] In the first three manuscripts, however, compositions also have a tendency to become crowded, and some reflect more elaborate experiments with pictorial space; even so, the articulation of many characters, as well as the frames and props, is consistently reminiscent of the shadow play, as, for instance, in figures 5 and 8.[75]

The Oxford *Maqāmāt* were produced for a Mamluk amir in 738 (1337), only a few years after the Vienna manuscript. Both of these works thus belong to related contexts, and also share some essential visual characteristics, notably their large and rigidly articulated figures set in a decidedly flat space, against a gold background. In the Oxford *Maqāmāt*, the characters are more slender, with a strong predilection for profiles. The standard of execution is relatively coarse, with a tendency to crowd scenes and fill the background with stylized plants and scrolls that hinder the immediate visual impact of the image. The characters in the Vienna

manuscript often have more contained, less expressive limb movements, an impression reinforced by the tendency for their torsoes to overlap. The faces are, moreover, predominantly shown in semi-profile. Nevertheless, in this manuscript, several key elements already outlined previously—large figures, mechanical articulation, notably of faces and hips, simple frames, and uncluttered backgrounds—create an unmistakable visual affinity with the shadow play, although its flavor is markedly different than, for example, in Ms. Arabe 3929 and Ms. Or. Add. 22114.

The ties with Christian narrative imagery are strongest in Paris Ms. Arabe 6094 (dated 619 [1222]), where they extend to the treatment of facial traits, the emaciated proportions of human bodies, and compositional schemes.[76] Yet in almost every scene from this manuscript, one or several characters betray an unmistakable kinship with shadow puppets through the movement of their arms, hands, and legs, and their rigid articulations. Indoor scenes are enclosed within schematic architectural frames, often simplified to the extreme. A few figures lean forward in a surreal manner, as if their soles had been glued to the ground (fig. 13).[77] This feature, which is odd from the perspective of manuscripts, brings to mind the puppeteer moving a stick at torso level while keeping the legs in place, as if to convey involvement with the opposing figure through exaggerated body movement.

London Ms. Or. 9718, produced by Ghazi ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman, has a distinct style of refined, small-scale drawing most evident in the articulation of textiles and clothing. The characters show some gestural animation, albeit less ample than elsewhere; schematic architectural frames occur, yet compositions tend to be busy and symmetrical, with a static, formalized quality not frequently encountered in this corpus.[78] The legibility of the images is further reduced today by their subsequent defacement. In London Ms. Or. 1200, finally, figures are drawn through an accumulation of sketchy lines, without a particular emphasis on outlines or protruding limbs, and with few architectural frames. Even so, in both of these manuscripts, many simple dialogue scenes set indoors or against a prop-like vegetation doubtlessly carry the imprint of the shadow play.[79] Intriguingly, in a later replacement folio from

Fig. 13. Abu Zayd and his son in front of the kadi of Saʿda, Yemen (thirty-seventh *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, 619 (1222). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 6094, fol. 130v (30 x 23 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Ms. Or. 1200, a kadi who receives Abu Zayd is depicted in a highly schematic profile; his proportions are gigantic in relation to the composition, and the hatching of his body surface calls to mind the patterning of Kahle's puppets, as if the subtle transposition of earlier manuscripts were being reenacted in the most open manner (compare fig. 14 with fig. 7).[80] On the whole, however, in Ms. Or. 9718 and most of all in Ms. Or. 1200, the iconographic ties with the shadow play are less prominent than in the rest of the corpus; these two manuscripts are also set apart by a comparatively small format and script.[81] This combination of text, size, and imagery makes them less adapted to the needs of oral performance than most illustrated versions of the *Maqāmāt*.

Fig. 14. Abu Zayd before a kadi in Alexandria (ninth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, undated replacement folio belonging to a manuscript dated 654 (1256). London, British Library, Ms. Or. 1200, fol. 24r (total page dimensions 24.5 x 17 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

ANIMATION, MOVEMENT, AND COLOR

In the pre-modern Islamic world, the preferred way of reading books, whether literary, religious, or other, was not silent and solitary but oral and sociable, with the text being delivered in front of more or less formal assemblies (*majlis,* pl. *majālis*). By virtue of their inherent performative dimension and narrative structure, the *Maqāmāt* were particularly suited to this mode of appreciation. A convivial function seems reflected in the physical features of their illustrated copies, where the images tend to be very clear, mainly thanks to the features outlined above, and to accompany an amply spaced, legible text. Mid-level patrons probably convened gatherings geared towards lighthearted literary enjoyment around these books in their urban houses and courtyards. Most of these volumes are large by the standards of the era, yet small enough to have been easily turned or passed around.[82] Pauses may have been marked to show each new image to members of an audience, presumably opening the way to interludes during which they could exercise their own wit.

For illustrators working in this perspective, the tried and tested iconography of the shadow play therefore had the additional advantage of responding to the imperative of visibility at a glance, or from a distance.[83] But this spectacle may have also sparked their creative imagination beyond the sole dimension of form. In the *Naẓm al-sulūk*, Ibn al-Farid writes:

> Consider the *Maqāmāt* of al-Saruji; ponder his disguise (*talwīn,* lit. coloring) and you will surely find it good to take my counsel; you will recognize that whatever outward form and image *(shakl wa ṣūra)* the soul assumes, it is inwardly disguised in sense.[84]

This lexical field of color and likeness brings to mind an imagined Abu Zayd, perhaps his image as seen in a manuscript. In almost the same breath, Ibn al-Farid goes on to associate our world of appearances with the shadow theater, as if to underline the shared artifice and performative dimension of the two genres.[85] Shadow puppets performed their acts in movement and color. Even immobilized on the pages of modern publications or the walls of museums, they continue to exude a sense of animation—as with, for example, the man carrying a tray in figure 1. The effect must have been all the more vivid when experienced in full sound and motion in actual performances. This spectacle may, in other words, have left its mark on the animation and vibrant color that characterize so much *Maqāmāt* illustration. Several distinctive features of this corpus, many of which were noted by Grabar but never fully explained, might also find their rationale in this context.

Throughout the corpus, Abu Zayd is distinguished by his lack of an established iconography, a set of attributes that would make him immediately recognizable to the reader.[86] Instead, by flipping through the pages of a given manuscript, one discovers him successively represented by completely distinct characters, young or old, male or female, without recurrent traits, like one puppet being changed for another in a shadow play. The parallel with *ʿAjīb wa gharīb* is striking: in this shadow play, the eponymous (anti-)hero successively appears as, among other impersonations, a preacher, a doctor, a trader in amulets, an acrobat, a camel driver, and so on. Many of the same roles are also assumed by Abu Zayd in the *Maqāmāt*, which attests to a shared repertoire between manuscripts and shadow puppets.

Fig. 15. Abu Zayd joins al-Harith and his companions in a game of riddles (thirty-sixth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3929, right to left: fols. 180r, 180v, and 181r (32 x 21.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Al-Harith, being a less versatile character, usually appears as a grown man in Arab dress, but again with a variability of type and attire that would be difficult to understand outside this framework. In *Maqāmāt* illustration as a whole, a familiar cast of figures gets recycled to impersonate different characters, while the same images are used to signify different furnishings and architectural settings, in the manner of puppets and props in a shadow play.

A series of three images from Ms. Arabe 3929 (fig. 15) will serve to illustrate this point. In the thirty-sixth *maqāma*, Abu Zayd, appearing as an ungainly old man, joins al-Harith and nine of his companions in a literary game of riddles: the text tells us, by way of an introduction, that he arrived, addressed them while standing, and finally sat down "in his place for a good stay."[87] The first illustration of this brief passage shows Abu Zayd coming towards three seated men under the guise of an ascetic, as signaled by his tall *qalansuwa* (conical hat), which is rounded at the top and covered by a hood, as well as his walking stick and his long, white beard.[88] Turning the page over, one discovers him standing in the midst of the audience, this time as an ordinary man with a gray beard, a blue turban, and a white tunic. His posture seems comical: his hips are twisted, and one hand is close to his face while the other is engulfed in a long sleeve. But come the next page, he is seated in front of the assembly, with a dark green tunic, blue turban, brown shawl, white beard, and walking stick. The audience is nearly as variable as he is, consisting first of three, then four, then again three men, each time with different clothing and facial traits, from young to old, ginger-haired to white, and beardless to bearded. The continuity of the compositions generates an almost kinetic visual sequence—a "comic-strip effect," as Grabar put it[89]—in which these shifting characters, notably Abu Zayd, evoke a succession of puppets appearing and vanishing on the shadow-play screen.

