

## A QUESTION IN ARAB PAINTING: THE IBN AL-SUFI MANUSCRIPT IN TEHRAN AND ITS ART-HISTORICAL CONNECTIONS

The manuscript of Ibn al-Sufi's *Risālat al-Ṣūfī fī 'l-kawākib* in the Reza Abbasi Museum in Tehran,<sup>1</sup> which has only quite recently come to the attention of Western scholars, is of great importance for the study of early Arabic manuscript illustration. Specifically, its frontispieces and line drawings of the constellations present very close similarities with the frontispieces and miniatures of the Ibn Bakhtishu' *Kitāb Na't al-ḥayawān* in the British Library<sup>2</sup> and other well-known manuscripts dated or datable to the early thirteenth century. They thus provide a welcome addition to a small but crucial body of work, and add a further significant element to the comparative study of the evolution of Arab painting.

Although the prime concern here is with the art-historical issues raised by the illustrations of the Reza Abbasi Museum (henceforth RAM) manuscript, clarity requires that reference be made to textual evidence relevant to the identity of its author.

The text is the poem that sometimes follows the major astronomical work of al-Sufi. Although the term *qaṣīda* is also used to describe it,<sup>3</sup> it properly belongs to the *urjūza* "genre"—a type of didactic poetry used for expository and mnemonic purposes in a wide variety of technical fields, from mathematics and medicine to grammar, history, and music.<sup>4</sup> Although the Ibn al-Sufi *urjūza* follows the order of presentation of the al-Sufi text, it reflects al-Sufi's work only in part. Not only does it ignore all the technical data, it also downplays the "classical" description of the constellation figures, concentrating instead on the Arab element. Nevertheless, the illustrations in the RAM *urjūza* reflect the al-Sufi manuscripts iconographically: for example, following the Greek tradition, Cassiopeia is portrayed as a woman on a chair, even though, apart from an initial reference to *dhāt al-kursī*, the *urjūza* text only deals with the Arab equivalent, a female camel.<sup>5</sup>

Given the close relationship of the *urjūza* miniatures to those in other early-thirteenth-century manuscripts, we would expect the RAM *Risālat al-Ṣūfī fī 'l-kawākib* to be datable to ca. 1220–25. It is therefore surprising that on page 4 we find an inscription giving a date of 554 (1159); were this the actual date of the manuscript, it would require a drastic reappraisal of currently accepted views on the chronology of stylistic evolution.

There are, however, good reasons for thinking it a later interpolation. The first concerns its position. Most reliable dates occur as straightforward statements in manuscript colophons, written in the same hand as the preceding text. In this case the inscription occurs, unexpectedly and oddly, at the very beginning of the text, immediately following the *basmala* (fig. 2). (The colophon, on page 76, consists only of blessings and unfortunately provides no information about scribe, date, or provenance [fig. 27].) The inscription also appears odd in the context of the partitions of the text by red lines. Within the same partition as the *basmala*, it requires two lines of text even though it is written in smaller characters. Were one to assume that it was written contemporaneously with and in the same hand as the rest of the text, one would be entitled to wonder why the scribe did not place it beneath the *basmala*, perhaps in a separate partition, for even had he compressed the *basmala* the space left after it would not have been sufficient for the inscription to be completed on the same line and remain within the frame.

However, it is clear that here, as elsewhere, the thin red partition lines were added later, as is shown by the fact that the two internal middle lines terminate neatly (without having been rubbed off) to accommodate a diagonal inscription, later than the main text, which gives the full name of the author (fig. 3). If we visualize how the text would look without the parti-



Fig. 1. Opening page with title. From an Ibn al-Sufi *Risālat al-Sūfī fi 'l-kawākib*, ca. 1220–25, North Jazira(?). Tehran, Reza Abbasi Museum, M. 570, page 1. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 2. Opening text: RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 4. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)

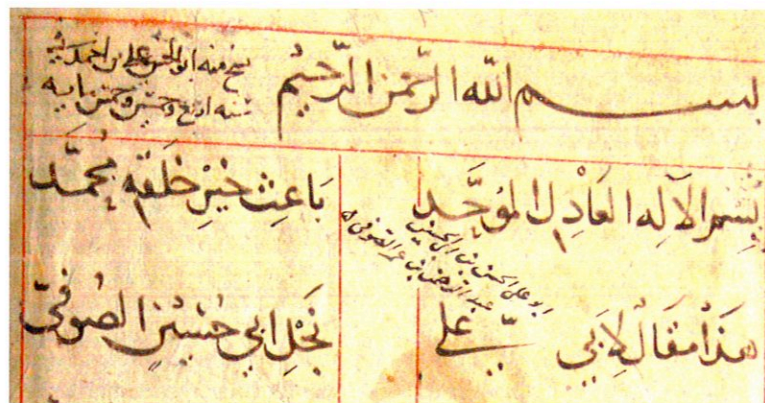


Fig. 3. Detail of the added inscription with the date 554 (1159). RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 4. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)

tions, the dimensions of the *basmala* cease to appear odd: there are many manuscripts in which it is not stretched to fill the line, and we need not assume that its length was determined by the need to accommodate the inscription that follows it, which seems all the more to be a subsequent interpolation.

