

## ROCK FACES AND ROCK FIGURES IN PERSIAN PAINTING

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The traveller to the Giant's Causeway, that spectacular landscape of basalt columns on the northern coast of Ireland, is regaled with names such as "The King and His Nobles" or "The Horse Back" which have been given locally to particular rock formations. This is an illustration of a universal trait, where "travellers will see stones in animal shapes, and legends will always be woven round rocks in human form."<sup>1</sup> Such a trait was also present in medieval Iran, as the following extract from Qazvīnī shows:

The mountain of Yala Bashm . . . is three *farsakhs* from Qazvīn. One who climbed the mountain said to me: On it are images of creatures transformed by God into stone. Among them is a shepherd leaning on his crook guarding his flock and a woman milking her cow, and other figures of human beings and beasts.<sup>2</sup>

Qazvīnī's account of this mountain is repeated by the Timurid historian Khvāndamīr, who adds the following:

It is also heard that when you go a distance of fifteen *farsakhs* on the road from Quhistān to Kirmān you come across an area of land eight *farsakhs* by eight *farsakhs* in which small towns and villages were changed into stone, and all the people, animals and vegetation became stone, so that you will find a stone infant in a stone cradle suspended by a stone rope, and you will see a stone partridge in a stone cage.<sup>3</sup>

While the modern reader may dismiss these accounts as being for the credulous, we can imagine that their inspiration actually lay in anthropomorphic rocks. Even for those who had not seen such rocks, the accounts of them in texts such as those quoted above may have been enough to fire the imagination.

If it is not difficult to see figures or faces in certain natural rock formations, neither is it hard to find them in two-dimensional representations of rock, where the conventions for the shading of crags and fissures lend themselves to the play of the imagination. The important difference, seen from the second half of the 14th century onwards, is that Persian artists deliberately incorporated faces and figures in the landscapes of their manuscript paintings. A painting in an album in the Topkapı Saray Library, on folio 54v in H. 2153, shows rocks in two shades of blue (Fig. 1), very similar to the colour used in so many of the Istanbul University Library *Kalilah u Dimnah* paintings. The dark-blue rocks have faces which can also be perceived if the painting is inverted. That this tiny fragment should have been thought worth preserving shows that the artists of the workshops where the albums were assembled were well aware of the value of paintings containing rock faces.

To appreciate the degree of magnification necessary to observe some rock faces, an example from a mid-15th-century *Khamseh* of Khvājū Kirmānī (Fig. 2) is instructive.<sup>4</sup> At first glance the inconspicuous rocks on the horizon are featureless, but a second look will reveal several possibilities. I offer this caveat: I have tried to illustrate only examples of manuscript paintings where the artist himself intended a face to be seen, and to err on the side of caution in cases of ambiguity.<sup>5</sup> However, where a manuscript has at least one miniature with an unequivocal rock face in the landscape, it is likely in the case of ambiguities in other paintings in the same manuscript that they too were intended to be seen as faces.<sup>6</sup>

Two other caveats are necessary. The resolution of many published reproductions is not sufficient to see rock faces; while reproduction of magnified details can be of help, in some cases we must turn to the original manuscript.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, we should be aware that the necessary enlargements and details published here are a distortion of the pictorial balance of the originals, which normally demand careful scrutiny before the concealed faces and figures reveal themselves to the observer.

This article has three aims: to investigate precursors of rock faces before their appearance in the second half of the 14th century; to demonstrate by looking at key manuscripts how much more widespread is their occurrence than was previously realised; and to examine the reasons for the abiding popularity of rock faces in the landscapes of Persian manuscript painting.

## Precursors

A delight in finding figural images in unexpected contexts has always characterised Persian Islamic art. Some of the earliest examples of this occur on Nishapur pottery: inscriptions with bird-like decoration, and birds with epigraphic or pseudo-epigraphic decoration.<sup>8</sup> The excavations in Nishapur also revealed numerous examples of a tendency to animate decoration: wall-paintings of floral or geometric motifs incorporate eyes, hands and arms, while birds' heads can also be discerned in stucco palmettes.<sup>9</sup> The varieties of animated inscriptions to be found in Saljuq metalwork are numerous and have been studied extensively.<sup>10</sup> Such was the tendency for animation that an example is to be found where one would least expect it, in a mosque. In the inscriptions which run around the north and south *ayvāns* in the Masjid-i Jāmi' of Faryūmad in Khurasan (second half of the 6th/12th century) smiling faces are to be seen on the tops of uprights which occasionally hail their fellows with waving arms (Fig. 3).<sup>11</sup>

The stucco palmettes with bird-like heads of Nishapur are akin to rock faces in their ambiguity; but these ambiguous examples soon gave way to very obviously inhabited scrolls and arabesques. An early example in text illustration is to be seen in a mid-13th-century *Varqeh u Gulshāh* manuscript of 'Ayyūqī,<sup>12</sup> while numerous other examples are attested in ceramics<sup>13</sup> and metalwork.<sup>14</sup> This is the motif which came to be known as the *waq-waq*, from the mythical tree whose branches end in heads, described by Qazvīnī in his *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* (composed 663/1263 - 675/1276). The term is also applied to the same heads of fantastic creatures when used to decorate the terminations of arabesque scrolls, and the ability of painters to execute this effectively was of such importance that *waq* was considered to be one of the seven essential styles of painting which every artist should master.<sup>15</sup> On a page in one of the Istanbul albums can be seen practice-drawings of scrolls and heads for such a design.<sup>16</sup> An indication of a link between the *waq-waq* and the practice of disguising figural images in nature is provided by the *waq-waq* tree in a copy of Qazvīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* of 790/1388, where the trunk is composed of intertwined animals (Fig. 4) whose heads may be seen protruding from the base of the trunk.<sup>17</sup>

These examples show the willingness of Persian artists to play with animal images, but the catalyst for their incorporation in the rocks of a landscape was probably Chinese painting of the Sung period. Prior to the appearance in Persian painting of rocks based on the Sung style, rock conventions in Persian art consisted of overlapping triangles, which may reflect both earlier Mesopotamian and Chinese traditions.<sup>18</sup> The Chinese phoenix and dragon appear for the first time in Islamic art on the lustre tiles of Takht-i Sulaymān (about 1270-75),<sup>19</sup> indicating that by this date Chinese artifacts had reached Iran in some number. It is not surprising therefore that different landscape conventions reflecting Sung styles should appear shortly thereafter in the *Manāfi'-ḥayavān* of 697/1297 in the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>20</sup>

The earliest example (presently known to me) of artists deliberately incorporating faces in landscape elements occurs in 12th-century Chinese Buddhist paintings (Figs. 5-6).<sup>21</sup> It is difficult to estimate the number of Buddhist paintings to have reached Iran,<sup>22</sup> but the presence of the *lingzhi*, the cloud-like magical fungus (which had auspicious associations and which appears more frequently in Buddhist than in mainstream Sung painting) in illustrations in the Pierpont Morgan *Manāfi'-i ḥayavān* and the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ* suggests that Buddhist paintings could have been available as models.<sup>23</sup>

But even without these, the conventions for mountains in mainstream Sung and Yüan painting make it possible to see faces in them. Could they have been intended even there? An early Sung description of a painting from 990 reads: "the rocks, with sand and pebbles in their surfaces, have sharp and angular contours. They look like reptiles and tigers waiting to strike: their shapes and attitudes are not limited to any single kind."<sup>24</sup> This disposition to read figures in rocks could have been encouraged by the Chinese garden, a place in which the contemplation of nature was combined with the opportunity for letting the mind roam. Rocks in these gardens were chosen for shapes which permitted the play of the imagination in forming fantastic creatures from them.<sup>25</sup> Another Sung tradition suggested that one master, Li Ch'eng, painted rocks like devils' faces and trees like crabs' claws.<sup>26</sup> The 11th-century artist, Sung Ti, gave the following remedy for the artificiality which he found in another painter's landscape:

You should choose an old tumbledown wall and throw over it a piece of white silk. Then, morning and evening you should gaze at it until, at length, you can see the ruins through the silk, its prominences, its levels, its zig-zags, and its cleavages, storing them up in your mind and fixing them in your eyes. Make the prominences your mountains, the lower part your water, the hollows your ravines, the cracks your streams, the lighter parts your nearest points, the darkest parts your more distant points. Get all these thoroughly into you, and you will soon see men, birds, plants and trees, flying and moving among them.<sup>27</sup>

The advice could apply equally to the painters of rock faces in Persian manuscript illustration, and to those who look for them. There is little difficulty in seeing the similarity between the rock faces in roughly contemporary Chinese and Persian paintings (Figs. 7-8).<sup>28</sup>

## The Development of Rock Faces in Persian Painting

### The Jalayirid Period

The earliest Persian manuscript in which I find rock faces is the Istanbul University Library *Kalilah u Dimnah*. The date of this manuscript is controversial: a newly-published study dates it to 1327-35,<sup>29</sup> although most recent commentators have preferred a date in the second half of the 14th century.<sup>30</sup> This is not the place to go into detail on the reasons why the later dating is to be preferred, although the presence of rock faces has a bearing on it. Chinese rock conventions had been used in Persian painting since at least the late 13th century, as noted above in the *Manāfi'-i ḥayavān* of 697/1297, and are also found in Ilkhanid manuscripts such as the *Jāmi' al-tavārikh* of 706/1306-7 and the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ* (about 1330-6), but no obvious rock faces are to be found in them, or in the *Garshāsp-nāmeḥ* of 755/1354.<sup>31</sup> The earliest dated manuscript in which they occur is a *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 772/1371,<sup>32</sup> the fact that rock faces are numerous in the Istanbul University Library *Kalilah u Dimnah* and also on several 14th-century *Shāh-nāmeḥ* pages in the Topkapı Saray albums is therefore an argument for dating the Istanbul University Library *Kalilah u Dimnah* closer to 1371 than to 1330-36, the approximate date of the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ*. This is one of the advantages which may accrue from paying close attention to rock faces: used with caution, they may be helpful as a diagnostic tool in problems of chronology and provenance.

Almost every painting with rocks in the Istanbul University Library *Kalilah u Dimnah* bears concealed faces.<sup>33</sup> In "The Lion Attacks Shanzabah" (Fig. 9 [and Grube, Fig. 30A]), the rocks behind Kalilah and Dimnah show two faces with malevolent grins similar to those of the jackals; if the page is turned 90° anti-clockwise another is revealed. In "The Hare, the Woodcock, and the Hypocritical Cat" the rocks behind the watching rabbit on the left contain a mass of faces, some of which are more easily seen by turning the page 45° clockwise (Pl. XIVA). The faces in the ravine on which the watching ascetic stands in "The Greedy Fox" are elusive; more obvious is the howl of anguish which seems to emerge from the tree at the left, resonating with the clash of the rams' horns (Fig. 10 [and Grube, Fig. 14A]).<sup>34</sup> Even the clouds in this manuscript writhe with a life of their own, faces emerging ghost-like from the billows (Fig. 11 [and Grube, Fig. 49A]).

Several *Shāh-nāmeḥ* illustrations mounted in H. 2153 (generally thought to be close in date to the IUL manuscript, about 1370) display rocky landscapes in a similar style.<sup>35</sup> The ease with which faces can be seen in these varies considerably. In “The Death of Zāḥḥāk” they are most prevalent, with several glaring at each other beneath the feet of the figure on the left. “The Sleeping Rustam” (Fig. 12) contains an extraordinary figure facing left and leaning forward on a stick, with more nebulous faces in the darker rocks above it. “Rustam Kills the Witch” (Fig. 13) has clusters similar to those in “The Death of Zāḥḥāk:” two expectant faces at Rustam’s right foot observe the fight between the protagonists (Fig. 14), while to the left of Rakhsh the smooth face in the red rock can be contrasted with the face with spiky hair in the black rock above (Pl. XIVE). To the left of Rustam’s saddle is a red outcrop with animal faces at either end, while just above it a human profile can be seen by turning the page 90° anti-clockwise. In “Isfandiḡār Fights the Wolves” (Fig. 14, centre) only one face is obvious, although with this in mind it is not difficult to resolve the ambiguities of other rock formations in this and a companion painting, “Isfandiḡār Fights the Dragon,” into human forms.<sup>36</sup>

Dated Jalayirid manuscripts (ranging from 788/1386 onward) may be at least a decade later than these undated paintings; rock faces also occur in them, albeit with less frequency. Brend has noted the animal head on folio 41r in a *Khamseh* dated 788-90/1386-1388;<sup>37</sup> animal faces occur in paintings on other folios of this manuscript, for example the rock adjacent to the door of the ruined palace on folio 14r, while a plenitude of human faces is to be found in the mountains depicted on folios 69v and 112r.<sup>38</sup> The Paris *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* of 790/1388 has several miniatures of interest in this context: rock faces are to be found not only in mountains but also in stones in the shape of animal heads, including that of an elephant, lying scattered by a pool.<sup>39</sup> In a seminal manuscript of the *masnavīs* of Khvājū Kirmānī, dated 798/1396, one would expect to find faces in the setting of “The Combat of Humāy and Humāyūn,” a mountain-encircled theatre,<sup>40</sup> but the images are equivocal. Only in one miniature, “Sulṭān Sanjar and the Old Woman,” is their presence unmistakable.<sup>41</sup>

### The Muzaffarid Period

Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, writing in 1933, noted on one folio of the Cairo *Shāh-nāmeḥ* of 796/1393 “the hills fantastically represented in the form of wild beasts, a device afterwards popular in Mughal India.”<sup>42</sup> This is the most striking example in the Muzaffarid school of rock figures, and it suggests that some of the ambiguities in other manuscripts of the same school may also have been intended.<sup>43</sup> The Bihbihān *Anthology* of 801/1398, although later, is related in style and has smaller but equally obvious faces. In the upper right of the painting on folio 128v (Fig. 15) two animal faces are to be seen, while fish-like heads are visible at the top of the central purple rock. Further down, a three-quarters human face, as well as some animal ones, are present on the yellow rock on the right.<sup>44</sup> In the bottom left of the painting on folio 251r (Fig. 16) several stones beside the pool are in the form of coiled snakes, a motif that recurs in 15th- and 16th-century paintings (Figs. 17-18).<sup>45</sup> More obvious are those in the painting on folio 287v, where the top of the central hill has both an animal and a human head, while others are to be found just above and below the white horse.<sup>46</sup>