Comparable sequences of two or three images appear again in this and other manuscripts.[90] A remarkably long one can also be noted in Ms. Or. Add. 22114. In the forty-sixth *maqāma*, young pupils display their verbal talent before Abu Zayd and al-Harith, a straightforward storyline to which most illustrators responded with a general school scene. But

in this manuscript eight successive images accompany the episode: each of them shows two adult characters (Abu Zayd on the right and a changing character, presumably al-Harith, on the left) seated on either side of a succession of small children (fig. 16).[91] Each child is dressed differently from the others, with his arms and legs in motion. The images appear on consecutive pages, giving the reader the impression of seeing a series of stills taken from a motion picture—or rather, in this context, puppets performing their acts in a shadow play.

This manner of animating a scene might also call to mind a variant on the shadow play described by Ibn Hazm as involving "figures mounted on a wooden wheel that is made to revolve rapidly, so that one group of figures disappears as another appears."[92] In a *rubāʿī* (quatrain), ʿUmar Khayyam (d. 1123) also wrote:

> This sphere of heaven in which we wander lost
> Seems to me rather like a shadow-lantern
> The sun's the lamp, the world's the twirling shade
> And we the figures painted round about.[93]

Although neither allusion is detailed, they both appear to describe a type of shadow-lantern, an object with a candle at its center and a revolving mechanism with cutout or painted figures at its periphery. Such devices are also known to have existed at least since the Sung era (960–1279) in China, where their rotating motion was triggered by the hot air of the candle.[94] It is difficult to assert whether the above sequences of images derive from the simple spectacle of the shadow-play screen or this mechanized variant, but their decomposition of movement seems doubtlessly related to this family of performative arts.

The *Maqāmāt* are also remarkable for telling a new story, in visual terms, with each illustrated version, through an original selection and interpretation of scenes, whereas in other works existing cycles and compositions were often repeated.[95] *Maqāmāt* illustrators do not seem to have followed the latter path even in the fourteenth century, when a large body of earlier manuscripts would have been in existence. As pointed out by Grabar, "considering the limited range of episodes to be illustrated, the variety of topics is remarkable…In spite of the existence of an embryonically consistent typology of forms and interpretations, the variety of ways presumed types appear is astounding."[96] This propensity to reinvent and reinterpret scenes while constantly recycling and recasting characters seems to reflect a mode of visualization and dramatization inspired by the shadow theater, with which several generations of illustrators appear to have engaged afresh, rather than simply turning to the work of their predecessors. In a given context, for example Cairo during Ibn Daniyal's lifetime, the stylistic correspondences between puppets and books may have been even closer than the surviving evidence would suggest.

HUMOR, INDECENCY, AND THE LITERARY MILIEU

With their architectural frames, prop-like accessories, and expressive body language, the images in these manuscripts would have elicited an immediate sense of familiarity among audiences acquainted with the shadow play. The correspondence may sometimes have reached specific human types, as already noted in relation to figures 4, 5, and 12. Another example occurs in the twenty-sixth *maqāma*, when Abu Zayd instigates a fight with a merciless creditor in an astute attempt to bring his case before the governor of Tus, whom he knows will be swayed by his verbal mastery.[97] In Ms. Arabe 3929, this passage became the basis of an outright theatrical act infused with lighthearted humor (fig. 17). A leaping youth wearing a tall conical hat (probably Abu Zayd) pulls the beard of a frowning old man carrying a bag (presumably the creditor and his money). The youth is holding out a clenched fist, as if readying himself to punch his opponent in the face. With his outstretched hands, the third character, to the youth's left, conveys his trepidation.

This comical scene seems directly taken from a shadow play; its characters float on the blank expanse of the page, like puppets on a white screen. The central figure, furthermore, wears a headgear reminiscent of the *ṭurṭūr*, a tall, pointed hat that was an emblem of ridicule in Islamic culture. People convicted of a crime used to be paraded around, facing backwards on a donkey, wearing such a hat, which was often adorned with seashells, bells, and animal tails to augment their humiliation. This punishment is depicted in one painting from a Persianate manuscript probably made in Tabriz

Fig. 16. Abu Zayd at a school (forty-sixth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth or fourteenth century. London, British Library, Ms. Or. Add. 22114, right to left, top to bottom: fols. 162r, 162v, 163r, 163v, 164r, 164v 165r, 166r (new foliation; total page dimensions 26.75 x 19 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the British Library)

Fig. 17. Abu Zayd in a fight with his creditor (twenty-sixth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3929, fol. 96v (32 x 21.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 18. A man wearing a *ṭurṭūr* being paraded on a donkey. Album page from an unidentified manuscript, late fourteenth to early fifteenth century. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. Hazine 2153, fol. 99v (12 x 16.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

or Baghdad towards the end of the fourteenth century—a context distinct from that of Arabic illustrated books, and one in which the shadow play bears no apparent relation to the style of illustration (fig. 18). Textual sources tell us that market inspectors would hang the infamous object above their bench (*dikka*), together with a whip (*dirra*), as a deterrent for potential offenders.[98] Until Mamluk times in Cairo, during the celebration of *nawrūz,* the spring festival of the New Year, a jester of strong constitution also used to ride the streets naked on a donkey, wearing a *ṭurṭūr* made of palm leaves. This man, followed by the crowd, handed out petitions demanding money from the rich, who, if they refused, were showered with insults while the populace remained at their door until they acceded to the request.[99]

In everyday life, however, the *ṭurṭūr* was primarily associated with clowns and entertainers. In his elegy to Iblis, Tayf al-Khayal thus laments that Baybars's men have ransacked, among the other riches of taverns, "the *ṭurṭūr*s and the *ṭār* (tambourine)."[100] As such, this type of hat must have also been a frequent sight in the shadow theater. The Menzaleh puppets count among their ranks a character playing the flute on horseback who sports a similar, bent hat.[101] One of his consorts, the Sudanese clown Natu, is thus introduced by Ibn Daniyal in *ʿAjīb wa gharīb*:

> Natu makes his entry with his drum, *ṭurṭūr*, and forelocks (*dhawāʾib*), shaking the spiers (*mazārīq)*. He pretends to take flight back and forth on the road, sticks his eyes out, opens his mouth with his fingers and brays like a mule. He dances and sings to the rhythm of drums,

Fig. 19. Front (left) and back (right) of a bronze inkwell inlaid with copper and silver. Eastern Islamic world, twelfth or thirteenth century; height: 9.5 cm, diameter: 7.5 cm. Copenhagen, The David Collection, inv. no. 32/1970. (Photo: courtesy of The David Collection).

> then proclaims: "Natu, oh Natu, oh Natu Natu! Gazelle of the Sudan, most manly of men! If the boys were still alive, they wouldn't have died!"[102]

Natu finds an echo in two dark-skinned figures with conical hats depicted in profile, with disproportionately large legs, in a slave-market scene from the Saint Petersburg *Maqāmāt*.[103] Likewise, a variety of other characters in this manuscript, Ms. Arabe 3929, the Istanbul *Maqāmāt*, and Ms. Or. 1200 are shown wearing a tall conical hat evocative of the *ṭurṭūr*. Most of them are slender and appear in profile, some with manifestly comical poses—sulking, for example, in the corner of one mosque scene.[104] To their original audiences, these characters may have immediately conjured scenes of laughter, perhaps against a joyful background of music, noise, and animation. So popular was the type of man shown in profile with a *ṭurṭūr* (itself often mirrored by a pointed beard), that in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries it also made its way onto painted ceramic vessels.[105] A similar character also appears on a bronze inkwell of the same period (fig. 19). The articulation of his clothing and his supple body movement suggest a prototype in book illustration. He is carrying a walking stick and purse, both of which seem to denote a dervish, but his frantically agitated limbs seem to contradict this impression.[106] On the other side of the inkwell, the same figure is shown again holding a cup while kneeling, which seems to confirm that the first image may be the subverted portrait of an ascetic.[107] The *ṭurṭūr* was typologically related to the tall *qalansuwa* of Sufis, and this ambiguity may have been consciously exploited in this image—and in one closely related depiction of Abu Zayd as a (fake) holy man in Ms. Arabe 3929 (fig. 20).

In the *Maqāmāt*, the sense of joyful animation generated by countless figures and compositions is often augmented by the introduction of details—note, for instance, in figure 8, the character embracing a pillar while Abu Zayd enthralls the governor of Merv with his eloquence. A comical dimension becomes increasingly evident when one attempts to read the images alongside the text, as their original audiences would have done—and this, even in apparently emotionless manuscripts such as the Vienna *Maqāmāt*.[108] Occasionally, this jubilant mood takes an unexpected turn toward indecency, as in one mosque scene from the latter manuscript, in which Abu Zayd is shown facing two men in prayer with his genital parts in evidence.[109]

Licentiousness was not a characteristic of al-Hariri's work, so that the rationale for most of these digressions

Fig. 20. Abu Zayd, having passed himself off as a holy preacher, departs (twenty-first *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3929, fol. 52v (32 x 21.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

must be sought outside the parameters of the text, within a broader cultural context. Levity (*hazl*) and gross, comical indecency (*mujūn*) had been a part of Arabic literary life and popular entertainment since at least the early Abbasid era, notably in poetry, live theater, and the shadow play. *Mujūn* was cited by Ibn Daniyal as one virtue of his three plays in *al-Mutayyam*,[110] and the same brazen spirit could sometimes hold sway during literary assemblies, in a relaxation of usual social norms. For illustrators working in this perspective, the shadow theater would have once again offered a fertile trove of forms and ideas, being a realm in which this type of verbal excess had long ago been translated into images. Details pointing to such an iconography can be derived from Ibn Daniyal's plays, as when, in *Ṭayf al-khayāl*, Shaykh ʿAflaq, the husband of Umm al-Rashid, the matchmaker, recites a lengthy versified ode to his declining penis. He notably laments, while sobbing and braying, that it has become "soft as melting candle wax" and that this once "erect *alif*" is now but a "bending *nūn*."[111] Among the Menzaleh puppets, a large standing figure is equipped with a seventeen-centimeter long retractable phallus that could be stuck out during performances (fig. 21).[112] He is holding an object that Kahle saw as a water flask but could also have been a rattle, and wears a pointed hat, albeit one that seems shorter than the *ṭurṭūr*.