The second reason for doubting the inscription concerns the script in which it is written. Close examination reveals that it is in a different hand from the main text, and furthermore that the ink used to write it is also different.<sup>6</sup> This points strongly to its being a later addition and further reinforces the conclusion that it was not conceived as part of the original disposition of the page.

The third point of contention is the wording: *nasakha minhu Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ahmad fī sanat arba' wa-khamsīn wa-khamsimī'a*. This, it is important to note at the outset, is not a standard copyist's formula, and, partly in consequence, its precise import is unclear. The particular difficulty concerns the inclusion of *min*. Without it, the meaning would be "Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ahmad copied it (*nasakhahu*) in 554"; but with it the sense shifts, and two possible interpretations might be proposed: either "In 554 Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ahmad copied something from this manuscript," or "In 554 Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ahmad made a copy of all or part of the same text."

Linguistically, considered purely as statements, these two alternatives seem equally plausible, the suffix pronoun presumably referring in the first case to (*hādihā*) *al-makhṭūṭ* or *al-naṣṣ*, and in the second to (*hādihā*) *al-naṣṣ* or *al-maqāl*. Where they crucially differ is in their temporal implications: according to the first, if a further copy was made in 554, the RAM manuscript itself must itself date from 554 or earlier, whereas according to the second, 554 refers to an act of copying from which one can infer nothing with regard to the date of the RAM manuscript. As for the reason behind this added comment, one might conjecture in the first case that Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ahmad was sufficiently famous as a scholar or copyist for the mention of his name, right at the beginning of the text, to lend prestige to this manuscript and, by implication, validate it as a faithful copy of the original. Rather more prosaic, but at the same time more likely, is the supposition, relating to the second interpretation, that the inscription was added by a librarian or later owner who wished to cross-reference a different manuscript in the same collection, dated 554, that contained all or part of the same text.

## THE REZA ABBASI MUSEUM MANUSCRIPT

M. 570 is of small format, measuring ca. 24 cm in height x 16 cm in width. It has seventy-six pages (thirty-eight leaves, or forty including flyleaves), with forty-one constellation drawings and two full-page frontispieces. Page size is ca. 22.5 x 15.5 cm; the text block (framed) is about 18.5 x 12 cm; and the text has a maximum of eleven lines to the page, split into two columns measuring ca. 18.5–19 x 5.2 cm. The binding is of blind-tooled brown leather, with a round medallion in the middle and small corner decorations contained within a geometric border. The margins of both binding and pages are damaged, and there are some repairs. The script is a neat, dark brown *nashk*. The manuscript is paginated in Arabic numbers on each folio side (for example, instead of 1r and 1v we have 1 and 2), so that the numbers go up to 76. Titles and rubrics are in red ink.

On page 1 we find the title of the book, *Risālat al-Ṣūfī fī 'l-kawākib*, within a bracketed roundel (fig. 1). The title and roundel are in gold, and the roundel is framed by a blue line.

On page 4, after the two frontispieces, we find the beginning of the text (fig. 2), which opens with the *basmala* and, on the same line, the dated inscription. The text that follows is virtually identical with that of the 1954 Hyderabad edition,<sup>7</sup> mentioning author and patron in lines 2–4:

*hādihā muqālun li-Abi 'Alīyyī      najlī Abi Husayn al-Ṣūfiyyī*  
*fī ṣifati 'l-nujūmi wa 'l-aflākī      anshu'ahu li-maliki 'l-amlākī*  
*li-maliki 'l-ummati shāhinshāhī      akhī 'l-ma'ālī fakhri dīnī 'llāhī*  
 (This is a treatise by Abu 'Alī, the son of Abu Husayn al-Sufi,  
 / on the attributes of the stars and the heavenly spheres,  
 which he composed for the king of kings, / ruler of the  
 community, sovereign of sovereigns, endowed with nobility,  
 Fakhr al-Din.)