### Shiraz under the Timurids

The most remarkable example of the presence of rock faces in landscapes from the school of Iskandar-Sulṭān is that in “Iskandar Watching the Sirens Bathing” from the *Anthology* of 813/1410 in the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon.<sup>47</sup> This is a carefully delineated human face at the upper left side of the picture, with a prominent nose and chin and shading for the eye and eyebrow, very different from the faces of the real figures in the manuscript. It is the more conspicuous in that the multitude of other rocks no more than vaguely hint at faces. In other manuscripts of Iskandar’s patronage, the faces are not quite so obvious but occur in numbers sufficient to make it clear that they are a regular feature of paintings made for him.<sup>48</sup>

Rocks thus occur in many compositions found in early 15th-century Shiraz manuscripts; in the same city next governed by Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān, rock depiction is often charged with a new dynamism. Clusters of small outcrops curve and curl back upon themselves and the holes depicted in them both

increase the rocks’ resemblance to coral and, at the same time, enable each hole to be read as the eye of a face. The Bodleian Library *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān provides many examples of this rock type.<sup>49</sup> One would have thought that the miniature in which the King of Mazandaran changes himself and his horse into stone during a battle with Rustam would provide an interesting opportunity for the artist to incorporate faces within the rocky bodies, but the recognisable ones are relatively few.<sup>50</sup>

A *Khamseh* completed shortly after Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān’s death shows this convention at its most impressive: in “Bahram Gūr Fights the Dragon,” the hero and even the dragon appear puny beside the face-infested rock-mass which dominates the composition.<sup>51</sup> In another painting from the same manuscript, “Iskandar Comforts the Dying Dārā,” a different convention is used, the fissures all at right angles but still full of faces.<sup>52</sup> The paintings in several *Khamsehs* executed in the 1440’s in Shiraz or Yazd have related conventions.<sup>53</sup>

### Herat under Shāh Rukh and Bāysunghur

The number of surviving manuscripts of the first half of the 15th century from Herat is considerable; the choice of examples of rock faces in the paintings illustrating these manuscripts is concomitantly greater than that from earlier schools.

The historical manuscripts made for Shāh Rukh are the earliest dated (or datable) Herat manuscripts (about 1415-1425). Recent scholarship has tended to include an undated, heavily illustrated copy of Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi’ al-tavārikh* in this category, and in one miniature of this manuscript, “Ghāzān Hunting,”<sup>54</sup> the faces of animals in the rocks are obvious, much more so than in the illustrated copies of the histories of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the best known in this group.<sup>55</sup> In Shāh Rukh’s only surviving illustrated poetical manuscript, the *Khamseh* of 835/1431 in the Hermitage in Leningrad, the faces, both human and animal, are much more obvious than in the historical manuscripts made for him.<sup>56</sup>

The atelier of Bāysunghur is rightly the most famous of the period, and the two illustrated *Kalīlah u Dimnah* manuscripts made for him, now in Istanbul, permit an interesting comparison.<sup>57</sup> Both are dedicated to the same patron; the same subjects are frequently illustrated in each, yet rocks faces are rare in H. 362<sup>58</sup> but plentiful in eleven paintings in R. 1022 (Pl. XIVB, Figs. 19-20).<sup>59</sup> The implications of this will be discussed below. Some of the paintings of R. 1022 have a greater density of rock faces than that of any previously discussed manuscript. The nearest parallel in this respect would be the Istanbul University Library *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, and although the iconography of the two manuscripts is very different, it is possible that the later artist was inspired by the earlier. Rock faces also occur in two miniatures in the *Chahār maqāleh* made for Bāysunghur (Fig. 21),<sup>60</sup> although the treatment of the rocks here is softer than in R. 1022.

Manuscripts made for patrons after Bāysunghur’s death also have rock faces—naturally enough, since many of the same artists were involved. The rocks in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Muḥammad Jūkī,<sup>61</sup> however, are in a style unlike those of earlier Herat manuscripts, with large masses broken into small compartments. These are shaded with parallel lines, unlike the circular ones of Shiraz paintings which it would otherwise resemble. The rock faces in this manuscript are by no means obvious, but patient search of several pages reveals more and more as one becomes attuned to the artist’s vision.<sup>62</sup> In several miniatures of a *Khamseh* made for Muḥammad Jūkī’s wife, ‘Iṣmat al-Dunyā,<sup>63</sup> the rocks are like those of her husband’s *Shāh-nāmeḥ* (Figs. 22-23). Another *Khamseh* from the same period is thought to have been made in Samarqand by an artist from Herat; it has rock faces (Fig. 24) which are very similar to those of the *Chahār maqāleh* made for Bāysunghur.<sup>64</sup>

### Qarā Quyūnlū

Certain manuscripts from the mid-15th century have miniatures in both the Shiraz Timurid and Commercial Turkman style. The simplified conventions used by the painters of the latter for depicting rocks did not make the incorporation of faces any more difficult,<sup>65</sup> and rock faces remained a frequent, although not invariable component of this style. Two examples from the numerous later manuscripts are in a copy of ‘Aṣṣār’s *Mihr u Mushtarī* of 905/1500 (Fig. 25)<sup>66</sup> and, in a more refined version of the style, a *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī of 902/1497 (Fig. 26).<sup>67</sup>

The patronage of Pīr Budāq in Baghdad best illustrates the Qarā Quyūnlū Court style. At least five illustrated manuscripts can be associated with him, and all of these have rock faces in varying degrees.<sup>68</sup> From a *Mihr u Mushtarī* possibly made for Pīr Budāq around 1460 I illustrate “Mushtarī and His Companions Fighting Wild Animals and Demons in the Alburz Mountains” (Fig. 27), even though damage makes it difficult to see the details;<sup>69</sup> it is a masterpiece which has not received due attention. The mountainous landscape contains three horsemen killing boars, demons, and a lion. Watching are other demons, two leopards and, most extraordinary of all, two huge battling snakes, while our constant companions the rock faces complete the cast. Such is the sweep of the perspective that the panorama encompasses all this activity without seeming cluttered. The painter is considered by Robinson to be that of the Gulistan Palace Library *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, and the angularity of the rocks is certainly very similar. The faces in the latter, although numerous, tend to be subtle and need strong magnification to be apparent.<sup>70</sup>

An example from the *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 28) is closer to those of the Commercial Turkman style; in all the Qarā Quyūnlū examples the rock style owes more to Shiraz than Herat.

### Āq Quyūnlū

The finest Āq Quyūnlū manuscript, and one of the very finest of all Persian illustrated books, is the *Khamseh* in the Topkapı Saray Library (H. 762), copied “in Tabriz” between 880/1475-6 and 886/1481, with some contemporary miniatures by Shaykhī and Darvīsh Muḥammad.<sup>72</sup> Of the ten pictures by these painters five have rock faces. The most obvious are in “Farhād Carrying Shīrīn on Her Horse,” which has the most mountainous setting. The rocks here seem to derive from the style of those in the *Kalīlah u Dimnah* made for Bāysunghur (see Pl. XIVB and Figs. 19-20); whereas those of the same subject in the Topkapı Saray *Khamseh* (H. 761) of 866/1461 are much closer to earlier Shiraz models.<sup>73</sup> In the other miniatures of H. 762 the faces are better concealed: on the upper left horizon of folio 163v, in the dark rocks at the upper right of folio 167r, in the poolside stones and the clump of rocks at the bottom of folio 177v, and lurking in unsuspected places in what is possibly the finest miniature of all in the manuscript, “Bahrām Gūr in the Green Pavilion.”<sup>74</sup> All in all a fair number, but no more than in the *Kalīlah u Dimnah* made for Bāysunghur, and, as we shall see below, than in later Herat painting. Therefore it seems incorrect, as has been suggested, to exclude Herat from the provenance of the Leningrad *Silsilat al-zahhab* frontispiece simply on the grounds that many of the rocks contain human and animal faces.<sup>75</sup> However, this is where studying rock faces can be of use as a determinant of style: in this frontispiece they owe much more to the linear tradition of Shiraz and the Turkman school than, as will be seen, to the subtly shaded examples in Herat painting under Sulṭān Ḥusayn.

Finally, another royal manuscript, the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Sulṭān ‘Alī Mīrzā of Gilan and dated 899/1494 (the so-called “big-head” *Shāh-nāmeḥ*), has rock faces which are related to the Commercial Turkman style but which represent an intermediate step between it and that of the Safavids. Two types of painting have been recognised in the manuscript.<sup>76</sup> The “big-head” miniatures have rock clusters on horizons which display deeper shading—and even more obvious faces (Pl. XIVC and Figs. 29-30)—than Commercial Turkman examples.<sup>77</sup> In the second type there are great clumps of rock in which the linearity has been replaced by dotted lines. This allows a double layer of ambiguity: in “Rustam Kills Arzhang” (Fig. 30) the rock cluster on the left as a whole resembles a man with cloak and hat (similar to the figure in Fig. 12), while looked at in detail a host of smaller faces is revealed.<sup>78</sup>

### Herat under Sulṭān-Ḥusayn

Artists of the major schools of Persian painting had now been consistently incorporating faces in rocks for over a century; it would be extremely surprising if Herat painters at this point did not follow suit, and in fact very few miniatures of this school have a substantial, rocky landscape (as opposed to a rocky horizon) without numerous faces.<sup>79</sup> However, the convention used for rocks undergoes a radical change which frequently makes them less obvious. The contours are now much softer, with gradual shading rather than distinct lines used to delineate the fissures. Nevertheless, in a good reproduction,

especially if it is enlarged slightly, the figures are clear, as in “Iskandar Visiting the Hermit” from the *Khamseh* of 900/1494-5 in the British Library (Or. 6810).<sup>80</sup> The group to the right of the hermit includes one figure embracing another, with two heads behind,<sup>81</sup> but these are only the most obvious; sustained perusal will reveal literally dozens of others. Similarly, it is possible to see that the rocky outcrop beside the meadow in Bihzād’s “King Dārā and the Herdsman” from the Cairo *Būstān* is alive with faces.<sup>82</sup> All the major and many of the minor manuscripts of this period have rock faces.<sup>83</sup> One detail must suffice (Fig. 31); the faces in the outcrop at the top right are the most obvious, but there are others.

### The Istanbul Albums

Before turning to the Safavids, we might ask whether rock faces can be of any use in determining the date or provenance of some of the controversial paintings in the Istanbul albums.<sup>84</sup> The single painting where rock faces are most obvious is that of “Angels Lassoing Dragons.” A plethora of grinning or snarling faces inhabits not only the rocks but also the tree trunks: that on the lower left resembles an elephant with its trunk upraised.<sup>85</sup> Another painting of a dragon fighting two bear cubs has many faces in trees and rocks;<sup>86</sup> the chunky rectangularity of those in the rocks resembles little in the manuscript paintings that we have considered above. They come closest perhaps to the rock faces of Sulṭān Muḥammad in a *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Shāh Ṭahmāsp in the second quarter of the 16th century, although the details of some 14th-century *Shāh-nāmeḥ* illustrations, also in the albums, are quite similar (Pl. XIVE).

The most controversial group of all, the paintings of demons and nomads, have for the most part little or no ground represented. Ivanov, however, has isolated a group of twelve album paintings with red-edged hills or rocks with blurred and stippled edges, two of which have stylistic connections with other paintings bearing the “signatures” of Muḥammad Siyāh Qalam.<sup>87</sup> He noted the importance of such an apparently insignificant motif: it is one which an artist would have repeated unconsciously and is therefore a useful clue to provenance. He suggested that while no analogue in Persian illustrated manuscripts existed, the atelier was one which produced a minimal quantity of paintings, most of which are now in the Istanbul albums. That this may indeed be the case is suggested by many of the Jalayirid *Shāh-nāmeḥ* illustrations in the albums, since the hills there are occasionally treated in a way that is identical to those of Ivanov’s group (Pl. XIVE). This, in addition to other common elements, points to an earlier date for this problematic group of paintings than is usually suggested.<sup>88</sup>

### Safavid Painting

The role of Sulṭān Muḥammad in his position as the supreme genius of rock spirits has been amply discussed by Stuart Cary Welch and need not be repeated here.<sup>89</sup> But some indication of the range of Safavid rock face painting may be of interest.

The two earliest important Safavid manuscripts are the additions of 910/1505-6 to the Topkapı Saray Library *Khamseh* (H. 762), and the Āṣafī *Jamāl u Jalāl* of 909-10/1504-5.<sup>90</sup> Numerous faces are to be found in the paintings of both, although the most blatant is a group on folio 244r of H. 762, prefiguring those of Sulṭān Muḥammad.<sup>91</sup> It was the latter who, for the first time since the introduction of rock faces in the Jalayirid *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, used faces in the clouds, depicting two dragons in “The Death of Zāḥḥāk.”<sup>92</sup> The artists in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Shāh Ṭahmāsp used the whole range of stylistic devices available to them from the previous century for rock faces: the obvious linearity of the Commercial Turkman style, the more three-dimensional Turkman style, and the gradual shading of late-Timurid painting. By the time work had commenced on the *Khamseh* made for Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the subtleties of the latter style had become standard and for the most part remained so in later metropolitan Safavid painting. They can be seen in the *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for Shāh Ismā‘īl II (about 1576-7),<sup>93</sup> in a *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ painted in Tūn (the modern Firdaus, in Khurasan) in 994/1586 (Pl. XIVF),<sup>94</sup> in the works of Rizā ‘Abbāsī,<sup>95</sup> in those of his most important successor, Mu‘īn,<sup>96</sup> and in countless other Safavid manuscripts from all periods.<sup>97</sup>

In the meantime, until it was subsumed by the metropolitan style at the end of the 16th century, Shiraz went its own way in the representation of rock faces no less than in other aspects of painting.