The mirror image of this figure occurs in Ms. Arabe 3929 when, in the twentieth *maqāma*, Abu Zayd, who is wearing a short, concentric hat (though again, not a *ṭurṭūr*), reveals his genital parts to al-Harith (fig. 22). This *maqāma* contains one of the rare sexual allusions in al-Hariri's work, as Abu Zayd, who is passing himself off as a beggar, laments in verse over the decline of

Fig. 21. Shadow puppet of a man with a pointed hat. Egypt, fourteenth to eighteenth century; height (excluding hat): 77 cm. Present location unknown. The hand of the outstretched arm is not original. (After Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," fig. 36)

his sexual powers with age. Having departed, he is prompted by al-Harith to show his body, whereupon he "lowered his trousers and pointed to his penis."[113] This excursus, even if mild by Ibn Daniyal's standards, was promptly seized upon by the illustrator of this manuscript—and of Ms. Arabe 5847, the Vienna *Maqāmāt*, and probably Ms. Or. Add. 22114, where this part of Abu Zayd's body has been erased.[114] The few other images in the corpus that err on the side of licentiousness, sometimes quite crudely, do so without any apparent invitation from the text.[115]

Having reached the hands of an owner, these pictures could be brought to life by live assemblies. Lighthearted or coarse, they could contribute to the joyful, sometimes unbridled, mood of literary circles. This integration with a broader culture of orality may hold part of the explanation for their success. Such was their appeal that, as has already been pointed out, they were also transferred to other media, such as metalwork and ceramics.[116] This circulation of forms presumably took place around the book markets of cities, through the medium of paper sketches made by craftsmen.[117] One cannot exclude that at times the movement reached full circle and came to have an impact on the manufacture of shadow puppets.

In *Ṭayf al-khayāl,* when the Amir Wisal's secretary, al-Taj Babuj (Crown Slippers), is called forward, the text, instead of describing him, simply indicates: "He appears like this"—which implies that an image was originally drawn here.[118] This image may have been based on a puppet owned by the *rayyis* ʿAli ibn Mawlahum, or have simply been the product of Ibn Daniyal's imagination. It is conceivable that in original manuscripts of the work or some early copies by scribes, pictures such as this were drawn according to the dominant idiom of book illustration. Through such a channel, or through the more direct transfers just evoked for other media, aspects of the visual language developed in books may conceivably have found their way into the manufacture of shadow puppets—for example, by prompting the introduction of finer painted facial traits and textile folds onto translucent sheets of colored leather. But evidence of this reverse process, if it did ever occur, is lacking.

THE BROADER ILLUSTRATIVE TRADITION

Having outlined the main features of a phenomenon so prominently displayed in the *Maqāmāt*, it is now time to turn to its broader ramifications. Lively, colorful figures populate the pages of most illustrated books of this period, and iconographic elements derived from the shadow play often appear in what seem like the most unlikely texts. *De materia medica*, for example, was a Greek classic of pharmacology composed by Dioscorides in the first century B.C. Its first Arabic translations, made in the ninth century, probably inherited from the Greek originals the naturalistic depictions of plants that were necessary to its comprehension. Human figures were introduced into this work at a relatively early point

Fig. 22. Abu Zayd shows his body to al-Harith (twentieth *maqāma*). Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, thirteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3929, fol. 45r (32 x 21.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 23. Illustrations to *Isatis agria* (woad) and *tilephion* (orpine). From a Greek *Materia medica* of Dioscorides, late eighth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Grec 2179, fol. 5v (34.7 x 26.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

by Greek illustrators: thus, in Paris Ms. Grec 2179, which dates to the late eighth century, a small figure is occasionally depicted beside a plant to illustrate the disease for which it provides a cure (fig. 23). This book may have been produced in the Middle East, and its Arabic marginal glosses suggest that it remained in the Islamic world for a long time before eventually reaching the Latin West around the thirteenth century.[119]

The idea of introducing human figures may arguably have come from such precedents.[120] Yet by the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, illustrators of Islamic scientific manuscripts were giving the same subject matter an entirely different flavor by introducing full narrative scenes with a vibrant mood and style that fundamentally severed the links with the classical tradition. Small figures have thus come to abound in a dispersed Arabic copy of the work dated 621 (1224); they interact on a flat groundline through amplified gestures, with clearly profiled silhouettes. Outdoor subjects appear against a blank background, while the tripartite or simple house frames also encountered in the *Maqāmāt* have been converted into pharmacies and medical practices.[121]

In one emblematic illustration, a doctor receives two patients (fig. 24). As in the rest of this work, the text plainly describes the characteristics of a plant and its medicinal virtues. In the image, the physician is seated in profile, extending one hand out and bringing the other to his mouth, in a traditional posture of reflection or attention.[122] His two patients are seated on the ground with a less solemn bearing. One of them is blindfolded and pointing towards the ceiling with both hands. The other has an enormous, swelling belly and is reclining backwards. He resembles a puppet in his

Fig. 24. A doctor and his patients. From an Arabic *Materia medica* of Dioscorides dated 621 (1224). Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, S1986.97, single folio from a dispersed manuscript (33.1 x 24.3 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

articulated joints and rigid posture; his hands are expressively outstretched, and he is holding what looks like a fan.[123] Despite its factual subject matter, the passage has thus formed the basis of an eminently comical scene that once again recalls the shadow play. Several acts involving doctors were indeed part of Ibn Daniyal's shadow theater, where a Dr. Yaqtinus gives an account of the death of Umm al-Rashid, the matchmaker, in a brothel, while in *ʿAjīb wa gharīb,* the herb hawker Nubata al-Aʿshab al-ʿAttar is lauded as "successor of Dioscorides and offspring of Ibn al-Baytar."[124]

In other books of this era, including other illustrated versions of Dioscorides, the imprint of the shadow play is also perceptible, though it is rarely as pronounced as in this copy of the work and in the *Maqāmāt*. The earliest dated Arabic manuscript to show the imprint of the new idiom is a *Kitāb al-Diryāq* (Book of the Theriac) of pseudo-Galen, completed in 595 (1199) (Paris Ms. Arabe 2964).[125] The animation of its figures is crisp, with vibrant colors; profiles and silhouettes are more frequent than in Christian manuscripts, but less so than in the *Maqāmāt*. Scenes are often composed on two vertically superposed levels, rather than in a single horizontal plane. Secondary figures and decorative elements, such as plants, crowd much of the picture space, at the expense of the immediate visual impact that characterizes much *Maqāmāt* illustration. Yet in a comical touch of indecency, a few characters casually undertake their daily activities with their genital parts in evidence. In one passage from the text, the physician Andromachus the Younger recalls once going through a field as peasants were working the land. He was told the story of a man cured from a cutaneous disease by drinking wine from a jar in which a decomposed snake had been dis-

Fig. 25. The poisoned slave at King Bathulus's pavilion. *Kitāb al-Diryāq* of pseudo-Galen, Rabiʿ I 595 (January 1199). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2964, p. 27 (37 x 29 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 26. *Kitāb al-Diryāq* of pseudo-Galen, Rabiʿ I 595 (January 1199). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 2964, detail of p. 22. (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

covered. Andromachus, the wine jar, and the peasants are all present in the illustration; but a green figure with a shovel on the right-hand side has his penis revealed by a lifted robe (fig. 26).[126]

This appears to have been more than a temporary elation on the part of the illustrator, since the same detail crops up again, without warning, in the episode where a slave poisoned with opium at the palace of King Bathulus is accidentally cured by a snake bite (fig. 25).[127] The king is shown in the traditional posture of the banqueting ruler; but on the level below him, both the gardener on the far right and the attendant standing next to the slave are undressed below waist level. The latter has a clearly visible penis; he closely resembles the peasant in the previous image in face, dress, and body. This, together with their marked profiles and the articulation of their knees, makes it probable that an actual shadow puppet served as their model. Indeed, in *ʿAjīb wa gharīb,* Andromachus makes a brief appearance, which was possibly staged with a puppet, to vaunt the merits of his theriac against different bites; this is preceded by a passage about the powers of snakes that may have also brought some of these creatures to the screen.[128] These humorous extrapolations on the *Diryāq* suggest that related subjects could be dramatized in the shadow theater.