The full name of the great astronomer and author of the treatise to which the *urjūza* relates is Abu 'l-Husayn 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Umar al-Sufi. Born in Rayy in 903, he died in Baghdad in 986, and it was during his time as tutor to the Buyid Sultan 'Adud al-Dawla Fana Khusraw (r. 949–83) that he wrote for him the *Kitāb Suwar al-kawākib al-thābita*, which dates from 965.<sup>8</sup> As to the identity of the author of the *urjūza*, there has been some disagreement among scholars, despite the inference that Abu Ali najl (*metri causa* for "ibn") Abi Husayn al-Sufi was the astronomer's son. Brockelmann<sup>9</sup> dismissed this identification, suggesting instead an Ibn



al-Sufi who was a mathematician active in 1135–36 in the service of the Artuqid ruler of Hisn Kaifa, Qara Arslan (Fakhr al-Din, fl. 1143–44), with whom he equated the Fakhr al-Din mentioned in the poem.<sup>10</sup> However, in the 1125 al-Sufi manuscript now in Qatar (see endnote 3), the text of the poem is headed by an inscription (folio 162r) stating that it was written by a son (*walad*) of al-Sufi, and later scholarship has preferred this identification.<sup>11</sup> The colophon of the Bodleian library copy, dated 400 (1009), of the main astrological text by al-Sufi names al-Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Umar b. Muhammad as the scribe of the manuscript, and this has been interpreted as the name of al-Sufi's son,<sup>12</sup> while the present text includes a later diagonal inscription added above *li-Abi 'Alī* (fig. 3) that gives a fuller version of the alleged author's name: Abu 'Alī al-Husayn b. Abi al-Husayn 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Umar al-Sufi.<sup>13</sup> The 1125 Qatar manuscript appears exceptional in having a prose introduction that mentions the father-son relationship; in other copies, the RAM manuscript included, the only evidence is that provided by the line citing Abu 'Alī najī al-Husayn al-Sufi. Unless it is considered an interpolation, however, this identification is difficult to ignore, especially as meter and rhyme offer a certain defense against tampering.<sup>14</sup> Thus the son seems the most likely authorial candidate.

Regarding the patron, here again more than one candidate has been put forward, for in place of Qara Arslan, Aziz-zada suggests a double homage to Buyid amirs, the title *shāhinshāh* being a reference to Fana Khusraw Abu Shuja' 'Adud al-Dawla (the pupil and patron of the astronomer al-Sufi), and Fakhr Din Allah being his younger brother Fakhr al-Dawla Daylami.<sup>15</sup> This appears ingenious but is unconvincing: the presence of *ma'ālī* between *akh* and the following name severs the connection. In addition, it would be most unusual to combine references to two patrons, and it would be a curious poetic license that converts Fakhr al-Dawla into Fakhr al-Din. (Furthermore, if we are to have a Fakhr al-Dawla, there is yet another chronologically possible Buyid candidate, Fakhr al-Dawla 'Alī.)<sup>16</sup>

Inscriptions and seals testify that the manuscript was owned by various private individuals from the fourteenth through the nineteenth century. The oldest inscription, probably datable to the early fourteenth century, is found on the title page, page 1 (fig. 1). In Arabic, the substantive part reads as follows:

*min kutub al-'abd al-da'if al-nahif al-rājī ilā rahmat al-malik al-majīd /*

*Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Fadlallāh al-khatīb al-ma'rūf bi-Khwurd(?) al-Mu'arrif*

(One of the books of the feeble and wretched servant who hopes for the mercy of his glorious Lord, / Muhammad b. Yahya b. Fadlallah, the preacher known as Khwurd(?) al-Mu'arrif.

Two other inscriptions, in Persian, are found at the bottom of the same page, in *ta'liq* script. The owners belonged to the same family, and their inscriptions are possibly to be dated, according to Aziz-zada, to the early fifteenth century.<sup>17</sup> There are also three seal impressions—two at the bottom, not completely legible, as the margin of the page is damaged, and another higher up on the left-hand side of the page. It is possible to establish that they contain ownership inscriptions, although unfortunately without dates. Two more such inscriptions, one a seal impression and the other written in *shikasta*, are found on the last page of the manuscript, page 76, and possibly belong to the late Safavid period (fig. 27).

As a stamped inscription on the flyleaf reveals, in the nineteenth century the manuscript was in the hands of Fakhr al-Din Nasiri Amini, a collector and dealer of manuscripts, and was no. 156 in his library. After that, it passed to the Mahboubian family, also collectors and dealers of manuscripts, and the *urjūza* is in fact mentioned in the catalogue produced by Mehdi Mahboubian in 1970. Mahboubian sold many items to Queen Farah Diba for her royal collection, including, we may safely assume, this manuscript, as the Queen eventually donated her collection of ancient and Islamic Iranian art to be part of the Reza Abbasi Museum, established in 1976.