One group of manuscripts depicted rocks with columns of small circles alternating with dashes; the faces are rendered in outline (Fig. 32).<sup>98</sup> Another used concentric wavy lines which resemble the convention used for water in earlier Arab painting.<sup>99</sup> The effect can be quite bizarre, as in a painting from a *Shāh-nāme* of 945/1539 which is inhabited by monsters with toothy grins, shown, unusually, full-face as often as in profile,<sup>100</sup> or a *Khamseh* of similar date, in the Topkapı Saray Library<sup>101</sup> (Pl. XIV D).

### Turkish Painting

As Persian painting so greatly influenced Turkish and Indian painting, it seems appropriate to draw attention briefly to the existence of rock faces in illustrated Ottoman and Mughal manuscripts.

Much Turkish painting has rock styles which owe nothing to the Safavids, and in these faces are absent. The most obvious rock faces are found in manuscripts which are heavily dependent on the Shiraz tradition; in two of these dating from the 1530s in the Topkapı Saray Library are found versions of both Shiraz rock styles mentioned above.<sup>102</sup> The mainstream Safavid/Herat rock tradition is reflected in other Turkish paintings dating as late as the early 17th century.<sup>103</sup>

### Indian Painting

The debt of painting done in the north of India in the Sultanate period to Shiraz Timurid painting has often been acknowledged. This is apparent in four manuscripts dated between 1436 and 1441 which have features derived from the Muzaffarid style, although their provenance is controversial.<sup>104</sup> In a recent study Brend has produced new evidence to support an Indian origin for two of the manuscripts, British Library Or. 1403 and Chester Beatty Library P. 124,<sup>105</sup> while leaving open the attribution of the other two. Robinson has also recently argued for an Indian provenance for the Uppsala *Khamseh*.<sup>106</sup> Brend has already noted the presence of a negroid face in a rocky landscape in a painting in BL Or. 1403;<sup>107</sup> a lion is drawn next to it, in an analogous linear fashion. A quite similar face, confronted by an equally remarkable turtle on the other side of the hill, is found in "Farhād Carries Shīrīn" in the Uppsala *Khamseh* (Fig. 33); the same subject in the Topkapı Saray manuscript has rocks with only slightly less bizarre images.<sup>108</sup> The only use of rock faces comparable to these examples is in the Muzaffarid *Shāh-nāme*s discussed above (Fig. 34).<sup>109</sup> The fact that in four manuscripts of about 1440 should be found a Muzaffarid rock convention, when it had been discarded forty years previously in Shiraz and other Persian centres of painting, also strongly suggests a non-Persian origin for these manuscripts.

The influence of Safavid on Mughal painting has been thoroughly documented, and this includes its use of rock faces. S. C. Welch's research on Sulṭān Muḥammad's works made him particularly receptive to Mughal rock faces and, for instance, to the animal forms to be found in the turbulent water of a *Ḥamzah-nāme* miniature.<sup>110</sup> As he notes, rock faces become rarer by the late 16th century, although in a painting from the Deccan of about 1620 it is still possible to see faces in rocks which are very much influenced by 16th-century Shiraz examples.<sup>111</sup>

As an example of the delights which await those with the time for leisurely examination, it may be best to conclude with the startling image of the flower which enigmatically smiles upon a Mughal prince (Fig. 35).<sup>112</sup>

### The *Raison d'être* of Rock Paintings

With examples readily available in Chinese painting, and having enjoyed animals employed in a wide range of art and architectural decoration, it is no surprise to find Persian artists incorporating rock faces in their own paintings in the 14th century. But why did they remain so popular?

Was it at the request of the patrons? This seems unlikely; illustrations in manuscripts made for Bāysunghur or Iskandar-Sulṭān vary considerably in the extent to which they incorporate rock faces.<sup>113</sup> Is there any relationship between the type of text and the presence of rock faces in illustrations of it? The rock faces discussed above are found in history, geography, poetry and prose texts, categories

which comprise the vast majority of texts chosen for illustration. Amidst these types which do contain paintings of rock faces, does any one have a preponderance of them? No bias is discernible towards any particular type or author. Animal fables such as *Kalīlah u Dimnah* might appear to be particularly suitable candidates, but although three manuscripts display rock faces in their paintings in greater than average numbers (Pl. XIV A-B, Figs. 9-11, 19-20),<sup>114</sup> the surviving dozen or so other 14th- and 15th-century *Kalīlah u Dimnah* manuscripts display them no more than other texts. Within a particular text, was any one subject more likely to be illustrated by rock faces than another? The surviving examples suggest that this is not the case. One *Shāh-nāme* subject, "The King of Mazandaran Changes Himself and His Horse into a Stone," might have been thought to be particularly appropriate for the incorporation of rock faces, but it was neither frequently illustrated in *Shāh-nāme* manuscripts, nor was it especially full of rock faces when it was illustrated.<sup>115</sup> Taken together, these considerations argue strongly that the whim of the artist was the reason for their inclusion.<sup>116</sup>

As far as I have been able to ascertain, Persian literature is silent on this phenomenon.<sup>117</sup> Despite the claims, for instance, of a link between mysticism and Sulṭān Muḥammad's "secret cast of monsters and grotesques,"<sup>118</sup> it is also difficult to see any connection between Sufism and rock faces. Although pantheistic themes are often found in later Persian Ṣūfī poetry,<sup>119</sup> the use of rock faces in illustrated manuscripts is in no way biased towards those with Ṣūfī themes, as one would expect if there were a link between the two. Besides, it is difficult to see how the appearance of animal or human grotesques in rocks reflects notions of pantheism as expressed in its most quoted phrase, *hameh ust, all is He*.<sup>120</sup>

One of the most striking features of rock faces is the way in which their physiognomies can differ so much from those of the real figures in the illustrations. The differences are especially acute in one of the *Kalīlah u Dimnah* manuscripts made for Bāysunghur, as Thomas Lentz has pointed out:

In keeping with the controlled vision are restraints on human emotion, the figures hardly matching the expressive qualities of colour and landscape. A curious feature in this regard is the appearance of "rock spirits" or "grotesques" among the outcropping of rock-caricatures that project more emotional and psychological insight than any of the human or animal figures in these illustrations, and which perhaps represent reactions to the severe restrictions governing this mode of painting.<sup>121</sup>

The rock faces in the Istanbul University *Kalīlah u Dimnah* have also been interpreted as reflecting the moods and actions of the central animal characters,<sup>122</sup> although it is easy to exaggerate.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, this ambiguity, the possibility of reading different expressions into the often nebulous faces, could well have been a desired aim of the artist. But more importantly, the freedom of expression which rock faces afforded the painter and the loosening of the strict conventions to which he was normally tied, are likely to be yet more reasons for the long popularity of rock faces.

The range of rock faces in the paintings we have considered is a very impressive one. Persian painters found myriad ways to manipulate seemingly solid matter to represent an astonishing variety of creatures. This demanded a certain virtuosity on the part of the artist—one that he was not unwilling to exhibit—as well as a sense of fun. Whether it was initially to amuse his colleagues or their patrons one can only guess, but the longevity of the practice shows that the joke was appreciated by a wider audience.

If this study has encouraged the reader to linger longer over the paintings illustrating Persian manuscripts, so much the better. There is a certain danger, admittedly, in not seeing the mountains for the rocks, but this is outweighed by the pleasures to be obtained from sustained perusal—surely the reason why Persian artists incorporated rock faces into their paintings in the first place.

## Notes

The following abbreviations are used:

- ABCA (1979) *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray, Paris and London, 1979.
- Atasoy (1970) Nurhan Atasoy, "Four Istanbul Albums and some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-Namehs," *Ars Orientalis*, VIII, 1970, pp. 19-48.
- BL British Library, London
- Bloch (1929) E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIIIth-XVIIth Century*, London, 1929.
- BN Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
- Brend (1980) Barbara Brend, "Rocks in Persian Miniature Painting," *Landscape Style in Asia*, ed. W. Watson (Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, No. 9), London, 1980, pp. 111-37.
- Çağman and Tanındı (1979) Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1979.
- CBL Chester Beatty Library, Dublin
- Cowen (1989) Jill Sanchia Cowen, *Kalila wa Dimna: An Animal Allegory of the Mongol Court: The Istanbul University Album*, New York and Oxford, 1989.
- Dickson and Welch (1982) Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1982.
- Gombrich (1977) E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*, Oxford, 1977.
- Grabar and Blair (1980) Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago and London, 1980.
- Gray, PP (1961) Basil Gray, *Persian Painting*, Geneva, 1961.
- Grube, 14th Century (1978) Ernst J. Grube, *Persian Painting in the Fourteenth Century: A Research Report*, Naples, 1978.
- Grube, MMP (1962) Ernst J. Grube, *Muslim Miniature Paintings from the XIII to XIX Century from Collections in the United States and Canada*, Venice, 1962.
- Grube, La pittura (1980) Ernst J. Grube, *La pittura dell'Islam*, Bologna, 1980.
- Grube and Sims (1979) Ernst J. Grube and Eleanor Sims, "The School of Herat from 1400 to 1450," ABCA, pp. 147-178.
- IOL India Office Library, London
- İpşiroğlu, Masterpieces (1980) M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Masterpieces from the Topkapı Museum: Paintings and Miniatures*, London, 1980.
- IUL Istanbul University Library
- Ivanov (1981) A. A. Ivanov, "Some Observations on the Miniatures of Muhammad Siyah Qalam," *Islamic Art* I, 1981 (published 1983), pp. 66-8.
- Lentz (1985) Thomas Lentz, *Painting at Herat under Bāysunghur ibn Shāhrūkh*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985.
- MMA Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Robinson, Bodleian (1958) B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1958.
- Robinson, IOL (1976) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, London, 1976.
- Robinson, JRL (1980) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, London, 1980.
- Robinson, Keir (1976) *The Keir Collection: Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson, London, 1976.
- Robinson, "Turkman" (1979) B. W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503," ABCA, pp. 215-47.
- Robinson, V&A (1967) B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles*, London, 1967.

- Rogers et al. (1986) J. M. Rogers, Filiz Çağman, Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, London, 1986.
- Soucek (1971) Priscilla Parsons Soucek, *Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh: 1386-1482*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1971.
- Stchoukine, Khamseh (1977) Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "khamseh" de Nizâmî au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul*, Paris, 1977.
- Stchoukine, MT (1954) Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timourides*, Paris, 1954.
- Suleiman (1970) Hamid Suleiman, *Miniatures to Poems of Alisher Navoi*, Tashkent, 1970.
- Swietochowski (1972) Marie Lukens Swietochowski, "The Historical Background and Illustrative Character of the Metropolitan Museum's Mantiq al-Tayr of 1483," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, New York, 1972, pp. 39-72.
- TIEM Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul
- TKS Topkapı Saray Library, Istanbul
- TPV (1989) Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century*, Washington and Los Angeles, 1989.
- Welch, Shah-nameh (1972) Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings: the Shah-nameh of Shah Tahmasp*, London, 1972.
- Welch, Wonders (1979) Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576*, Cambridge, Mass., 1979.
- Yusopov (1983) E. Yu. Yusopov, Hamid Suleimanov, Fazila Suleimanova, *Miniatures: Illuminations of Amir Hosrov Dehlevi's Works*, Tashkent, 1983.
- Yusopov and Suleimanova (1985) E. Yu. Yusopov and Fazila Suleimanova, *Miniatures: Illuminations of Nisami's "Hamsah"*, Tashkent, 1985.

\* As a glance at the photographs accompanying this article will show, I have benefitted greatly from the kindness of many colleagues in libraries throughout the world. I am particularly indebted to the curators of three collections in Istanbul who made it possible for me to undertake the photography of details needed for this study: Filiz Çağman and Banu Mahir of the Topkapı Saray Library, Şule Aksoy Kutlukan of the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, and the staff of the Istanbul University Library. I am extremely grateful to Eleanor Sims for her painstaking and constructive editing. Plates II—V and Figures 10-12 were kindly provided by Filiz Çağman and Banu Mahir of the Topkapı Saray Library, Figure 35 by David James of the Chester Beatty Library, and Figure 2 by the editors of *Islamic Art*. Roderick Whitfield of the Percival David Foundation, in London, brought to my notice the material in Figures 3-4, and advised me on other matters Chinese. Figure 6 was provided by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Unless specifically mentioned, all other photographs are by the author. Note that *Khamseh* unqualified refers to the *Khamseh* of Nizâmî.

- Gombrich (1960), p. 160.
- Zakariyyā' Qazvīnī, *Āthār al-bilād w'akhbār al-ibād*, Beirut, 1389/1969, p. 347.
- Habīb al-siyar*, Tehran, 1333/1954, IV, p. 676. In the same section on mountains, Khvāndamīr has two other intriguing references to images: "The Figure Mountain (*jabal al-şūrat*) is opposite Kirman and is so called because if one throws a pulverised piece of it into a water jar it assumes the figure of a man;" and "Farghāna Mountain: on this mountain there is a grass which grows in the shape of a person which they call the image with no soul," (*ibid.*, p. 675).
- TIEM, 1949: Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, No. 9.
- As Brend has remarked, "The teasingly slight nature of some rock faces makes the extent of the phenomenon difficult to determine" (Brend [1980], p. 119) although familiarity with the conventions and styles of rock faces makes it easier to see them. Brend covers less material than this article but she reaches many of the same conclusions.
- Although the possibility should also be borne in mind that more than one artist may have worked on a particular manuscript, each in a different style.