Returning to Ms. Arabe 2964, there is nothing in the letter or spirit of the text to suggest the introduction of

these pictorial details. However, in the context of a majlis, they could have prompted a lighthearted diversion from the main subject matter, in accordance with the widespread conception in Arabic literary life that the seriousness (*jidd*) of learned pursuits ought to be counterbalanced by levity (*hazl*).[129] In the manuscript as a whole, elements originating in the shadow play have been absorbed into an accomplished iconography that blends them with Christian sources and the traditional princely cycle in Islam.

Kalīla wa Dimna seems to have been, alongside the *Maqāmāt*, among the most frequently illustrated Arabic texts in this era.[130] Based on Indian animal fables, this work has an inherent oral dimension, and its less sophisticated language gave it the potential to garner a broader popular appeal. In his preface, the author of the Arabic version, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. ca. 756), explains his ambition to captivate the hearts of "lighthearted youths." The work, he also says, should have images "so as to delight the hearts of princes [and] increase their pleasure."[131] Many of the animal scenes follow age-old iconographic traditions, with roots stretching at least as far back as the eighth century, when some closely related subjects were painted in the wall frescoes of Panjikent, in Central Asia.[132] The imprint of the shadow play can also be felt in some scenes with human narratives. Given the subject matter, it may come as a surprise that images of a husband (or lover) and wife in bed also appear repeatedly in manuscripts of this text.

In the story of the man and the thief, a beautiful wife refuses her charms to her older husband, a rich merchant, until one night she is so terrified by a thief intruding into their house that she jumps into his bed. The merchant awakes; upon seeing her by his side, he looks up and discovers the thief. Such is his delight that he allows the intruder to take whatever he wishes and run away.[133] In Paris Ms. Arabe 3465 (thirteenth century), the man is shown lying next to his wife, whose breasts are naked. Both of them are depicted looking at a thief whose stiff joints, neat movement, and pronounced outline recall the image of a shadow puppet (fig. 27). The scene is set within a stage-like architectural frame, with a curtain drawn to one side and tied to a pillar.

In another episode, a carpenter hides underneath his bed in an attempt to catch his wife with her lover. The illustrator of Ms. Arabe 3465 has again shown both lovers lying in bed within a schematic frame.[134] In Ms. Arabe 3467 (fourteenth century), they even appear to be in the middle of intercourse (fig. 28); virtually the same image reappears on two ceramic house models from the same period (fig. 29), which suggests a widespread iconographic type.[135]

Fig. 27. The merchant, his spouse, and the thief. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna,* thirteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3465, fol. 102v (28 x 20.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

In yet another story, a man and his two wives have been reduced to a state of servitude, nudity, and hunger by the invaders of their city. One day, as they are gathering wood, one of the wives finds a shabby piece of cloth and attempts to cover herself with it. The other wife exclaims, "Look at this whore, going about naked!" The husband responds that she should look at herself (she is still completely undressed) before criticizing oth-

Fig. 28. The carpenter betrayed by his wife. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna,* fourteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3467, fol. 76r (29.2 x 22.4 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 29. Upper panel of a ceramic house model. Unknown provenance, twelfth or thirteenth century; height: 3.5 cm, width: 10.8 cm, length: 15.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Grinnell Collection, inv. no. 20.120.66. (Photo: courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

ers. In Ms. Arabe 3467, all three characters are walking on a thin patch of patterned grass, next to a stylized tree (fig. 30). The first wife is shown with a headscarf, but with bare breasts—yet another pinch of spice added to the text by the illustrator. The second wife must have originally appeared in the barest of apparel, since one owner of the manuscript felt compelled to cut her out and paste a smaller, bearded man in her place.[136]

Humor is simply conveyed in these images through the nudity of characters. Most scenes in *Kalīla* are set against a blank background, with large human figures that often evoke a mechanical, puppet-like articulation. The execution tends to be less refined and imaginative than in the *Maqāmāt* and to lack the latter's vibrant sense of movement, animation, and, in most scenes, humor. One flamboyant exception to the rule occurs in Ms. Arabe 3467, in the illustration of an episode in which a woman exploits the beauty of her young slave girl (*jāriya*) for her own financial gain. The girl has fallen in love with a man whom she intends to marry. Faced with the threat of losing this source of income, the older woman plots to kill the man the very night that an ascetic (*nāsik*) knocks on their door to request hospitality. Undeterred by this unwelcome intrusion, she tricks the lovers into drinking wine until they succumb to sleep. Having thus neutralized them, she attempts to blow poison into the man's posterior with a reed, at which point he expels wind, leading her to accidentally inhale the substance and die in front of the ascetic.[137] Once again, the image shows the two lovers in a posture of intercourse rather than slumber. Neither is the presence of the woman and the ascetic, who is dressed as a monk, of any embarrassment to them, nor does the illustrator shy away from crudely representing the failed attempt to administer the lethal concoction (fig. 31). The scene brings to mind a joyful theatrical act in which several features, notably the schematic architectural frame and outlined profile of the seated woman, directly evoke the shadow theater.

The imprint of the shadow play can also be felt, but in a wholly different guise, in the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa*

Fig. 30. The man and his two wives. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna,* fourteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3467, fol. 58r (29.2 x 22.4 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Riyāḍ, a love story the only remaining manuscript of which was produced in the Muslim West, probably Spain, in the late twelfth or thirteenth century.[138] In its few extant illustrations, the action is set along a horizontal groundline against a plain, flat background. The human figures are even larger in relation to their setting than in the *Maqāmāt*, and their faces are plumper. In comparison with the *Maqāmāt,* the gestures are restrained and ample movements are rare, perhaps in keeping with the romantic subject matter and contained emotion of the text. In the example shown here (fig. 32), Shamul, the messenger of Riyad, leans forward in a way that defies the laws of gravity, as in Ms. Arabe 6094 (fig. 13), to deliver a letter to the seated Bayad.[139] The scene takes place on the banks of the river Tharthar, which has been simplified into the form of a striped rectangle. The background consists of stylized plants and schematized architecture made of block-like modules placed one atop the other at one end of the image. This architectural representation differs from the thin, simplified frames of *Maqāmāt* illustration, yet the impression of seeing a prop in place is equally striking.[140] Like its counterparts further East, this distinctive narrative style of the Muslim West was spread across different media: in two Spanish textiles of the second quarter of the thirteenth century, figures depicted in profile, with large eyes and more expressive movements than in *Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ*, have thus insinuated themselves into roundels depicting the traditional cycles of the royal hunt and banquet.[141]

Examples could be multiplied at will to include details, if not whole scenes, from other manuscripts, such as al-Jazari's scientific treatise on automata (*Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyal al-handasiyya*).[142] The new illustrative mode also reached beyond the confines of the Islamic tradition. Its oldest firmly dated example is, in fact, a Coptic Bible written and illustrated at Damietta, in the Nile Delta, between 1178 and 1180 (Paris Ms. Copte 13).[143] This manuscript remains, in many ways, indebted to the Byzantine tradition, notably in its faces in semi-profile and tight groupings of figures. Yet the liveliness and variety of its scenes mark a departure from the hieratic character of earlier Christian iconography. Among other figures of the New Testament, Jesus, the angels, and the apostles here gesture expressively with hands, arms, and bodies against the white canvas of the page, in a flat picture plane (fig. 33). The contrast with a comparable scene from a Byzantine manuscript (fig. 11) reveals the scale of the change.