The manuscript has thus passed through many hands before arriving at the museum, and the plausibility of the inscription with the date having been added as part of a library check is reinforced by the fact that there was obviously great interest in this classical text throughout the centuries, as demonstrated also by the existence of a Qajar copy of the RAM manuscript. It is also interesting, when considering the inscription, to note that the manuscript has been in other ways "tampered with" on different occasions. For example, some diacritical marks have been added later, in blacker ink, and some of the letters have been re-outlined: one instance of this is the first *hā'* of *shāhinshāh*, in the shape of an 8, on page 4 (fig. 2). In the margins there is a Persian commentary, undated but certainly added later—sometime in the sixteenth or

seventeenth century (or possibly later), judging from the *nasta'liq* script. In addition, as stated above, the thin red lines that frame the text are not original; they were most probably added when the Persian commentary was written in the margins, as the red ink in which they are written is the same as that used for the rubrics in the commentary but different from that of the rubrics of the main text. Further confirmation is provided by the fact that in certain places they accommodate the Persian commentary, e.g., on pages 6, 16, 23 (fig. 14), and 48 (fig. 16), where they are either drawn at an angle or interrupted. In addition, as also mentioned, the two internal middle lines on page 4 are neatly interrupted to accommodate the later, diagonal inscription that gives the full name of the author (fig. 3). Furthermore, the letters alongside various stars and the numbers that appear within the constellation titles are also later additions, again in the same red ink as the frames of the text. The catchwords at the bottom left corner of the pages were also added later, as they are in a darker ink and a different hand.

In one instance the painter has made a mistake in the iconography of the constellations. The title of Hercules, *al-jāthī 'alā rukbatayhi*, which appears on page 19, is followed (on the other side of the folio, page 20) by a picture of Orion, while the picture of Hercules appears on page 60, preceded, on 59, by Orion's titles, *al-jabbār/al-jawzā'*. Elsewhere, incorrect sequences result from the order of the folios having been disturbed. For example, a picture and the end of the text (two lines) of *al-Sulyāq* (Lyra) appears on page 22, while the preceding text of Lyra, together with the title, is to be found on page 61. Finally, at some stage after the catchwords were added, a number of folios were detached from the manuscript. The section devoted to Perseus, with one miniature, should come between pages 24 and 25 as they are now numbered; missing between pages 56 and 57 are the constellations Capricorn and Aquarius and the beginning of Pisces (but not its picture, so just two images are lacking from this group); and between pages 63 and 64 should appear Canis Major and Canis Minor, together with their pictures. In all, then, five pictures are missing.

### THE QAJAR COPY

As reported by Aziz-zada, a Qajar copy, dated 1312 (1894), of the RAM Ibn al-Sufi is found in the Majlis

Library in Tehran.<sup>18</sup> The manuscript now in the RAM may have appealed to a Qajar patron or copyist because it included illustrations of all the constellations, which is not often the case. The copy follows the text and the iconography of these illustrations very closely and reflects the state of the original manuscript prior to the loss of some of its folios and the disruption of its order. For example, the whole section of Lyra appears in correct sequence (on pages 12 and 13), while of the five missing constellation drawings, Perseus (*Birshāwush*) is found in the Qajar copy on page 14, where it is represented with a rather dramatic picture (fig. 10 left), and Aquarius occurs on page 27 (fig. 11)—evidence that the folios containing these two miniatures were taken out of the manuscript after the copy was executed. The other three miniatures, however, are missing from the copy, probably indicating that they were detached from the manuscript at some earlier stage. To judge by the example of Hercules and Orion, the illustrations of which are now correctly placed, the Qajar copyist had sufficient knowledge of both text and iconography to rectify such blunders.

A more intriguing case is presented by the illustration of Andromeda. Apart from the few cases, like Cygnus and Cancer, in which constellations are represented as if seen from above and therefore do not have a "direction," the copies follow the original drawings in facing left. But in the depiction of Andromeda (fig. 19) the Qajar artist has reversed his drawing, so that she now has the fish across her left arm and not, as in the RAM manuscript—in which the fish is slightly effaced—across her right (fig. 20). In the absence of outline marks, this cannot be explained simply by the reversal of a model, and although an explanation is hard to come by, it may be hypothesized that it has something to do with the fact that in the al-Sufi treatises the constellations are usually represented in mirror-image pairs.<sup>19</sup> The Qajar copyist, being familiar with this tradition, may in this instance have simply preferred the alternative view. In any case, the copyist appears to have had knowledge of both text and images, and this copy is valuable testimony to a continuing interest in classical scientific knowledge in the Qajar period.