7. A magnifying glass will help considerably in looking at paintings; with reproductions, strong magnification merely shows the dots of the printing-process. I have referred to only the best or most accessible reproductions.
8. Charles K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur, Pottery of the Early Islamic Period*, New York, 1973, Pls. 14, 24a. See also Richard Ettinghausen, "The 'Wade Cup' in the Cleveland Museum of Art, its Origin and Decorations," *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, text fig. W, figs. 23-4; *idem*, "Interaction and Integration in Islamic Art," *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. Gustav E. von Grunebaum, Chicago, 1955, Pl. Xa.
9. Charles K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur: Some Early Islamic Buildings and Their Decoration*, New York, 1987, Figs. 1.210, 1.211, 3.20, 3.25, 3.33, 3.64, 3.65, 3.69; see also the discussion on pp. 129-30. Brend (1980), p. 119, Pl. 4c, illustrates an example of the same tendency in stucco from Samarra.
10. For example, Ettinghausen, (Note 8), pp. 356-9.
11. For some (mostly Safavid) Persian examples, see Arthur Upham Pope, "Representations of Living Forms in Persian Mosques," *Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*, VI, 1946, pp. 125-9.
12. Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Le roman de Varqe et Golšāh*, *Arts Asiatiques*, XXII, 1970, Pl. 11.
13. These vary from stems which occasionally have birds' heads and bodies, instead of palmettes, to complete *waq-waq* scrolls. For the former, see Oliver Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, London, 1985, Pl. 64, and *Céramiques islamiques dans les collections genevoises*, Geneva, 1981, Pls. 62, 64 (also 13th-century Kashan lustre-ware); for the latter, Watson, *Lustre* (1985), Pl. 112: tile from Takht-i Sulaymān, about 1270-75.
14. The motif is found on three examples of metal-work executed by the craftsman Shāzī al-Harāvī in the early 13th century: Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Les bronzes du Khorāsān-VII. Šāzī de Herat, ornemaniste," *Studia Iranica*, VIII, 1979, Figs. 4, 5; *idem*, "State Ink-wells in Islamic Iran," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XLIV, 1986, Figs. 19-20.
15. Qaḏī Aḥmad Qumī, *Gulistān-i hunar*, ed. Aḥmad Khvānsārī, Tehran, 1359/1980, p. 132 (correcting the translation of V. Minorsky, *Calligraphers and Painters*, Washington, 1959, p. 178); Šādiqī Bek, *The Canons of Painting*, in Dickson and Welch (1982), p. 262.
16. M. Ş. İpşiroğlu, *Das Bild im Islam: ein Verbot und seine Folgen*, Vienna, 1971, Pl. 63.
17. Qazvīnī, 'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt, BN, Sup. pers. 332, fol. 160v. This was taken up as a separate genre: see a cloud design of interlinked animals in TKS, H. 2153, fol. 62r (*Islamic Art*, I, 1981, Fig. 466); an album page, Bukhara (?), about 1600 (Glenn D. Lowry, Milo Cleveland Beach, *et al.*, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, Washington, 1988, no. 362, p. 311); an album page, Isfahan, about 1650, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Anne-marie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam*, New York, 1982, dust-jacket).
18. For two Sasanian examples, see Prudence O. Harper and Pieter Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period, Volume One: Royal Imagery*, New York, 1981, Pls. 10, 24; for a 13th-century Arab example, see Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva, 1962, p. 89; for an example on a Saljuq plate, see Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Die Landschaftsdarstellung in der seldschukischen Malerei," *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann, Beirut, 1979, Pl. 7; for Chinese precursors of this style, see William Watson, "Landscape Elements in the Early Buddhist Art of China," *Landscape Style in Asia*, ed. William Watson (Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia, No. 9), London, 1980, pp. 1-17. The style continued in Injū painting in Shiraz in the the first half of the 14th century.
19. Oliver Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware*, London, 1985, Pl. 1b.
20. The title of the work is written thus in its Persian form, without the Arabic definite article, in both the preface and in the colophon of the manuscript. For a good colour illustration of Chinese-style rocks in this, see D. Stewart, *Early Islam*, New York, 1967, p. 138.
21. Fig. 5 is a detail from a scroll painted in Yünnan province between 1173 and 1176, see Helen B. Chapin, "A Long Roll of Buddhist Images," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXII, 1970, pp. 5-41, 157-199, 259-306; XXXIII, 1971, pp. 75-140. For the Vulture Peak, the scene of Buddha's preaching, see Young-sook Pak, "Illuminated Buddhist Manuscripts in Korea," *Oriental Art*, N. S., XXXIII/4, 1987-8, pp. 357-74, Fig. 16.
22. In a catalogue of the Sung government art collection, dated 1120, Buddhist and Taoist subjects numbered 1180 out of a total of 6387, second only to flower and bird paintings, of which there were 2776 examples: R. M. Barnhart, *Peach Blossom Spring: Gardens and Flowers in Chinese Paintings*, New York, 1983, p. 27.
23. *Manāfi'*, see N. 20 above; Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Glenn D. Lowry and Susan Nemazee, *A Jeweler's Eye: Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection*, Washington, 1988, Pl. 10. It crops up occasionally in later miniatures, merely as a decorative element: TKS, H. 2153, fol. 170v: Rogers *et al.* (1986), Pl. 109.
24. Quoted in W. Fong, *Images of the Mind: Selections from the Edward L. Elliott Family and John B. Elliott Collections of Chinese Calligraphy and Painting at the Art Museum, Princeton University*, Princeton, 1984, p. 24.
25. M. Keswick, *The Chinese Garden: History, Art and Architecture*, London and New York, 1978, p. 162.
26. W. Fong, *Summer Mountains: The Timeless Landscape*, New York, 1975, unnumbered p. facing Pl. 8.
27. Quoted by Gombrich (1977), p. 158.
28. For other examples of Chinese paintings in the landscapes of which it is possible to find rock faces, see Fong (Note 24), Figs. 31, 49; Wang Shih-chieh *et al.*, *A Garland of Chinese Paintings*, Hong Kong, 1970, vol. 1, Pl. 24; and those mentioned in Brend (1980), p. 129, n. 54. Rocks in similar styles also appear on Chinese blue-and-white pottery: see John A. Pope, *Fourteenth Century Blue-and-White: A Group of Chinese Porcelains in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi, Istanbul*, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Washington D. C., 1952, Pls. 7a-b, 20, 37a.
29. Cowen (1989), p. 37.
30. For a list of these datings, see *ibid.*, pp. 168-9. [See also E. J. Grube, "Prolegomena For a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalilah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," especially Note 18, in this volume. *Editors' Note*]
31. Although two of the rock formations in the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ* have been described as "almost anthropomorphic:" Grabar and Blair (1980), Brian 13 and 38.
32. TKS, H. 1511, fol. 211v.
33. Brend (1980), p. 119; Cowen (1989), pp. 26-7.
34. It is possible to draw a parallel here with the tree stump in the foreground of "The Death of Isfandiyār" from the Great Mongol *Shāh-nāmeḥ*: Lisa Golombek, "Towards a Classification of Islamic Painting," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen, New York, 1972, p. 27.
35. Atasoy (1970), pp. 19-48. Miniatures with a similar rock style include her Figs. 18, 20, 23, 24 and 27.
36. Good colour illustrations are to be found in J. M. Rogers *et al.* (1986), Pls. 52-53.
37. BL, Or. 13297: Brend (1980), p. 119.
38. The latter is reproduced in Grube, *14th Century* (1978), Fig. 60.
39. BN, Sup. pers. 332, fol. 158v: Gray, *PP* (1961) p. 45. Other rock faces occur on fols. 19r, 50r (SPA, Pl. 846B), 60r (ABCA [1979], Pl. 60) 92r, 195r and 220v. The last two are reproduced in Henri Massé, *Le livre des merveilles du monde*, Paris, 1944, Pls. XV, XVIII.
40. BL, Add. 18113: Gray, *PP* (1961), p. 47.
41. There is a group to the left of the text below the watching soldiers; another is at the bottom left, below the horse's head. Stchoukine, *MT* (1954), Pl. VIII. Two other Jalayirid *Kalilah u Dimnah* manuscripts also have rock faces: Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Adab fārsī 61, fols. 20v, 112v, 120v; BN, Pers. 376, fol. 57v.
42. Dār al-Kutub, Adab fārsī 6, fol. 79v: BWG (1933), "Pīrān Captured by Giv," p. 62, Pl. XXIXa. For another reproduction, see ABCA (1979), Fig. 73. Closely related is TKS, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, H. 1511, 772/1371: Mehmet Aga-Oglu, "Preliminary Notes on Some Persian Illustrated Mss. in the Topkapu Sarayi Müzesi-Part I," *Ars Islamica*, I, 1934, pp. 191-2, Figs. 4-7. There are indeed links with India, although they are more with Sultanate painting, as will be discussed below.
43. For example, in a *Khamseh* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent, No. 3314, fol. 344r: Yusopov (1983), Fig. 13; *Khamseh*, Keir Collection, III.25: Robinson, *Keir* (1976), Pl. 17; TKS, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, H. 1511, 772/1371, fol. 211v.
44. Visible in ABCA (1979), Pl. XXXVI.
45. Such as an *Anthology* made for Iskandar-Sulṭān and dated 813/1410, now in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon: A. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du 12<sup>e</sup> au 17<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1929, Pl. XXX, Fig. 44; *Khamseh*, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 468, dated 896/1490, Shiraz, fol. 43v.
46. See Ivan Stchoukine, "Origine turque des peintures d'une anthologie persane de 801/1398," *Syria*, XLII, 1965, Fig. 2. Needless to say, I do not share the Turkish attribution of the author. [Stchoukine's attribution to 16th-century Turkey of all the 12 paintings in this manuscript is surely exaggerated; the one instance in which he is not to be doubted, however, is this particular picture on folio 287v. *Editors' Note*].
47. Gray, *PP* (1961), p. 76. Brend (1980), p. 120, notes that the depiction of the similar subject for Iskandar in the BL manuscript has none, an argument against the subject matter or patron being the