As in the *Maqāmāt,* a few images are also enclosed within simple rectangular architectural frames, albeit without curtains (fig. 34). This architectural ornament, like the human types, dress, suspended lamps, furniture, and plants, reflects the Islamic context from which it arose.[144] Pilate himself is depicted in the archetypical posture of the seated Islamic ruler (fig. 35). The execution and coloring are of lesser quality than in Islamic manuscripts of the period, while the illuminated frames are clearly based on contemporary Korans. As if to confirm this symbiosis, the colophons are written in both Coptic and Arabic. It seems that Ms. Copte 13 drew its inspiration from the dominant Islamic tradition, rather than representing the independent experiments of its illustrator. In a similar vein, several Christian-Arabic,

Fig. 31. The ascetic, the woman, the maiden, and her lover. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna,* fourteenth century. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Arabe 3467, fol. 16r (29.2 x 22.4 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 32. Shamul delivers a letter from Riyad to Bayad by the banks of the river Tharthar. *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ*, late twelfth or thirteenth century. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ms. Arabo Riservato 368, fol. 17r (total page dimensions 28.2 x 21 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

Coptic-Arabic, and Syriac manuscripts made in the Islamic lands in the thirteenth century fully belong to the Arabic pictorial tradition heralded by the *Maqāmāt*, though probably as derivatives rather than models.[145]

THE QUESTION OF ORIGINS

These manuscripts attest to the breadth of the phenomenon under study, and the example of Ms. Copte 13 shows that it had been set in motion by the third quarter of the twelfth century. But when and how did these new trends first emerge? Until the strands, regional styles, and patterns of diffusion that prevailed in book illustration of this period are more fully understood, it will be difficult to bring a definite response to this question. Some elements of an answer can, nevertheless, be attempted on the basis of our fragmentary evidence. Scattered textual and manuscript remains, together with instances of iconographic continuity across the centuries, suggest that Arabic illustrated books had started to be produced in the Islamic lands as early as the eighth century.[146] It is therefore possible that the new illustrative mode had already come into being before the twelfth century, but that no witness of this earlier phase has survived. Possible, but not likely: the few dated or datable painted fragments of this earlier period, whether on manuscripts or other media, do not display the features identified above. Even when a dose of realism and animation was introduced into Fatimid ceramics and woodwork between the tenth and twelfth centuries, it seems to have been based on the observation of everyday life rather than the shadow play.[147]

After the turning point marked by Ms. Copte 13, on the other hand, nearly all illustrated manuscripts in the Arabic tradition clearly exhibit elements derived from this source. The next earliest dated example is the *Kitāb al-Diryāq* of 1199; in the following quarter of a century, a mature pictorial idiom incorporating features from the shadow play can be observed in, besides this man-

Fig. 33. Miraculous healings. Coptic manuscript of the New Testament, Damietta (Egypt), 1178–80. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Copte 13, fol. 32r (total page dimensions 38.5 x 27.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 34. The Announcement to Zacharias. Coptic manuscript of the New Testament, Damietta (Egypt), 1178–80. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Copte 13, fol. 135r (total page dimensions 38.5 x 27.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Fig. 35. Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate. Coptic manuscript of the New Testament, Damietta (Egypt), 1178–80. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Copte 13, fol. 131r (total page dimensions 38.5 x 27.5 cm). (Photo: courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

uscript, the *Ḥiyal* by al-Jazari produced in 1206 (602) in northern Mesopotamia; in two manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Bayṭara* (Book of Farriery) from Baghdad respectively made in 1209 and 1210 (605 and 606); in the earliest dated *Maqāmāt* with illustrations (Ms. Arabe 6094 [1222 (619)]); and in the Dioscorides manuscript of 1224 (621).[148] These books, together with the Coptic Bible, reflect a wide range of texts, and an equally wide geographical spread, from Iraq to Egypt—and possibly Spain with the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ*.[149] A new phase had, by then, been set in motion, and its ramifications extended well into the Mamluk period. But we are already standing, with these manuscripts, at several removes from the initial experiments that gave rise to the new pictorial language. No traces of these experimental stages are known today and short of a clearly dated sequence of manuscripts, any conclusion about them is bound to remain tentative. Nevertheless, one hypothesis based on content and context seems worth formulating, given that several strands of evidence converge around it.

Al-Hariri completed his *Maqāmāt* around 1111, in the period immediately before the illustrative boom of the twelfth century. In the following decades, his work was extensively diffused across the whole Arabic-speaking world through the medium of books. Its appeal among urban notables and convivial mode of appreciation provided an obvious rationale for bolstering its material form with narrative illustration distinguished by qualities of legibility and expressivity. But unlike others working on such texts as *De Materia medica* or *Kalīla wa Dimna,* the first illustrators of this work stood in front of a blank canvas, with no established cycles of illustration to draw upon—and an incentive to create something new. The shadow play, a widespread art form in the Islamic world, provided answers to many of the questions posed by this situation. It was also predisposed to do so by elective affinities with the *Maqāmāt* at the levels of performativity and narrative character, with both genres being largely based on dialogue scenes. Indeed, nowhere are the ties with this art form as intense and multifaceted as in al-Hariri's work, where they

extend far beyond the realms of formal iconography. The phenomenal success of the new pictorial idiom may, in other words, have gone hand-in-hand with that of the *Maqāmāt* themselves.

For centuries before the modern era, the shadow play was the most popular narrative art to combine word and image in the Islamic world. Faced with the challenge of introducing narrative pictures into their works, Arabic book illustrators appear to have derived from this source the essential ingredients of their lively and effective approach to iconography, space, and composition. They created images, often joyful, sometimes indecent, which had the potential to engage with literary life at large, from high culture to low, and encountered sweeping success in society. Of all books illustrated in that period, the *Maqāmāt* contained a uniquely rich array of links with the shadow play; indeed, it is conceivable that this particular work and its social context served as the conduit through which these new trends entered Arabic book illustration. The *Maqāmāt*, at any rate, attracted some of the most accomplished expressions of this effervescent pictorial mode until, for reasons still unknown, it began to decline in the fourteenth century.

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NOTES

Author's note: I thank Robert Hillenbrand, Gülru Necipoğlu, and the anonymous reviewer at *Muqarnas*, for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this article; Colin Baker, Gillian Evison, Colin Wakefield, Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, and Annie Vernay-Nouri, for welcoming me at their respective institutions, the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France; Keith Milne, for his invaluable help with image digitization; and Anna Contadini, Liz James, Jaclynne Kerner, and Claude Gilliot, for responding to my various queries during the preparation of this work.

1. Eva Hoffmann, "The Beginnings of the Illustrated Arabic Book: An Intersection between Art and Scholarship," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 37.
2. The eleven manuscripts are: London, British Library (henceforth BL), Or. 1200, Or. 9718, Or. Add. 7293, Or. Add. 22114; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), Arabe 3929, Arabe 5847, Arabe 6094; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, A.F. 9; Saint Petersburg, Russian Academy of Sciences, S. 23; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Marsh 458; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 2961. For more detailed lists, see Oleg Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), ch. 2; Alain George, "Orality, Writing and the Image in the *Maqāmāt*: Arabic Illustrated Books in Context," *Art History* (forthcoming). Grabar's work is accompanied by microfiches that remain an invaluable resource for the study of this body of illustrations. A full set of images from the Paris manuscripts can also be consulted on Mandragore, http://mandragore.bnf.fr, and Gallica, http://gallica.bnf.fr. The facsimile of one manuscript from the same collection, Ms. Arabe 5847, was recently published in a limited edition: Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, illustrated by al-Wāsiṭī, with an introduction by Oleg Grabar, 2 vols. ([Beirut?]: Touch@rt, 2003).
3. See George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
4. Richard Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow Figures," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* 6 (1934): 10–15.
5. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 142–43; Shirley Guthrie, *Arab Social Life in the Middle Ages: An Illustrated Study* (London: Saqi, 1995), 21; Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 2nd ed. (Lausanne: Skira, 1977), 81–83; Eva Baer, "The Human Figure in Early Islamic Art: Some Preliminary Remarks," *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 39–40.
6. See Fan Pen Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," *Asian Folklore Studies* 62, 1 (2003): 25–64.
7. Shmuel Moreh, "The Shadow Play ("*Khayāl al-ẓill*") in the Light of Arabic Literature," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 18 (1987): 47–48.
8. Moreh, "Shadow Play," 48–52, where Moreh cites references by writers active in Egypt and Greater Syria. For Iran, see also the reference to the shadow play in Nizami's *Iskandarnāma*, in Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow Figures," 10–11. The internal structure and contents of one extant epistle by Ibn Shuhayd (Spain, d. 1035), and another by al-Maʿarri (Syria and Iraq, d. 1058), could arguably suggest that they were intended for performance as shadow plays; Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992), 110–15.
9. J. Landau, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *New Edition* (henceforth *EI2*) (Leiden, 1954–2004), s.v. "Ibn Dāniyāl"; Ibrāhīm Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl* (Cairo: al-Mu'assasa al-Miṣrīyya al-ʿāmma li'l-ta'līf wa'l-tarjama wa'l-ṭibāʿa wa'l-nashr, 1963), 87–88.
10. Moreh, "Shadow Play," 55–56.
11. Ibid., 48, 50, 58–59.
12. Mohamed Mustafa Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama: Ibn Dāniyāl," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 13 (1982): 93, 107. This article was reprinted in the first chapter of Mohamed Mustafa Badawi, *Early Arabic Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), and as an introduction to Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, ed. Paul Kahle (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1992).
13. The present section makes use of the detailed summary of the three plays provided by Badawi, "Medieval Arabic

Drama," 93–106, as well as the translation of *Ṭayf al-khayāl* given in Paul Kahle, "The Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 2 (April 1954): 98–115.