- deciding factor in whether a particular painting incorporated rock faces.
48. The *Epics* divided between London and Dublin: CBL, P. 114, fol. 65r: ABCA (1979), Pl. XXXVII; and in BL, Or. 2780, fol. 14v (blue-gray rocks at the fringe of the pool), fol. 18r (at base of flower, upper right), fol. 29v: B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniatures*, Oxford, n.d., Pl. II, fol. 44v: Stchoukine, MT (1954), Pl. XIV. BL, *Miscellany*, Add. 27261, fol. 61r: Stchoukine, MT (1954), Pl. XVII, fol. 230r: Stchoukine, MT (1954), Pl. XX, fol. 300r: Ivan Stchoukine, "La peinture à Yazd au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Syria*, XLIII, 1966, Fig. 8, fol. 538v. *Iskandar-nāmeḥ*, BL, Or. 13529, fol. 9: B. W. Robinson, "The Earliest Illustrated Manuscript of Nizāmī?" *Oriental Art*, N.S. III, 1957, Fig. 6.
49. Those with faces include folios 30r: Robinson, *Bodleian* (1958), Pl. IV, 73r: TPV (1989), p. 166, 92r: Robinson, V&A (1967), Pl. 44, 172r, 175r, and 280v.
50. Fol. 73r: TPV (1989), p. 166.
51. BL, Or. 12856, 839/1435-6, fol. 177r: Robinson, V&A (1967) Pl. 45.
52. Fol. 263v. Rock faces also occur in the paintings on folios 76r, 127v, and 226r: Basil Gray, "A Newly-Discovered Nizāmī of the Timūrid School," *East and West*, XIV, 1963, pp. 220-3, Pls. 6-13.
53. Stchoukine, *Khamseh* (1977), Pls. I, Iib, IIIb, IX, XIIa, XXIII, XXIVa; Keir III.87-8: Robinson, *Keir* (1976), Pls. 26-7.
54. BN, Sup. pers 1113: Blochet (1929), Pl. LXIV.
55. A baboon-like face is noticeable at the top left of Keir III.71: Robinson, *Keir* (1976), Pl. 20. More equivocal faces can be seen in "The Sacrifice of Ismā'īl," TKS, H. 1653: Richard Ettinghausen, "An Illuminated Manuscript of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in Istanbul," *Kunst des Orients*, II, 1955, Fig. 7; and in pages from the dispersed copy of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū's *Majma al-tavāriḫ*: Grube MMP (1962), Pls. 37-9; *idem*, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, n.p., 1968, Pls. 22-4.
56. Fol. 484r: TPV (1989), p. 170; fol. 393r: ABCA (1979), Pl. XLV.
57. These have been the object of several studies: B. W. Robinson, "Prince Baysunghur and the Fables of Bidpai," *Oriental Art*, N. S. XVI, 1970, pp. 145-54; Ernst J. Grube, "Two *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* Codices made for Baysunghur Mirzā: the Concept of the Classical Style reconsidered," *Problemi dell'età timuride, Quaderni del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Università degli Studi di Venezia*, VIII, 1980, pp. 115-22, appendix i-xi containing a list of miniatures and a bibliography; Lentz (1985), pp. 99-113, 363-446. R. 1022 is dated 833/1429, H. 362 has the date 834/1431. It has been noted by both Grube and Lentz that the miniatures in H. 362 have been pasted into the text, allowing for the possibility of an earlier date for the paintings. Grube is of the opinion that discrepancies "leave no doubt that the painter of the miniatures and the painter of the marginal additions are not one and the same person" (p. 118); Lentz allows the possibility that some of the additions are by the same hand and agrees (p. 110) with Robinson's attribution of the miniatures of H. 362 to Khalīl, the painter of the CBL *Gulistān*. It may be added that H. 362 and the CBL *Gulistān* are similar in the rarity of rock faces in both of them.
58. Possible examples are fols. 75v and 164v, but the faces are nowhere so obvious as those of R. 1022. [Of 36 subjects in the two MSS, only 7—under a fifth—actually represent "the same subjects." *Editors' Note*]
59. Fols. 28v, 45r, 49r, 56r, 62r, 79v, 80r, 91v, 94r, 99r, 139v. Best illustrations in TPV (1989), pp. 136-7 (fols. 80r, 28v); Ipşiroğlu, *Masterpieces* (1980), pl. 23 (fol. 56r); Grube, *La pittura* (1980), Pl. 28b (fol. 45r).
60. TIEM, No. 1954, 835/1431, fols. 6v, 45v. For a full discussion of this manuscript see Eleanor G. Sims, "Prince Baysunghur's Chahar Maqaleh," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, VI, 1974-5 (published 1976), pp. 375-404.
61. London, Royal Asiatic Society, MS 239, about 1444. See Note 62 for illustrations of this.
62. The detail of folio 16v reproduced in TPV (1989), p. 158, reveals them; some of the faces become clearer if the page is turned 90° anti-clockwise. Other good reproductions are TPV (1989), p. 134 (fol. 278r), and Grube, *La pittura* (1980), Fig. 30 (fol. 125r).
63. TKS, H. 781, dated 849/1445-6.
64. TKS, H. 786, dated 850/1446-7. Faces in the rocks are on folios 41r: ABCA (1979), Pl. LV, 140v: Grube, *La pittura* (1980), Fig. 32, 307r, 309v: Ivan Stchoukine, "Sultān 'Alī al-Bāvardī: un peintre iranien inconnu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Syria*, XLIV, 1967, Pl. XXIV/2.
65. TKS, H. 779, dated 843/1440 and 857/1453; compare an earlier with a later miniature in ABCA (1979), Pls. 118-19. A 45° anti-clockwise turn of Pl. 119 facilitates recognition of the faces.
66. TKS, H. 831. Other Commercial Turkman manuscripts in which I have noted faces include Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 468 (896/1490), and BN, Sup. pers. 228, dated 895/1490. Brend (1980), p. 130, n. 55, notes faces in BL, Add. 18188 of 891/1486, fols. 82r and 92r, the latter reproduced as her Pl. 2c.
67. TKS, H. 801, Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, No. 13. Similar in style to this refined version is a *Khamseh*, State Public Library, Leningrad, Dorn 338, dated 886/1482: Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, No. 11. For illustrations with rock faces, see Yusopov and Suleimanova (1985), Pls. 23, 26, 32, 33.
68. Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, Nos. 13-17. The number of miniatures in H. 761 assignable to the Qarā Quyūnlū differs according to various authorities; even at the least number—four—on which Çağman and Tanındı (1979), p. 25, and Soucek agree (Soucek [1971], p. 531), faces are certainly visible on the rocky horizon of fol. 125v, "Majnūn amongst the Animals." Soucek (1971), Pl. 123; they may be present on fols. 115r and 140r also. For the IOL *Khamseh* of Jamālī, see Robinson, *IOL* (1976), no. 76.
69. But note the grinning camel beneath the text on the right. For the manuscript, BN, Sup. pers. 1964, see E. Blochet, "Notices sur les manuscrits persans et arabes de la Collection Marteau," *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XLI, 1923, pp. 277-80; Ivan Stchoukine, "Un manuscrit de Mehr et Moshtari illustré à Herat, vers 1430," *Arts Asiatiques*, VIII, 1961, pp. 83-92, and Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, No. 13, with the first correct attribution.
70. As in SPA, (1938-9), Pls. 865-66, 868; Maurice Dimand, *Persian Miniatures*, Milan, (n.d.), cover.
71. TKS, R. 1021, dated 867/1463: Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 246, No. 15.
72. H. 762: Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 247, No. 10.
73. Rogers *et al.* (1986), Pl. 65. Although harder to find, the rock faces in this miniature are still plentiful.
74. Fol. 163v: Stchoukine, *Khamseh* (1977), Pl. XLVIIb; fol. 167r: *ibid.*, Pl. XLVIa; fol. 177v: Rogers *et al.* (1986), Pl. 72; "Bahrām Gūr," fol. 189v: ABCA (1979), Pl. LXVII and on the dust-jacket. Even in the full-page reproductions of these paintings the resolution is sometimes not sufficient to enable all, or even any, rock faces to be seen.
75. "A feature never found in Herat work," Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 241: compare Pls. 140-41.
76. Robinson, "Turkman" (1979), p. 243. The bulk of the manuscript is divided between the TIEM and the IUL.
77. An example is illustrated in A. Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art: Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan*, Geneva, 1978, vol. 3, p. 55.
78. A similar effect occurs in another painting from this manuscript in the Keir collection, "Rustam and the White Demon," III. 129: Robinson, Keir (1976), Col. Pl. 16. An earlier but less subtle version of this technique is illustrated in a copy of 'Aṭṭār's *Mantiq al-tayr*, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, MS or. oct. 268, dated 860/1456: Swietochowski (1972), Figs. 17, 24, 34 and 36 (caption misplaced). A footnote to both Qarā Quyūnlū and Aq Quyūnlū painting is the Turkish translation of Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmeḥ* made for the Mamluk Sultān Ghūrī and partially illustrated in the Turkman style. Rock faces occur on fol. 160r: Nurhan Atasoy, "Un manuscrit Mamlūk illustré du Šāhnāmeḥ," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, XXXVII, 1969, Pl. VIII; on the stylistic background to the manuscript, see Esin Atıl, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas*, II, 1984, pp. 159-71.
79. This observation calls for revision of the statement, made repeatedly by Stuart Cary Welch, that rock faces are a Turkman rather than a Timurid characteristic: Welch and Dickson (1982), pp. 20, 22, 27; Welch, *Wonders* (1979), p. 20; see also the comments in Brend (1980), n. 55.
80. Fol. 273r: TPV (1989), p. 250. Other folios from this manuscript with rock faces are illustrated in TPV (1989): pp. 274 (fol. 137v), 277 (fol. 39v), 282 (fol. 157r), and 297 (fol. 72v).
81. The heads have been noted in Brend (1980), p. 121 and Pl. 5d.
82. Sa'dī, *Būstān*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, Adab fārsī 908, dated 893/1488, fol. 10r: TPV (1989), p. 293.
83. The best-illustrated examples might include: Yazdī, *Zafar-nāmeḥ*, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 872/1467-8, fol. 283r: TPV (1989), p. 266; *Khamseh*, BL, Add. 25900, 846/1442 and 898/1493, fol. 18r: Stchoukine, MT (1954), Pl. LXXVII; fol. 130b: Robinson, V&A (1967), Pl. 14; fol. 161r: Brend (1980), Pl. 5a and TPV (1989), p. 282; Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, *Hasht Bibisht*, TKS, H. 676, 902/1496-7, fols. 1v-2r: ABCA (1979), Pls. LXIII-LXIV; *Khamseh* of Mīr Alī Shīr, John Rylands Library, Turk. MS. 3, fol. 34r: Robinson, *JRL* (1980), Col. Pl. V; Bodleian Library, MS Elliot 408, fol. 66r: Suleiman (1970), Pl. 6; MS Elliot 317, fol. 14r: Suleiman (1970), Pl. 8 and Stchoukine, MT (1970), Pl. LXXIV; MS Elliot 339, fol. 77v: Suleiman (1970), Pl. 22.
84. The proceedings of a conference on these are recorded in *Islamic Art*, I, 1981 (published 1983).
85. TKS, H. 2153, fol. 5v: M. Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Siyah Qalem*, Graz, 1976, Pl. 66.



86. H. 2153, fol. 130v: *ibid.*, Pl. 74.
87. Ivanov (1981), pp. 66-7.
88. "The Porcelain Procession," Rogers *et al.* (1986), pl. 79, has additional rocks in the background with a more linear outline, some with rock faces, like those of Pls. II and V. Other evidence includes the figure at the left of "The Sleeping Rustam," Atasoy, (1970), Fig. 24, whose protruding brow, long nose, and chin with full beard resembles that of several album illustrations, Ivanov (1981), Figs. 45, 200; the contorted figure of the horse in the same miniature, which can be compared with those in "The Nomadic Encampment" (Rogers *et al.* [1986], Pl. 91; I would like to thank Katherine Ong for bringing this to my attention); and the horse in "Rustam Kills the Witch" (Atasoy, [1970], Fig. 23), whose realistic nostril-hair is a characteristic of several album paintings. These elements (including the treatment of hills mentioned in the text) do not otherwise appear to occur in Persian manuscript painting.
89. Dickson and Welch (1982), p. 66.
90. For the former see Note 53 above; for the latter, K. V. Zetterstéen and C. J. Lamm, *Mohammed Āṣafī: The Story of Jamāl and Jalāl, an Illuminated Manuscript in the Library of Uppsala University*, Uppsala, 1948.
91. *Islamic Art*, I, 1981, Fig. 471. For comparable figures in Sulṭān Muḥammad, see the detail from "The Feast of Sāda" in Welch, *Shahnameh* (1972), p. 95.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 119. A surprising parallel can be found in Andrea Mantegna's "The Triumph of Caesar," 1485-92, Hampton Court Palace, and also in his "Virtue Chasing Vice," about 1490, Louvre, Paris: Gombrich (1977), Fig. 155.
93. For the manuscript, see B. W. Robinson, "Ismā'īl II's Copy of the *Shāhnāmeḥ*," *Iran*, XIV, 1976, pp. 1-8. The illustrations are insufficiently detailed to see the faces; for a good colour reproduction, see *Trésors de l'Islam*, ed. Toby Falk, Geneva, 1985, No. 74.
94. TKS, H. 986, fol. 21v; the painting is signed 'amal-i Bihzād Ibrāhīmī. See also Çağman and Tanındı (1979), No. 106, Fig. 36.
95. For example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Marlay 40, fol. 11: Robert Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting*, Edinburgh, 1977, No. 169.
96. B. W. Robinson, "The *Shāhnāmeḥ*, Manuscript Cochran 4 in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen, New York, 1972, Figs. 17-24; Anthony Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art: Prince Sadrudin Aga Khan*, Geneva, 1978, vol. 4, MS. 22, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, 1064/1654, fols. 92v, 141r, 163v, pp. 95-7.
97. For some examples of Bukhara painting in the 16th century with rock faces, see Olympiada Galerkina, *Mawarannahr Book Painting*, Leningrad, 1980, Pls. 4, 8, 11 and 26.
98. Several manuscripts of the group are discussed in B. W. Robinson, "Painter-Illuminators of Sixteenth-Century Shiraz," *Iran*, XVII, 1979, pp. 105-108; see, in particular, Pls. IIb and VIIIa. A related style of rock faces is seen in a *Khamseh*, Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad, No. 214, dated 948/1541-2: Yusopov and Suleimanova (1985), Pls. 103, 105.
99. See the examples from the Leningrad and Schefer *Maqāmāt* manuscripts illustrated in Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, Geneva, 1962, pp. 108, 116.
100. Georges Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1913, II, Pl. LXXXI; Grace Dunham Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, Washington, 1949, Pl. 32B; Ernst J. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus*, New York, 1972, Nos. 114, 121, 123, Col. Pl. XXIV; B. W. Robinson, "A Survey of Persian Painting," *Art et société dans le monde iranien*, ed. Chahriyar Adle, Paris, 1982, Fig. 31; B. W. Robinson, *Islamic Art in the Keir Collection*, London, 1988, pp. 13, 15, 20, 22. Other manuscripts in similar style include a *Khamseh*, Raza Library, Rampur, No. 3941, 949/1542-3: Yusopov and Suleimanova (1985), Pls. 108, 110, 112; and a *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Vever Collection, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington, S86.0058.001, 924/1518, fols. 247r, 298r: Glenn D. Lowry, Milo Cleveland Beach, *et al.*, *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, Washington, D.C., 1988, pp. 102-3; this manuscript also contains other rock face styles: *ibid.*, fol. 99v, p. 101.
101. *Khamseh*, H. 764: L. N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami v Srednevekovoi Miniaturnoi Zhivopisi*, Moscow, 1985, p. 298, No. 151.
102. *Khamseh*, H. 757: Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés: 1<sup>er</sup> partie de Sulayman 1<sup>er</sup> à 'Osman II, 1520-1622*, Paris, 1966, Pl. XVII. The date of about 1535 suggested by Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1974, p. 86, is more accurate than "about 1560" of Stchoukine. Cf. also a *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, TKS, H. 1499, about 1535: Esin Atıl, "The Art of the Book," *Turkish Art*, ed. Esin Atıl, Washington and New York, 1980, Pl. 18.
103. Painting from an unidentified text, probably a *Life of the Prophets*, about 1550: Ernst Grube, "Painting," *Tulips, Arabesques and Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos, London, 1982, Fig. 201; 'Arifī, *Sulaymān-nāmeḥ*, TKS, H. 1517, 965/1558: G. Fehér, *Miniatures turques des chroniques sur les campagnes de Hongrie*, Paris, 1978, Pl. XIV; Āṣafī Pāshā, *Shajā'at-nāme*, IUL, 994/1586: Stchoukine, *La peinture turque* (1966), Pl. LXXIII; Ibrāhīm Chāvūsh, *Conquest of Ganja*, TKS, R. 1296, 998/1589-90: *ibid.*, Pl. LXXV; Suhraṣardī, *Jāmi' al-siyar*, TKS, H. 1230, about 1600: Atıl, "Art of the Book," *Turkish Art* (1980), Pl. 29; Lami'ī, *Sharaf al-insān*, BL, Add. 7843, 1021/1613: Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: a Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and British Museum*, London, 1981, Pl. 33, *eadem*, *Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India*, London, 1983, Fig. 54.
104. *Anthology*, CBL, P. 124, 840/1436; *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, BL, Or. 1403, 841/1438; *Khamseh*, University of Uppsala, O. Vet. 82, 843/1439-40; *Khamseh*, TKS, H. 774, 844/1441. For the most recent discussion of these manuscripts, see Note 105 below.
105. "The British Library's *Shahnama* of 1438 as a Sultanate Manuscript," *Facets of Indian Art*, ed. R. Skelton *et al.*, London 1986, pp. 87-93. She stresses the correspondence of architectural decoration in Bidar with decorative designs from the manuscripts. This argument may be used to pinpoint the place of the manuscript's production within India if one assumes an Indian provenance, but it should not be used alone to argue for an Indian provenance, as similar architectural details can be found in the decoration of Timurid buildings in Iran and Transoxiana.
106. "Areas of Controversy in Islamic Painting: Two Recent Publications," *Apollo*, CXX, July 1984, pp. 32-5.
107. Brend (1980), p. 120, Pl. 4b; also reproduced in J. P. Losty, *Indian Book Painting*, London, 1986, No. 4.
108. Stchoukine, *Khamseh* (1977), Pl. Va: note the grinning faces on the edges of the hillsides.
109. See Note 42.
110. Vienna, Museum of Applied Arts, 52/1 8770/32: Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting*, London, 1989, p. 43 and Pl. 2.
111. IOL, Johnson Album, no. 3: Vishaka N. Desai, *Life at Court: Art for India's Rulers, 16th-19th Centuries*, Boston, 1985, No. 43.
112. Most recently published in Stuart Cary Welch, *India: Art and Culture 1300-1900*, New York, 1985, No. 157. The face is invisible in this, as in previous reproductions.
113. See Notes 47 and 58-59 above.
114. In addition to the two illustrated, see Note 70 above for the Gulistān Palace Library *Kalīlah u Dimnah*.
115. Seven manuscripts with this subject are listed in Jill Norgren and Edward Davis, *Preliminary Index of Shah-Nameh Illustrations*, Ann Arbor, 1969; see Note 50 above for one published illustration; the detached page in the MMA, 20.120.244, about 1435, has no rock faces.
116. Brend also makes this point in connection with Iskandar-Sulṭān's patronage, see Note 47 above.
117. I had hoped to find such references, but the advice of Ehsan Yarshater, Hossein Modarressi Tabātabā'i, Annemarie Schimmel, Abbas Daneshvari, and A. H. Morton, to all of whom I am grateful for discussing the problem with me, has persuaded me that my search was in vain.
118. Stuart Cary Welch, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, London, 1976, pp. 15, 22. The claim that the faces in the IUL *Kalīlah u Dimnah* "give voice to the supernatural" (Cowen [1989], p. 26), is equally difficult to accept.
119. Although, as Annemarie Schimmel has pointed out, Western commentators have often misinterpreted many Šūfī theosophies as pantheism: *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, 1975, pp. 43, 64, 72, 147.
120. *Ibid.*, pp. 147, 274, 283.
121. Lentz (1985), pp. 99-100. Brend (1980), pp. 120-1, has also commented on the freedom of the artist to experiment in rock faces.
122. Cowen (1989), p. 26.
123. *Ibid.*, suggesting a sneering camel or a rock giant's mimicking expression.