14. See Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Dāniyāl's Response to Baybars' Campaign against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, 2 (2001): 219 n. 1; Kahle, "Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt," 93.
15. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 5–6.
16. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 7. Translation after Kahle, "Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt," 105, with minor modifications.
17. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 90. See also Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama," 106 n. 44.
18. On the *Banū Sāsān*, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976).
19. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 60–61; Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama," 102.
20. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 61–89; Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama," 102.
21. The textual links between the *Maqāmāt* and these shadow plays are further developed in Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama," 106–7; Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill*, 119–24; Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abenland*, 2nd ed. (Hannover: Lafaire, 1925), 61; Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature*, ch. 6. See also Kahle's remarks in the introduction to Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 2 (English).
22. Badawi, "Medieval Arabic Drama," 84, 91–92. As mentioned in n. 8 above, two earlier literary epistles might have originally been performed as shadow plays. One play of a less refined standard, which was committed to writing in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, may also have been based on earlier material: Paul Kahle, ed., *Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria: Ein Arabisches Schattenspiel aus dem Mittelalterlichen Ägypten* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930).
23. This poem was noted in relation to the shadow play by Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow Figures," 14.
24. ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Fāriḍ, *The Dîwân of Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Readings of Its Text throughout History*, ed. Giuseppe Scattolin (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2004), 134–35. The present translation is based, with minor modifications, on ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Fāriḍ, *The Poem of the Way: Translated into English Verse from the Arabic of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, trans. A. J. Arberry, Chester Beatty Monographs 5 (London: Emery Walker, 1952), 68.
25. Moreh, "Shadow Play," 49. On the life and travels of Ibn al-ʿArabi, see A. Ateş, *EI2*, s.v. "Ibn al-ʿArabī."
26. Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Poem of the Way*, 68–70 (English); Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dîwân*, 135–36 (Arabic).
27. Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Poem of the Way*, 70; Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dîwân*, 136.
28. Paul Kahle, "Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten I," *Der Islam* 1 (1910): 264–99; Paul Kahle, "Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Egypten II," *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 143–95. On the circumstances of their discovery, see Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 182–84; Kahle, "Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt," 94.
29. A number of these puppets were donated to museums in Germany before the Second World War. Today, at least thirteen remain at the Linden Museum (Stuttgart), with another five at the Ledermuseum (Offenbach, near Frankfurt) and one at the Museum für Islamische Kunst (Berlin). A large part of the collection was still in Kahle's possession around 1960, when Derek Hopwood saw puppets on the walls of his house in Oxford; see Hopwood' introduction to Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 4 (English). They seem to have been dispersed among family members after Kahle's death in 1964; some have appeared on the art market in recent years. The state of the collection is also discussed in Marcus Milwright, "On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets," *Muqarnas* 28 (2011): 44–45. I thank Derek Hopwood, for his attempt to help me track down the puppets; Felix Kahle (Paul Kahle's grandson), for sharing information about the parts of this collection still in his family; and Marcus Milwright, for a stimulating exchange of ideas on the subject.
30. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 189–90. In two of the figures, Kahle noted traces of green in the middle field and yellow in the rest of the composition (p. 190). On this blazon and office, see D. Ayalon, *EI2*, s.v. "Djamdār"; N. Rabbat, *EI2*, s.v. "Rank"; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry: A Survey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 14.
31. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, 155–56, 170–71; Michael Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 28 (1972): 228. See also the examples listed in Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 190–92.
32. Meinecke, "Zur mamlukischen Heraldik," 247–50. See also Michael Meinecke, "Die Bedeutung der mamlukischen Heraldik für die Kunstgeschichte," in *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 1. bis 5. Oktober 1972 in Lübeck*, ed. Wolfgang Voigt, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 2 (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974), 228–29. The detailed typology offered by Meinecke has allowed me to narrow down the date range previously put forward by Kahle as 1290–1370: cf. Kahle, "Arabic Shadow Play," 97.
33. As proposed by Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 189–94.
34. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 156–59, and fig. 45; Milwright, "On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets," 54.
35. Milwright, "On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets," 54–57.
36. Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 65.
37. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," 155; Milwright, "On the Date of Paul Kahle's Egyptian Shadow Puppets," 49.
38. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," 264–65. While by the early twentieth century the armature was covered with soot accumulated from lamps over the centuries, its leather may have originally been translucent, albeit less so than the colored sheets. Ibid., 267.

39. Female puppeteers are mentioned by al-Wajih al-Minawi (thirteenth century) and al-Safali (d. 1362): cf. Moreh, "Shadow Play," 52; Shmuel Moreh, "Live Theatre in Medieval Islam," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. Moshe Sharon (Jerusalem and Leiden: Cana and Brill, 1986), 587–88; Ḥamāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill*, 54.
40. Moreh, "Shadow Play," 51.
41. Full descriptions of this and the other puppets are given in Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," and "Schattenspielfiguren II."
42. This manuscript is dated 649 (1251): George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
43. George, "Orality" (forthcoming); D. S. Rice, "A Miniature in an Autograph of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13, 4 (1951): 862–63.
44. George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
45. See also the similar remarks made about later Persian illustration by David Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing, ca. 1400–1450: Materials and Creative Procedures," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 51–52.
46. Daniela Meneghini Correale, "Il capitolo sulla scrittura nel *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* di Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Sulaymān al-Rāwandī," *Annali di Ca'Foscari* 33, 3 (1994): 231. Translation after François Déroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, trans. Deke Dusinberre and David Radzinowicz (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005), 188. Ibn Khaldun (d. 1379) also states that one type of craftsman, the *warrāq,* was in charge of "transcribing, proofreading, binding and everything else that has to do with books and office work": Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book*, trans. Geoffrey French (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 52. The study of actual colophons confirms such instances of polyvalence: for instance, the scribe of London Ms. Add. 7214 (dated 427 [1036]) was also its illuminator (*mudhahhib*), and in Paris Ms. Arabe 6883 (dated 640 [1242]), he was the binder (*mujallid*); Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 188, 204. The term *warrāq* may sometimes have simply designated booksellers: see François Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe: Préludes à une histoire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004), 48–49; Déroche, *Islamic Codicology*, 187–88.
47. Mashhad, Library of the Shrine of the Imam Riza (no known shelfmark); Florence E. Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 8, 9 (May 1950): 279.
48. Kurt Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Harîrî der Wiener Nationalbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s., 11 (1937): 45–48.
49. Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī, *The Assemblies of Al Harîri: Translated from the Arabic with an Introduction, and Notes, Historical and Grammatical*, ed. and trans. Thomas Chenery and Francis Joseph Steingass, 2 vols., Oriental Translation Fund, n.s., 9, 8 (London: Williams and Norgate, 1867–98), 1:173; Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī, al-musammā bi'l-maqāmāt al-adabiyya*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tībī, 6th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2008), 123.
50. Oleg Grabar, "Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the Maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī," in *Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East in Honor of Richard Ettinghausen*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1974), 94.
51. On this iconographic type, see Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Das seldschukische Thronbild," *Persica* 10 (1982): 149–94.
52. Guthrie, *Arab Social Life*, 183.
53. *Maqāmāt* manuscripts virtually always have plain backgrounds; Vienna A.F. 9 and Oxford Marsh 458 have gold backgrounds which, in terms of visibility, achieve much the same effect.
54. On this point, see also Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 83.
55. See, for instance, ibid., 106, 107, 113 (Saint Petersburg); 121 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847).
56. E.g., Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 2F12 (Saint Petersburg), 4E5 (Istanbul), 6B2 (BL, Ms. Or. 9718).
57. In shadow plays witnessed by a French traveller in Istanbul in the seventeenth century, the screen was framed by a "rug" (*tapis*) with a square opening for the screen: Jean de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Rouen: L. Billaien, 1665), 66–67; Moreh, "Shadow Play," 55 (English translation). For China, see Fan Pen Chen, "Shadow Theaters of the World," 46–47; Fan Pen Chen, *Chinese Shadow Theatre: History, Popular Religion, and Women Warriors* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 43. The photograph of such a stage in modern Shanxi can be seen in Fan Pen Chen, "The Temple of Guanyin: A Chinese Shadow Play," *Asian Theater Journal* 16, 1 (Spring 1999): fig. 4.
58. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 1, 55, 90. In the first instance, Ibn Daniyal refers to the screen as being "revealed by candles" (*idhā … jalawta al-sitāra bi'l shamʿ*).
59. See also Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiches 4F1 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 3929), 4F2 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 6094), 4F3 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847), 4F4–4F5 (Saint Petersburg), 4F6 (Istanbul), 4F7 (BL, Ms. Or. 9718), 4F8 (BL, Ms. Or. Add. 22114), 4F9 (Vienna), 7G1 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847), 7G5 (Saint Petersburg), 7G6 (Istanbul), 7G8 (BL, Ms. Or. 1200), 7G12 (BL, Ms. Or. Add. 22114); and the puppets in Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," figs. 44–46.
60. A comparison of architectural frames with Byzantine illustration was proposed by Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 139 and n. 23. A wide range of Byzantine illustrations with illuminated frames (eleventh to fourteenth centuries) can be seen, for example, in George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969); John Rupert Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954). For Syriac, see Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient: Contribution à l'étude de l'iconographie des Églises de langue syriaque*, 2 vols. (Paris: Geuthner, 1964), 2: pls.

100–13, and so on. Frames were unusual in the Coptic tradition, except for author portraits.

61. For examples, see Galavaris, *Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 61, 94, 234, 299, 428, 470–72; Martin, *Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder*, fig. 239; Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 2: pl. 100.1, 107.4, 108.3, 112.2. On the *katapetasma,* cf. Anna Gonosová, "Katapetasma," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 2:1113.
62. Galavaris, *Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 103, 105, 140, 141, 237.
63. See, among many other examples, Galavaris, *Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 16, 99, 100, 111, 112, 118, 122, 373; Martin, *Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder,* figs. 78, 82, 123, 202; Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 2: pls. 105–10.
64. On these more complex attempts, see David James, "Spaceforms in the Work of the Baghdad 'Maqāmāt' Illustrators, 1225–58," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37, 2 (1974): 305–20.
65. See Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 1C8, 2A3, 2B4, 6C7, 9F6, 9F9 (Saint Petersburg); 2A1, 4B11, 4E1 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847); 4C2, 9F10 (Istanbul).
66. Hugo Buchthal, " 'Hellenistic' Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts," *Ars Islamica* 7, 2 (1940): 126; Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 140 and n. 27.
67. See, for instance, Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 2F5, 2G6, 3G1, 4B3, 6G3 (BL, Ms. Or. Add. 22114); 3C9, 6D12 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 3929); 6A12 (BL, Ms. Or. 1200); 2F6 (Oxford). For Byzantine examples, see Galavaris, *Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies*, figs. 109, 117, 122, 247.
68. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 70–74; Mahmoud Sadek, *The Arabic Materia medica of Dioscorides* (Quebec: Les Editions du Sphinx, 1983), 128–74.
69. See n. 51 above.
70. For example, David James, *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks* (London: Alexandria Press in association with Thames and Hudson, 1988), 50–51 (cat. 1).
71. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 68.
72. For examples, see next section.
73. For random examples of simple dialogue and framed scenes, see Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 1B7, 3C11, 3E10, 4A6, 4A7, 6A7 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847); 1C9, 2D9, 3B10, 3D2, 5B6, 6G11, 7B5 (Saint Petersburg); 5E3, 5E4, 7B6, 9A5 (Istanbul); 2B9, 2B10, 2E5, 3E5, 9F2 (Vienna); 2G8, 3B4, 3E4, 5C2, 7F11 (Oxford); 2D4, 7A11, 9C6 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 6094); 1A9, 4D4, 5B10, 7B12, 9E11 (BL, Ms. Or. 9718); 1C11, 2F4, 4G7, 7A1, 7A2, 7B10 (BL, Ms. Or. 1200). A few of these scenes include characters with their mounts; for parallels in the Menzaleh puppets, cf. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," figs. 21, 34; Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," figs. 57–60.
74. The human figures in the Istanbul manuscript were defaced beyond recognition by a subsequent owner.
75. Ms. Or. Add. 7293 is difficult to situate in this context, as only a handful of its illustrations were completed and a few others left as draft outlines; but judging from this limited evidence, it seems to present a roughly similar pattern. On more complex spatial experiments, see James, "Spaceforms."
76. Buchthal, " 'Hellenistic' Miniatures," 126–28.
77. E.g., Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 1A5, 5A12, 9F3.
78. E.g., ibid., microfiche 2D12, 4A12, 4E6.
79. See n. 73 above.
80. Contrary to Grabar's assertion (*Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 40), the image is not "damaged beyond usefulness," but a distinctive paper and script do show that this is a later replacement folio.
81. George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
82. The remarks made in this paragraph are based on George, "Orality" (forthcoming). On the role of orality in Arabic literary life, see also Samer Ali, *Arabic Literary Salons in the Islamic Middle Ages: Poetry, Public Performance, and the Presentation of the Past* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).
83. Besides the remarks already made above on the treatment of figures, compositions, and settings in manuscripts, see George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
84. Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Dîwân*, 132. Translation after Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *Poem of the Way*, 66, with modifications reflecting the original Arabic.
85. See p. 3 above (passage cited in n. 24).
86. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 105–9. Among the eleven extant illustrated *Maqāmāt* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the only exception is London Ms. Or. Add. 22114, where Abu Zayd consistently appears with the same costume and headgear. Ibid., 105–6.
87. Al-Ḥarīrī, *Assemblies*, ed. and trans. Chenery, 2:76; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām al-Tībī, 380–81.
88. The *qalansuwa* had been an attribute of power and authority in early Islam, but in this period it became chiefly associated with mendicant dervishes and Christian monks: Yedida Stillman, *Arab Dress: A Short History, from the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, ed. Norman A. Stillman, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35–36, 71–72.
89. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 86.
90. E.g., Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 2C12–2D1, 7E1–7E2 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 3929); 3C2–3C3, 4E8–4E9 (BL, Ms. Or. Add. 22114); 3C10–3C11 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 5847); 1F1–1F2, 4F4–4F5, 5B5–5B6, 6A8–6A9, 9C10–9C12 (Saint Petersburg); 2B9–2B10, 6B10–6B11 (Vienna).
91. This sequence was noted by Grabar (ibid., 98). As already mentioned in n. 86 above, in this manuscript, Abu Zayd has a stable iconography that makes him instantly recognizable.
92. James Monroe, "Prolegomena to the Study of Ibn Quzmān: The Poet as Jongleur," in *The Hispanic Ballad Today: History, Comparativism, Critical Bibliography*, ed. S. G. Armistead et al. (Madrid: Cátedra Seminario Menéndez Pidal, 1979), 99 (English); 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥazm, *Épître morale (Kitāb al-Aḫlāq wa-l-siyar)*, ed. Nada Tomiche (Beirut: Commission Internationale pour la Traduction des Chefs-d'Oeuvre, 1961), 28 (Arabic) and 30 (French).
93. 'Alī Dashtī, *In Search of Omar Khayyam*, trans. L. P. Elwell-Sutton (London: Allen and Unwin, 1971), 119. This is one

of a few quatrains that can safely be attributed to Khayyam (ibid., 118–19).

94. Jennifer Purtle, "Scopic Frames: Devices for Seeing in China c. 1640," *Art History* 33, 1 (2010): 64–67; Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954–), vol. 4, pt. 1 (*Physics*), 123–24.
95. See, for example, the pictorial links between four of the main fourteenth-century Arabic manuscripts of *Kalīla wa Dimna*: Sofie Walzer, "The Mamluk Illuminated Manuscripts of Kalila wa-Dimna," in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1957), 195–206. The same remark applies to Syriac Bibles, which are closely related, in their iconography, to this Arabic pictorial tradition, notably Vatican Sir. 559, and London, BL, Ms. Or. Add. 7170; Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 1:312. Another possible example lies in al-Jazari's treatise on automata: compare, for instance, the image of a castle water clock in copies made in, respectively, 1206 in northern Mesopotamia (Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Ms. Ahmed III 3472), and 1354 in the Mamluk realms (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 14.533); cf. Rachel Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court," in *The Art of Syria and the Jazira, 1100–1250*, ed. Julian Raby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), fig. 8; and the Boston museum website, http://tinyurl.com/jazari-clock (accessed October 22, 2010). However in this case, verisimilitude may have been desirable in order to attain a close likeness of the devices described in the text.
96. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 129. See also Grabar, "Pictures or Commentaries," 91.
97. Al-Ḥarīrī, *Assemblies*, ed. and trans. Chenery, 1:261; al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tībī, 262–63.
98. R. P. Buckley, "The Muḥtasib," *Arabica* 39, 1 (March 1992): 109–10. The main source used here is al-Shayzari, who was active in greater Syria in the twelfth century. See also Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1845), 269.
99. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waqāʾiʿ al-duhūr (Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas: Erster Teil, zweiter Abschnitt, A.H. 764–815/ A.D. 1363–1412)*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1974), 365–66 (chronicle of the year 787 [1386], when the sultan abolished this custom); Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé*, 270, 272.
100. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 5. A longer and slightly different version of the same text appears in Ibn Daniyal's poetry; for a translation, see Guo, "Paradise Lost," 232–33.
101. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren II," fig. 58. Another character playing the flute and wearing a short, pointed hat appears in Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," fig. 7.
102. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 79; Georg Jacob, "Der Nâtû und sein Lied bei Ibn Dânijâl," *Der Islam* 1 (1910): 182. The *ṭurṭūr* is again mentioned during Gharib's subsequent incarnation as Maymun the Monkey Trainer (Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 81).
103. Yuri Petrosyan et al., *Pages of Perfection: Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Lugano: ARCH Foundation, 1995), 152.
104. Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 6G6 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 3929). For further scenes featuring this type of hat, see ibid., microfiche 4B8, 4D10, 4F1 (BnF, Ms. Arabe 3929); 1F1 (Saint Petersburg); 5C11, 7G6, and possibly 8G5 (Istanbul); 1A7 (BL, Ms. Or. 1200). In *Maqāmāt* illustrations, numerous children also wear shorter, pointed hats, but these cannot be confidently related to the *ṭurṭūr*.
105. For ceramics, see Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow Figures," fig. 1 (this bowl is now held at the British Museum, acc. no. 1956-7-28.5); Richard Ettinghausen, "The Dance with Zoomorphic Masks and Other Forms of Entertainment Seen in Islamic Art," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. George Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass.: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1965), pl. VII-1. The *ṭurṭūr* frequently appears as an attribute of clowns in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Persian and Ottoman book paintings, e.g. Metin And, *Karagöz: Turkish Shadow Theater*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Dost, 1987), 34–36; Ettinghausen, "The Dance with Zoomorphic Masks," pls. III–IV, VI. See also the Ottoman-period shadow puppets with this type of hat in And, *Karagöz*, figs. 40 and 55, and pp. 71, 89.
106. Hana Taragan has suggested that this figure could represent a scribe carrying a reed pen, or sharpener, and an inkwell in her article "The 'Speaking' Inkwell from Khurasan: Object as 'World' in Iranian Medieval Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 22 (2005): 37. But *Maqāmāt* illustrations clearly display the walking stick and purse as attributes of the ascetic; see, notably, fig. 20 above, and Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 5E5 (BL, Ms. Or. 1200).
107. Figures adopting a similar posture—kneeling, with a reclining face, and often with extended hands—abound in *Maqāmāt* manuscripts; some, in banquet scenes, even feature a raised glass, e.g., Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, microfiche 5F12 (Oxford), 7D10 (Or. Add. 22114), 7D12 (Vienna).
108. George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
109. Ibid.
110. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 90; George, "Orality" (forthcoming; with further references).
111. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 48-51.
112. Kahle, "Schattenspielfiguren I," 297.
113. "*Kashafa ʿan sarāwīlihi wa ashāra ilā ghurmūlihi*" (al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tībī, 204). In the English translation of this passage, made in the Victorian era, Abu Zayd is simply pointing "to himself." The preceding poem was also deemed indecent enough to be given in Latin (al-Ḥarīrī, *Assemblies*, ed. and trans. Chenery, 1:220–223).
114. George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
115. Ibid.
116. See also the examples cited below in relation to *Kalīla wa Dimna* and the *Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ*.