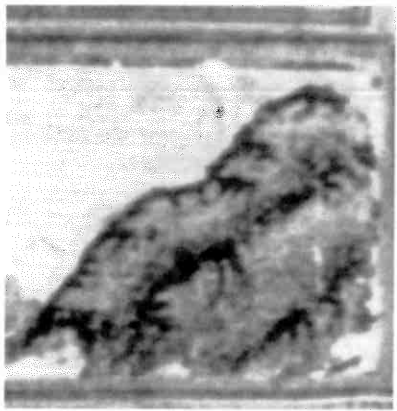


Fig. 1 *Rocks*, Jalayirid, about 1360-70, Istanbul, TKS, H. 2153, folio 54v



Fig. 2 *Humāy Enthroned*, Khvājū Kirmāni, *Khamseh*, Qarā Quyūnlū, about 1450, Istanbul, TIEM, 1949, folio 63r, detail



Fig. 3 *Masjid-i Jāmi'*, Faryūmad, Iran, stucco inscription from north *ayvān*, second half of the 12th century



Fig. 4 *The Waq-Waq Tree*, Qazvini, *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*, Jalayirid, 790/1388, Paris BN, Sup. pers. 332, Folio 160v, 170 × 109 mm



Fig. 5 Chang Sheng-wen, Buddhist scroll, detail; 1173-6 (after Chapin), Taipei, National Palace Museum



Fig. 6 *The Vulture Peak*, frontispiece of the Lotus Sūtra, detail. Handscroll, Sung Dynasty (after Pak) The Cleveland Museum of Art



Fig. 7 *Landscape in the Style of Yen Wen-kuei and Fan K'uan*, handscroll by Chao Yūan, detail, about 1370 (after Fong), Princeton University, The Art Museum



Fig. 8 *Landscape with Horseman*, Jalayirid, about 1360-70 (after Ipsiroglu), Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Orientabteilung, Diez A, S. 28, folio 71, detail

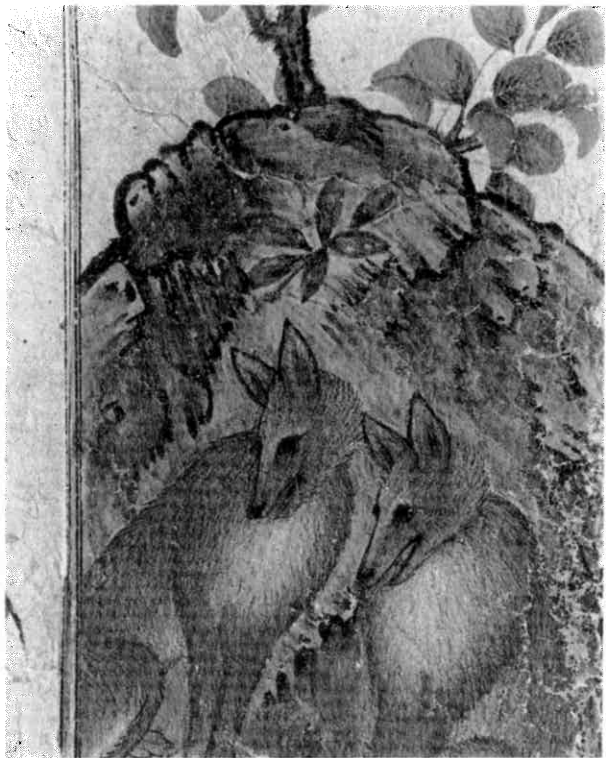


Fig. 9 *The Lion Attacks Shanzabah*, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Jalayirid, about 1360-70, Istanbul, IUL, F. 1422, folio 6v, detail



Fig. 10 *The Greedy Fox*, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Jalayirid, about 1360-70, Istanbul, IUL, F. 1422, folio 21r, detail



Fig. 11 *The Owls Attack the Crows*, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Jalayirid, about 1360-70, Istanbul, IUL, F. 1422, folio 18r, detail



Fig. 12 *The Sleeping Rustam*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Jalayirid, about 1370-80, Istanbul, TKS, H. 2153, folio 100v, detail

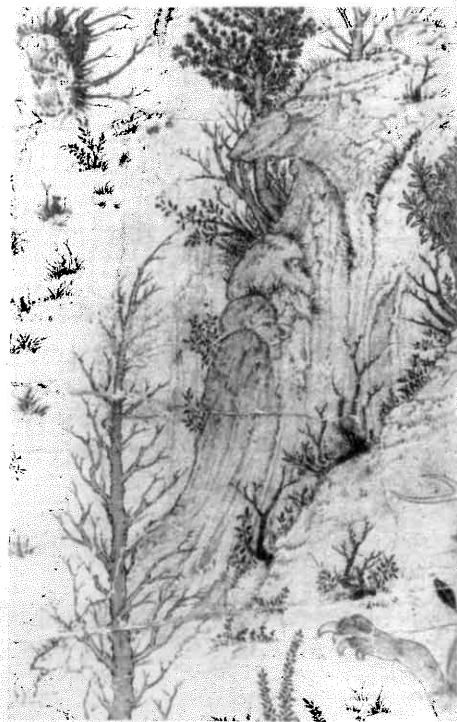


Fig. 13 *Rustam Kills the Witch*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Jalayirid, about 1370-80, Istanbul, TKS, H. 2153, folio 103v, detail

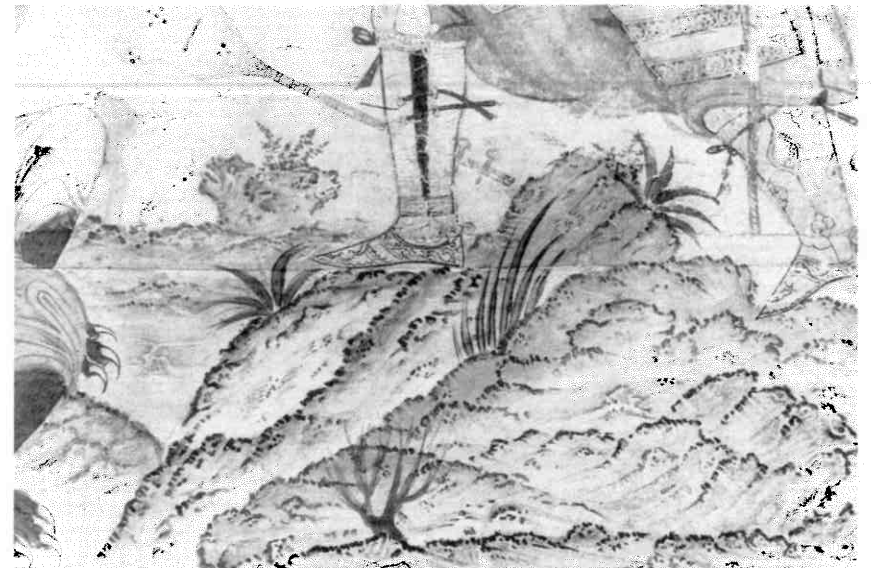


Fig. 14 *Isfandiār Fights the Wolves*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Jalayirid, about 1370-80, Istanbul, TKS, H. 2153, folio 73v, detail

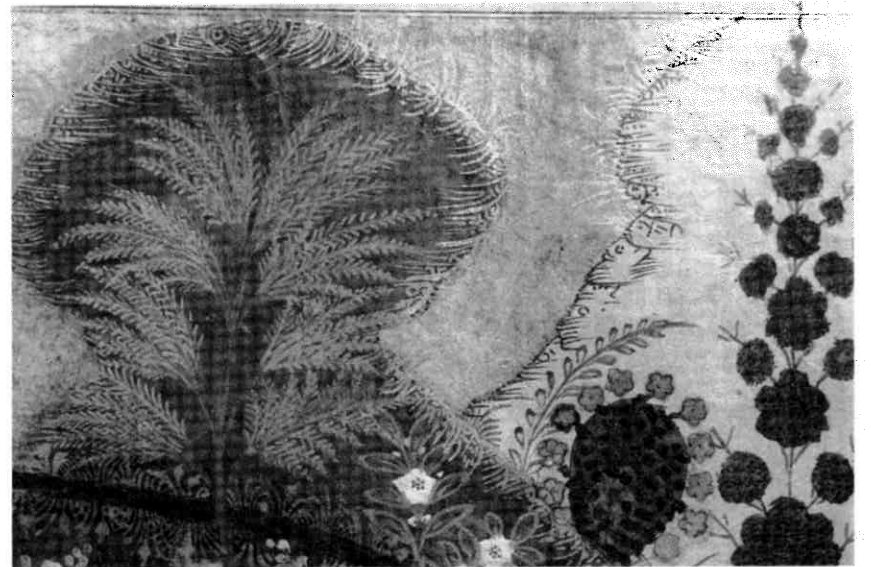


Fig. 15 *Landscape*, Anthology, Bihbihān (?), 801/1398, Istanbul, TIEM, 1950, folio 128v, detail



Fig. 16 *Landscape*, Anthology, Bihbihān (?), 801/1398, Istanbul, TIEM, 1950, folio 251r, detail

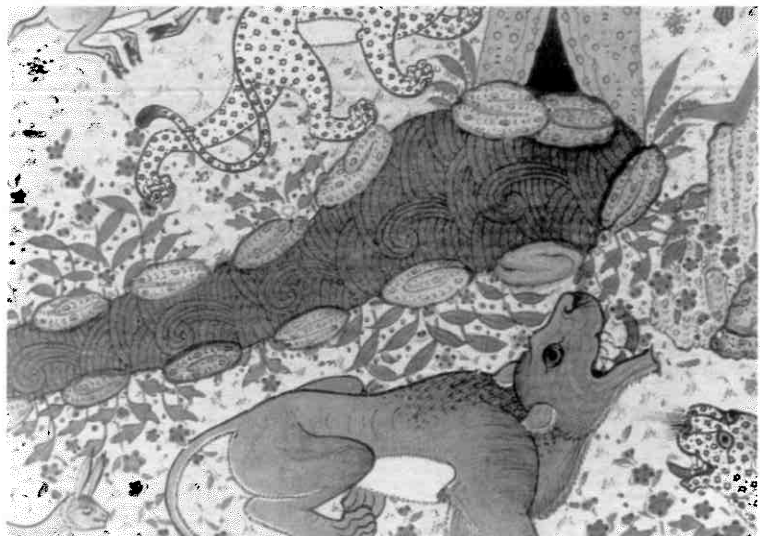


Fig. 17 *Majnūn Among the Animals*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, Safavid, 945-7/1538-41, Istanbul, TKS, H. 758, folio 161r, detail



Fig. 18 *The Physicians' Duel*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, Safavid, 945-7/1538-41, Istanbul, TKS, H. 758, folio 25r, detail

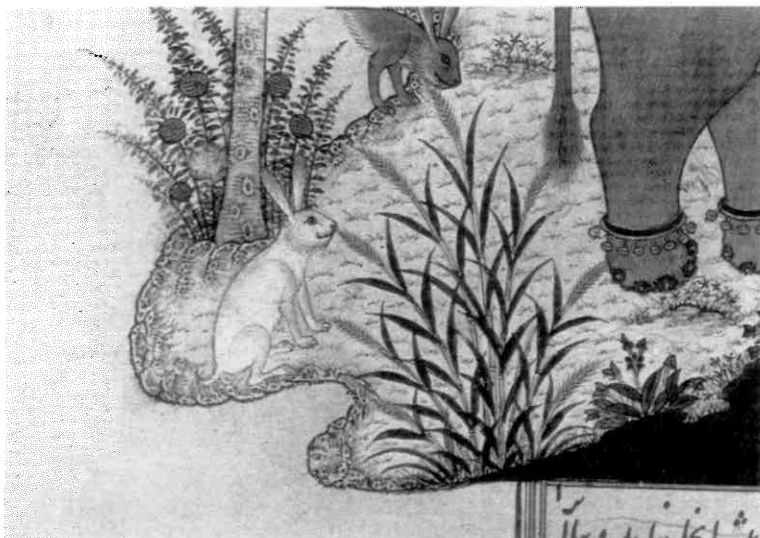


Fig. 19 *The Elephants at the Pool*, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Timurid, 833/1429, Istanbul, TKS, R. 1022, folio 77r, detail