117. On book markets, see Pedersen, *Arabic Book*, 51–52. See also the remarks on possible uses of paper for ceramic and textile designs in Jonathan Bloom, "The Introduction of Paper to the Islamic Lands and the Development of the Illustrated Manuscript," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 20–21.
118. As first noted by Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, 60, and Ettinghausen, "Early Shadow Figures," 15. For the text, see Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 13; Kahle, "Arabic Shadow Play in Medieval Egypt," 109. The earliest extant manuscripts of Ibn Daniyal's work are respectively dated 828 and 845 (1425 and 1442), a century and a half after the originals: Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 2 (English); Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*, 56.
119. Minta Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions* (London: British Library, 2000), 84–93.
120. Cf. Kurt Weitzmann, "The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustration," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. Herbert Kessler (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 29–31. Similar remarks apply to the *Ḥiyal* of al-Jazari and its Greek prototypes: see ibid., 20–25.
121. For images of this manuscript, see Hugo Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942): 19–39; Dietrich Brandenburg, *Islamic Miniature Painting in Medical Manuscripts* (Basel: Roche, 1982).
122. On this posture, see Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 140.
123. See also Baer, "Human Figure," 39.
124. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 51–52, 65.
125. One illustrated manuscript of Dioscorides kept at Mashhad has been ascribed to the period 1152–76 by some writers, but to my knowledge the basis for this dating was never clearly set out, beyond the general statement by Florence Day that "for intrinsic reasons, this manuscript may be accepted as the work of the third quarter of the twelfth century" (in "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," 274). Should this claim eventually be confirmed, the Mashhad Dioscorides would precede the Paris *Diryāq* by about a quarter century in this chronology; but the conclusions reached here would remain broadly unchanged, as the manuscript displays comparable features in its figural subjects.
126. Full image: Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 84; Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, Oleg Grabar, Jaclynne Kerner et al., *Kitâb al-Diryâq (Thériaque de Paris)*, 2 vols. (Sansepolcro: Aboca Museum Edizioni, 2009), 1:141. Text: ibid., 1:140; Jaclynne Kerner, "Art in the Name of Science: Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-diryāq*" (PhD diss., New York University, 2004), 201.
127. Text: Guesdon et al., *Kitâb al-Diryâq*, 1:144–46; Kerner, "Art in the Name of Science," 205.
128. Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, 64.
129. George, "Orality" (forthcoming).
130. An idea of the relative importance of these two texts as subjects for illustration can be gained from Kurt Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 54 (1937): 1–34, although these lists are inevitably dated. See also Ernst Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," *Islamic Art* 4 (January 1990): 301–481.
131. Hoffmann, "Beginnings of the Illustrated Arabic Book," 37.
132. Julian Raby, "Between Sogdia and the Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustrations to *Kalila wa Dimna*," *Oriental Art* 33, 4 (1987): 381–98.
133. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīlah wa Dimnah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām and Ṭāha Ḥusayn (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-maʿārif, 1941), 162. This edition, based on a manuscript of 618 (1221), reflects a version of the text close to that of our illustrated manuscripts, albeit with differences in wording; for its French translation, see Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna*, trans. André Miquel (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1957), where the present passage appears on p. 173.
134. BnF, Ms. Arabe 3465, fol. 104r. Text: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 164–65; Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna*, 175. A full set of images from these two manuscripts can be viewed on Mandragore and Gallica (see n. 2 above). On their date and background, see also Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," 374–75.
135. See Margaret Graves, "Ceramic House Models from Medieval Persia: Domestic Architecture and Concealed Activities," *Iran* 46 (2008): 236.
136. BnF, Ms. Arabe 3467, fol. 58r. Text: Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 117; Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna*, 124–25.
137. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 59; Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Le livre de Kalila et Dimna*, 65. In the print version, the man alone is sedated by wine.
138. On the date and provenance of this manuscript, see Cynthia Robinson, "The Lover, His Lady, Her Lady, and a Thirteenth-Century Celestina: A Recipe for Love Sickness from al-Andalus," in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener, 2001), 81. A full set of images is published in Cynthia Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture in the Mediterranean: Ḥadīth Bayāḍ wa-Riyāḍ* (London: Routledge, 2007); see also Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 125–31.
139. For a translation of the passages that this image illustrates, see Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture*, 40–43.
140. Side architectural motifs also occasionally occur in the *Maqāmāt*, e.g. BL, Ms. Or. Add. 22114, fols. 52r, 127r, 147v, 169r (new foliation).
141. Dorothy G. Shepherd, "A Treasure from a Thirteenth-Century Spanish Tomb," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 65, 4 (April 1978): 111–34; Robinson, *Medieval Andalusian Courtly Culture*, 86–88.
142. For al-Jazari, see Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court," 77 (this case is complicated by

the theoretical possibility of direct links between actual automata and puppets).

143. Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes arabes illustrés*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 96 (Beirut: Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth, 1974), 113–48 and pls. 41–74.

144. The links between this manuscript and the Arabic tradition are discussed in Buchthal, " 'Hellenistic' Miniatures," 132–33; Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes*, 222–28.

145. Hugo Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria* 20 (1939): 146–50; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 96; Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques*, 1:300–301, 434–36. The most notable examples, besides Ms. Copte 13, are Paris, Institut Catholique, Ms. Copte-Arabe 1 (Coptic-Arabic [1250]); BL, Ms. Add. 7170 (Syriac [1216–20]); and Vatican, Sir. 559 (Syriac [1220]).

146. See Hoffmann, "Beginnings of the Illustrated Arabic Book"; Raby, "Between Sogdia and the Mamluks." In his assessment of the same evidence, Jonathan Bloom, "Introduction of Paper," has recognized the existence of this early phase but questioned its breadth, arguing that the spread of papermaking in the tenth to eleventh centuries was the key factor in the spectacular growth of Arabic book illustration.

147. Richard Ettinghausen, "Early Realism in Islamic Art," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956), 250–73; Baer, "Human Figure," 36.

148. References to these manuscripts have been given above; for the *Kitāb al-Bayṭara,* see Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," fig. 2 (interestingly, this ailing horse seems to have visible genital parts); Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 97, 100. These pictures of horses and riders are limited in number and subject matter, making it difficult to assert whether they are directly related to the shadow play, where horsemen commonly appeared, judging from Kahle's puppets; at any rate, they do reflect the new visual idiom and mood of Arabic book illustration.

149. The Vatican *Bayāḍ wa Riyāḍ* is widely accepted as a work of the thirteenth century, and the possibility of a date at the very end of the twelfth century was noted by Robinson, "The Lover, His Lady, Her Lady," 105–6 n. 8.