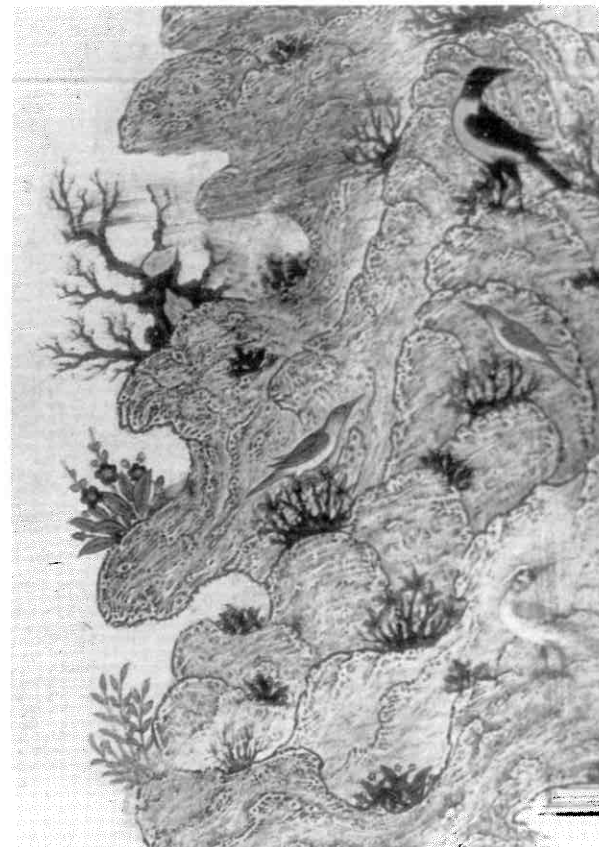


Fig. 20 *The Crow and the Mouse*, Abū'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Timurid, 833/1429, Istanbul, TKS, R. 1022, folio 62r, detail

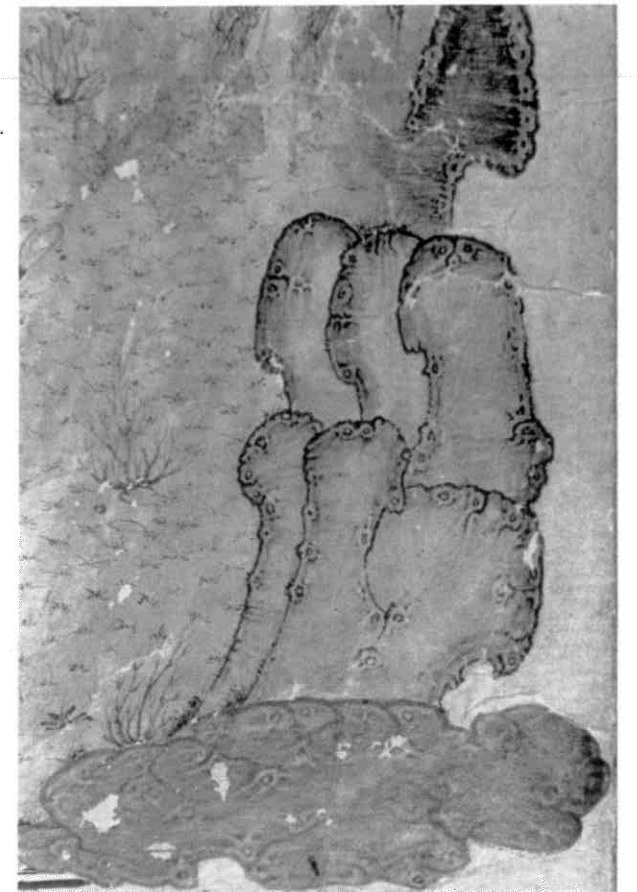


Fig. 21 *The Caravan Sights the Faun (Nasnās)*, Nizāmī Arūzī, *Chahār Maqāleh*, Timurid, 835/1431, Istanbul, TIEM, 1954, folio 6v, detail



Fig. 22 *Khusrau Sees Shirin Bathing*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, Timurid, 849/1445-6, Istanbul, TKS, H. 781 Folio 40r, detail

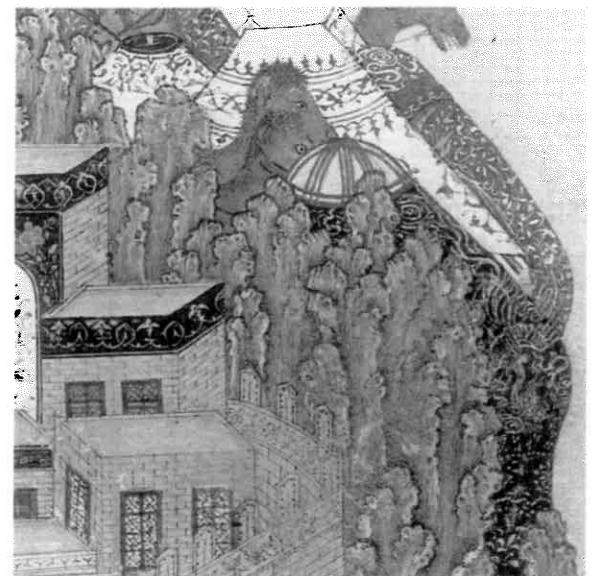


Fig. 23 *Majnūn at the Ka'ba*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, Timurid, 850/1446-7, Istanbul, TKS, H. 781, folio 111v, detail

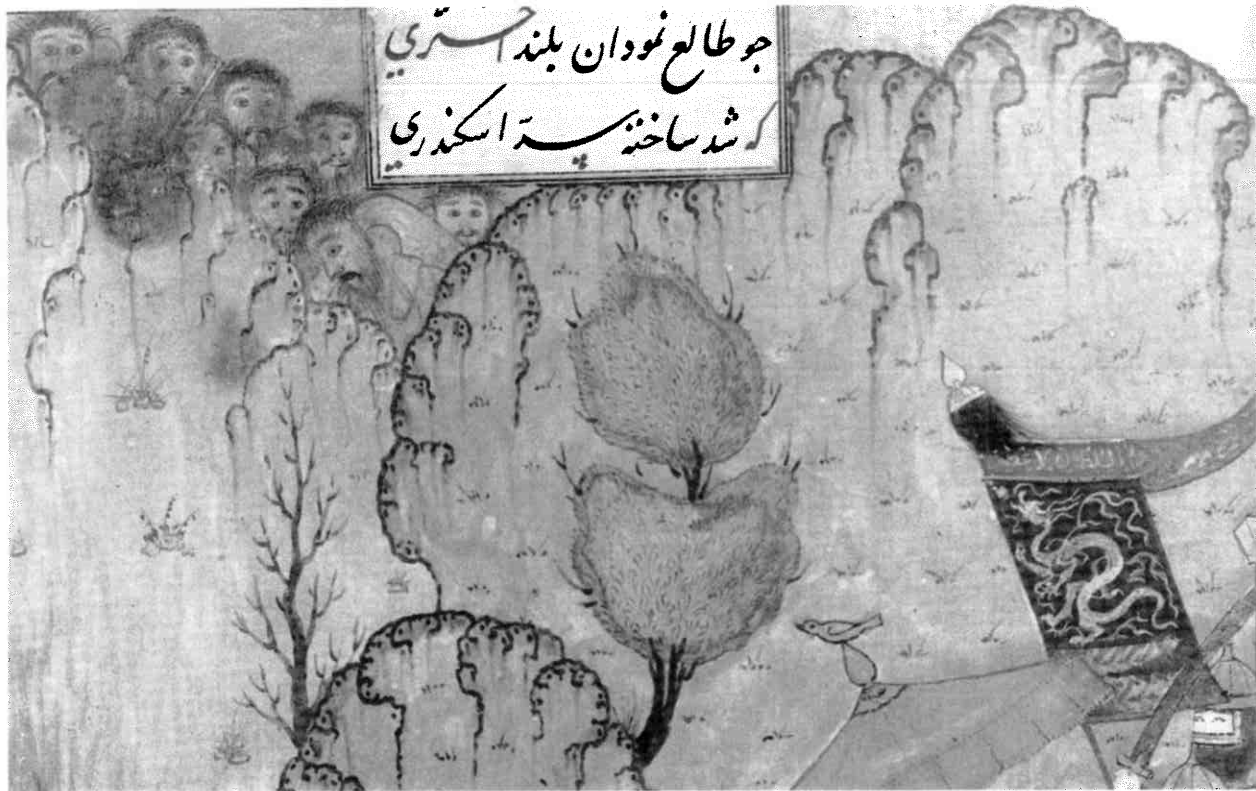


Fig. 24 *Iskandar Builds a Wall Against Gog and Magog*, Niẓāmī, *Khamseh*, Timurid, 850/1446-7, Istanbul, TKS, H. 786, folio 309v, detail



Fig. 25 *Mihr and Mushtari Visit the Hermit*, 'Assār, *Mihr u Mushtari*, Āq Quyūnlū, 905/1500, Istanbul, TKS, H. 831, folio 12r, detail



Fig. 26 *Iskandar Visits the Hermit*, Amīr Khusrau Dihlavi, *Khamseh*, Āq Quyūnlū, 902/1497, Istanbul, TKS, H. 801, folio 303v, detail

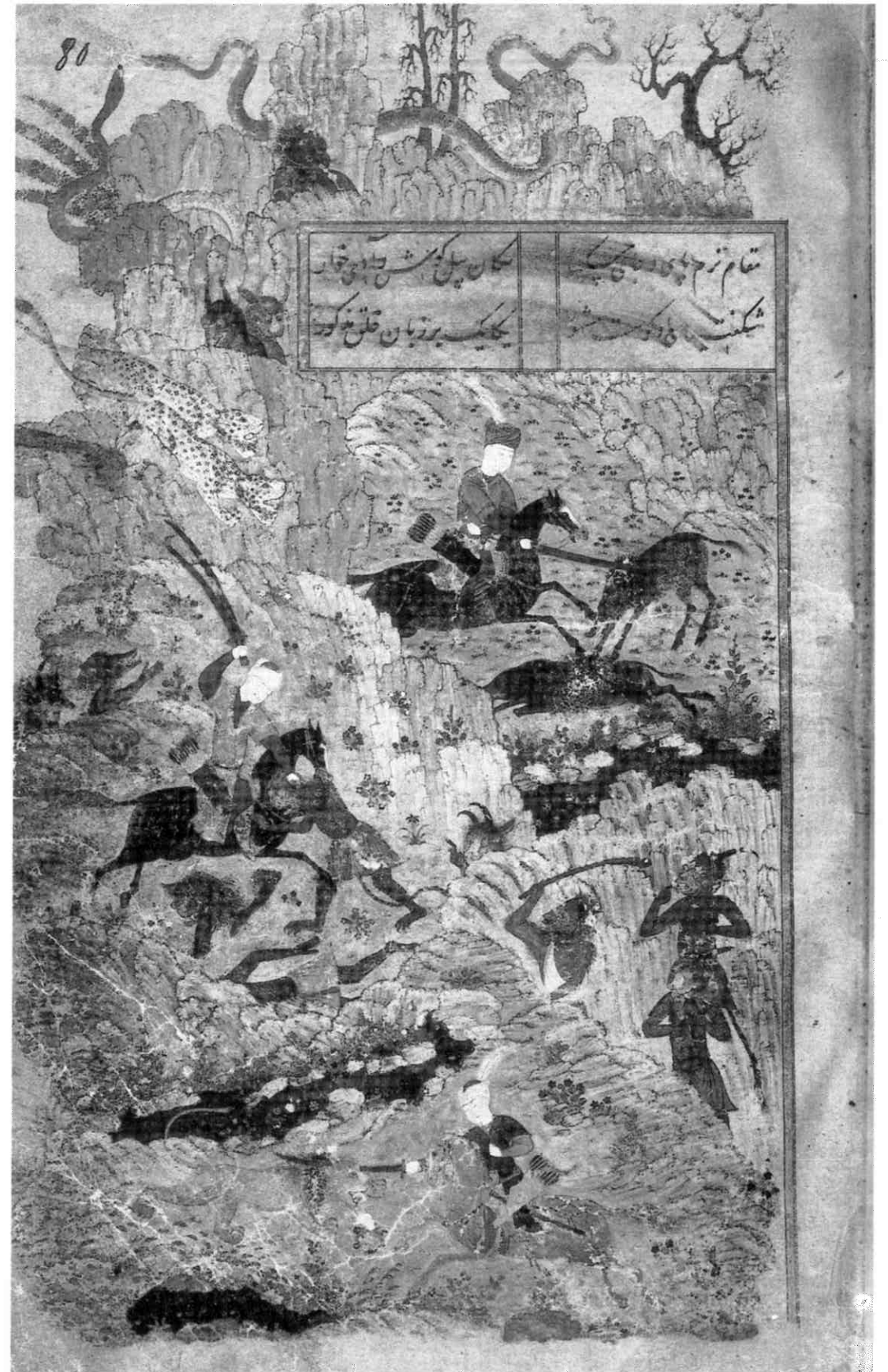


Fig. 27 *Mushtari and His Companions Fight Wild Animals and Demons in the Alburz Mountains*, 'Assār, *Mihr u Mushtari*, Qarā, Quyūnlū, about 1460, Paris, BN, Sup. pers. 1964, folio 80r, 175 × 100 mm



Fig. 28 *The Battle of Iskandar with the Khāqān of Chīn*, Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, *Khamseh*, Qarā Quyūnlū, 867/1463, Istanbul, TKS, R. 1021, folio 123r, detail

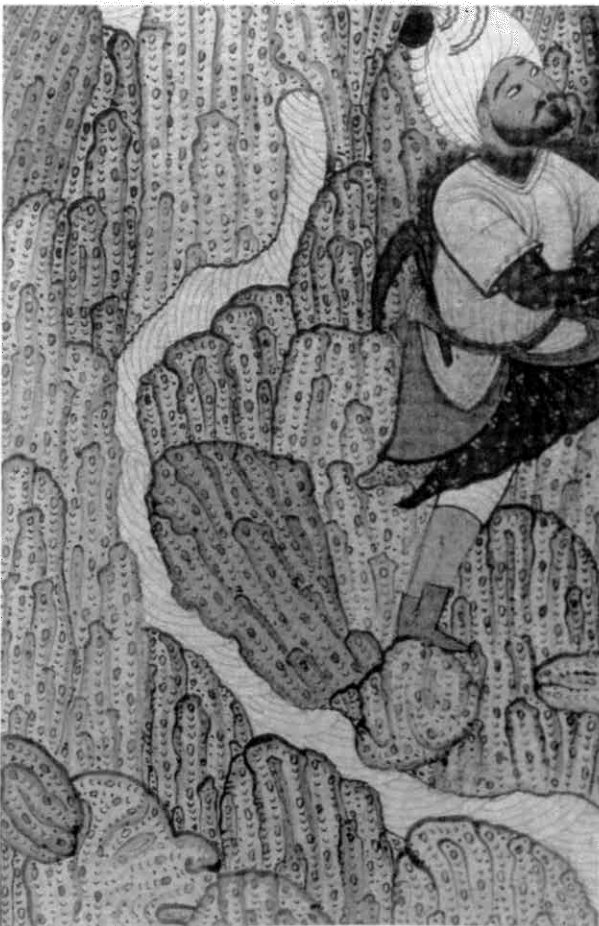


Fig. 32 *Shīrīn Visits Farhād*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, Safavid, 945-7/1538-41, Istanbul, TKS, H. 758, folio 83r, detail



Fig. 29 *The Battle of Kāmūs with Gīv and Tūs*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Gilan, 899/1494, Istanbul, TIEM, 1978, folio 185r, detail

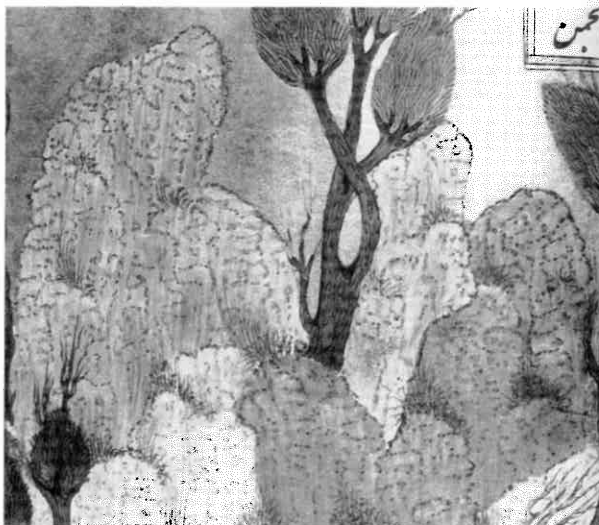


Fig. 30 *Rustam Kills Arzhang*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Gilan, 899/1494, Istanbul, TIEM, 1978, folio 81r, detail

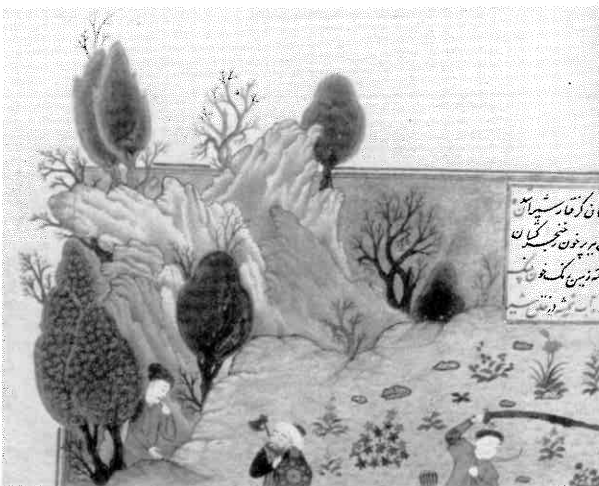


Fig. 31 *Hunting Scene*, Khvājū Kirmānī, *Humāy va Humāyān*, Timurid, about 1485, Istanbul, TKS, R. 1045, folio 23r, detail



Fig. 33 *Farhād Carries Shīrīn*, Nizāmī, *Khamseh*, India, 843/1439, Uppsala University Library, O. Vet. 82, folio 78v (after Adahl)

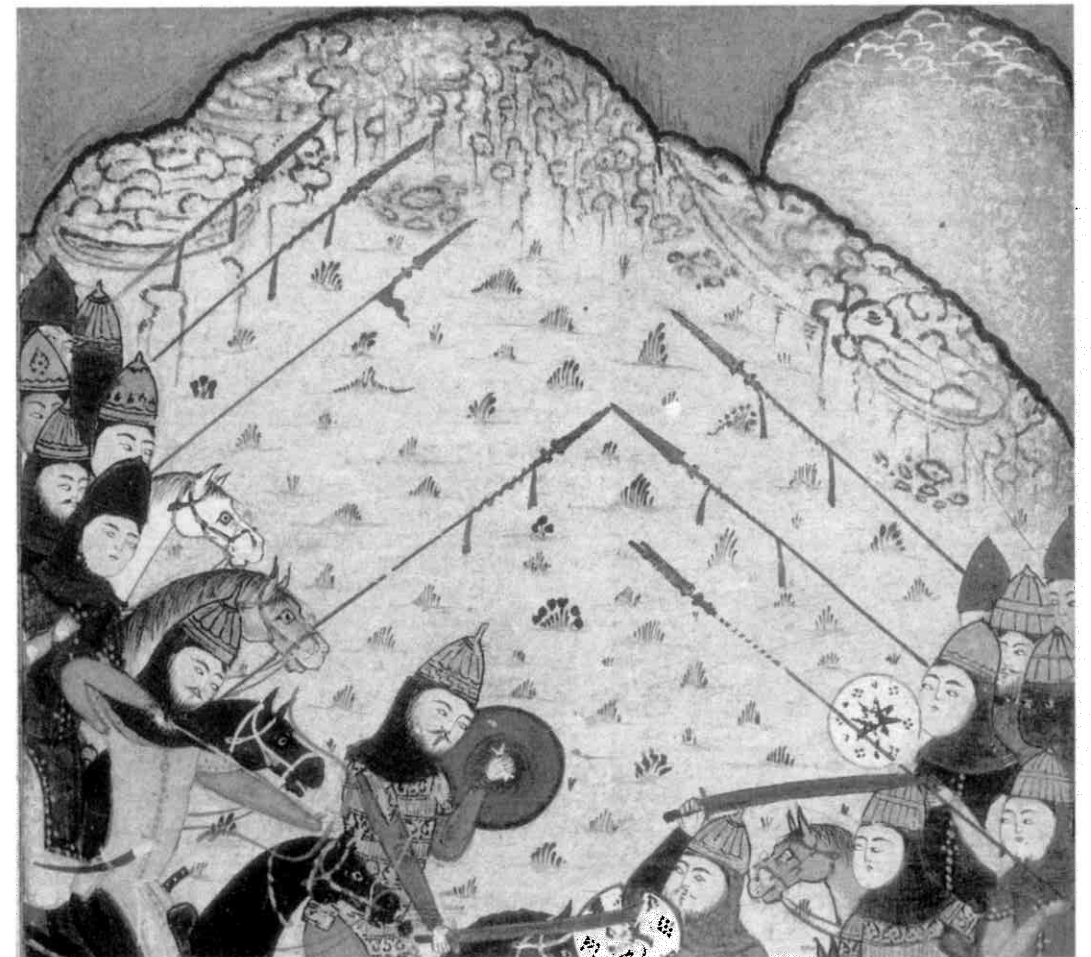


Fig. 34 *Bahrām Gūr Fights the Khaqān of Chīn*, Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmeḥ*, Muzaffarid, 772/1371,



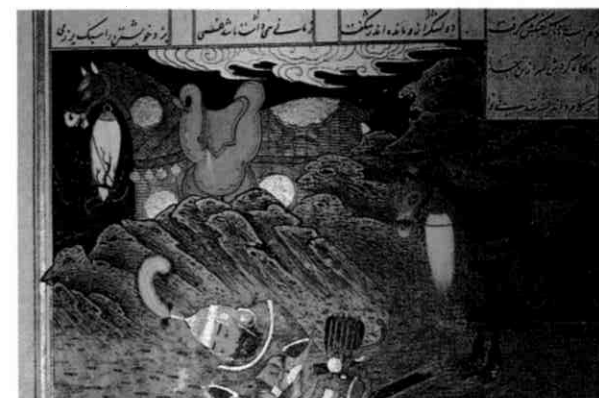
Fig. 35 *A Young Prince with Sages in a Garden*, Mughal, about 1630, Dublin, CBL, MS 7, No. 7, detail



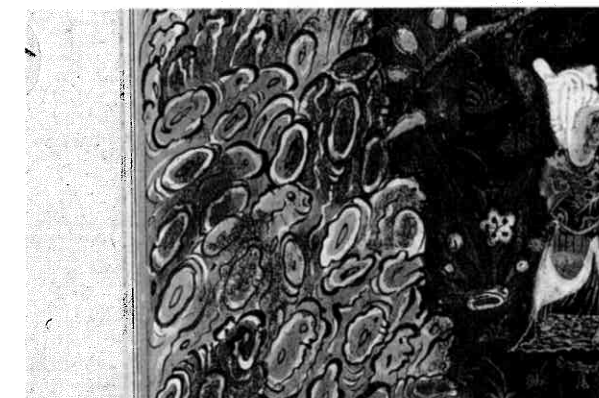
A *The Hare, the Woodcock, and the Hypocritical Cat*, detail Jalayirid, Persia, about 1360-70



B *The Crow and the Mouse*, detail Herat, 833/1429



C *Rustam Kills Jankush*, detail Gilan, 899/1494



D *Shirin Visits Farhad*, detail Shiraz, about 1535



E *Rustam Kills the Witch*, detail Persia, Jalayirid, about 1370-80



F *A Company of Sufis*, detail Qazvin, 989-94/1581-6

Captions for Colour Plate XIV

- A *The Hare, the Woodcock, and the Hypocritical Cat*  
Detail from a painting illustrating a lost manuscript of Abu'l-Ma'ali Naṣr Allāh, *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Jalayirid, Persia, about 1360-70, Istanbul, IUL, F. 1422, folio 7v (For the entire picture, see Grube, "Prolegomena," Fig. 53A)
- B *The Crow and the Mouse*  
Detail from a painting in a manuscript of Abu'l-Ma'ali Naṣr Allāh's *Kalīlah u Dimnah*, Herat, 833/1429, Istanbul, TKS, R. 1022, folio 62r
- C *Rustam Kills Jankush*  
Detail from a painting in a manuscript of Firdausī, *Shāh-nāmah*, Gilan, 899/1494, Istanbul, TIEM, 1978, folio 189r
- D *Shirin Visits Farhad*  
Detail from a *Khamsah* of Nizāmī, Shiraz, about 1535, Istanbul, TKS, H. 764, folio 76r
- E *Rustam Kills the Witch*  
Detail from a painting from a dispersed *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, Persia, Jalayirid, about 1370-80, Istanbul, TKS, H. 2153, folio 103r
- F *A Company of Sufis*  
Detail from an illustrated copy of a *Divān* of Hafiz, Qazvin, 989-94/1581-6, Istanbul, TKS, H. 986, folio 21r

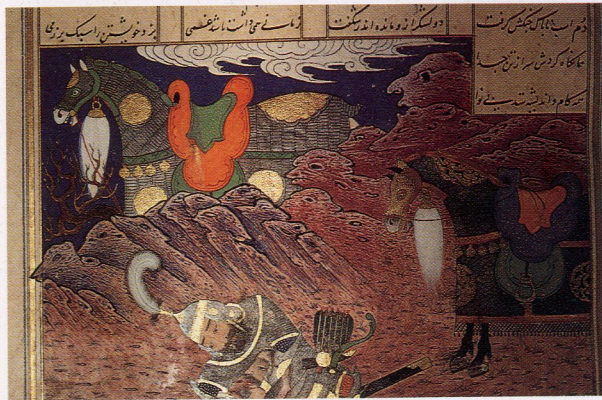
Full captions on page 246



A *The Hare, the Woodcock, and the Hypocritical Cat*, detail  
Jalayirid, Persia, about 1360-70



B *The Crow and the Mouse*, detail  
Herat, 833/1429



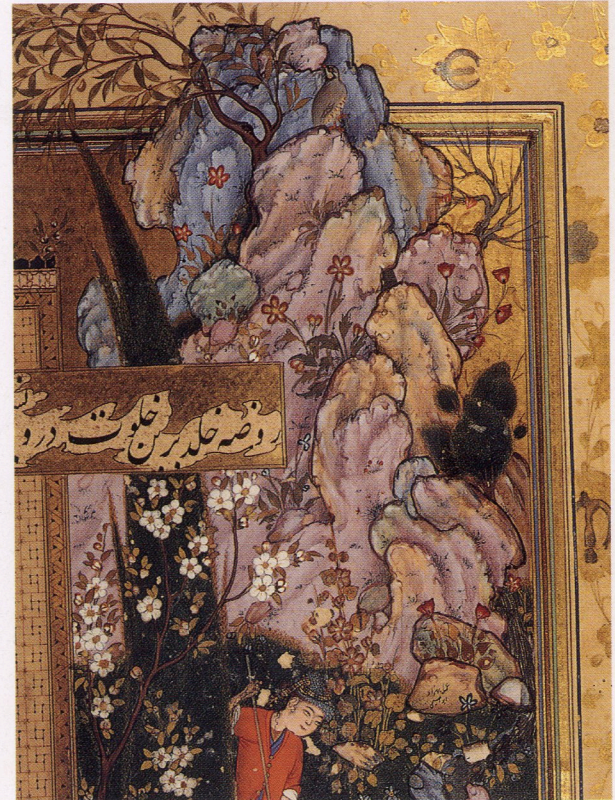
C *Rustam Kills Jankush*, detail  
Gilan, 899/1494



D *Shirin Visits Farhad*, detail  
Shiraz, about 1535



E *Rustam Kills the Witch*, detail  
Persia, Jalayirid, about 1370-80



F *A Company of Sufis*, detail  
Qazvin, 989-94/1581-6

Full captions on page 246