The two manuscripts have the same number of folios (38) and an almost identical format (RAM ca. 24 x 16 cm; Majlis 25 x 16.5 cm); the drawings are also very similar in size (for example, Ursa Minor measures 6 x 9.5 cm in the RAM original and 5.5 x 8.5 cm in the Majlis copy). In the RAM manuscript the



constellation drawings have been drawn in a thin red line before being outlined in black ink, a feature common to early-thirteenth-century manuscripts, but such preliminary red outlines are not present in the Qajar copy. In fact, the Qajar illustrator seems to have made his copies freehand rather than by standard means of mechanical transfer: in the Reza Abbasi Museum manuscript there is no trace of pricking or of the indentations left on the page by a sharp tracing tool such as are so often found around the drawings of al-Sufi manuscripts. The Qajar copy likewise shows no sign of the outline of the drawings having been marked on the page prior to execution.

Unfortunately, there are no frontispieces in the Qajar copy, and the manuscript is also unfinished to the extent that the spaces for certain titles, including the one at the top of the first page, have been left blank.

#### THE CONNECTIONS WITH EARLY-THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ARAB PAINTING

The frontispieces of the RAM manuscript, on pages 2 and 3 (fig. 4), each portray a figure sitting on a throne; the one on the right holds an astrolabe and the other a book. The left-hand figure is white-bearded and wears a turban, while the dark-bearded one opposite wears what looks like a hairband and seems to sport an earring. The rest of his costume is similar to that of his companion on the left, however, and both have gold haloes around their heads. The two figures face each other, the one on the left in profile and the other in three-quarter view.

About these figures, Aziz-zada has advanced two hypotheses. According to one, the figure on the right could be the ancient authority Ptolemy, whose star table in his *Almagest* is the basis for al-Sufi's treatise, and the white-bearded figure on the left the author of the book, reading it to Ptolemy.<sup>20</sup> But although this conforms to the common representation of pre-Islamic sages without turbans, it runs counter to the usual hierarchy of authority coded by beard color. For example, although arabicized and wearing a turban, Aristotle is represented in an al-Mubashshir *Mukhtār al-hikam wa-maḥāsīn al-kalim*<sup>21</sup> as a white-bearded ancient authority holding an astrolabe in front of a crowd of students with books (fig. 8). Moreover, unless the author of a work derived from al-Sufi's treatise could reasonably be expected to seek the approval of Ptol-

emy rather than al-Sufi himself, the reference would have to be not to the author of the present text, but to the tenth-century astronomer. Similarly, if it were proposed that the figures represented are al-Sufi, who would have to be the older figure on the left, and his son, the likely author of the *urjūza*, we would have to accept a flouting of convention whereby the reader of the book is not the author but the font of wisdom imparting knowledge to the (presumably prospective) author.

Aziz-zada's other hypothesis proposes that the figure on the right is the patron of al-Sufi, 'Adud al-Dawla (the earring would then prefigure later Persian representations of princes), and the figure on the left al-Sufi himself, reading his text to his prince.<sup>22</sup> This interpretation accords partially with Aziz-zada's proposal that the dedicatory inscription in the text could be a double homage to Buyid amirs. In both cases the representation is anachronistic, but for this there is the possible defense that it is a deliberate attempt to give prestige to the book by affiliating it with illustrious personalities. But one could equally well propose a non-anachronistic alternative, namely, that the figure on the left is the author of the *urjūza*, and that on the right his patron, the Fakhr al-Din referred to in the text. Indeed, while the figure on the left is definitely an old sage absorbed in his reading of a book, the one on the right conveys a slightly irreverent attitude: he sprawls and looks curiously at the astrolabe he is holding. Princely status is suggested, again, by his earring; and he has a golden bowl of fruit at his feet, which also seems to be associated with authority, whether intellectual or political. For example, the 1244 Dioscorides *Khawāṣṣ al-ashjār* (The Properties of Plants) in Bologna has a full-page miniature of Dioscorides seated on a throne in the center, picking a fruit from a gold bowl held by Aristotle, on the left; and in one of the *Na't* frontispieces the figure identifiable as the possible patron of the text is again seated on a throne and has a fruit-filled golden bowl at his feet.<sup>23</sup>

However, it is also perfectly possible to read the frontispieces as embodying a general iconographic theme, found in many scientific manuscripts, of the "transmission of knowledge." According to this view the figures do not need to be identified with any particular personage; they serve, rather, as a reminder of the general concept of the importance of knowledge, of how it is imparted from teacher to student, and, perhaps, of the vital role of the book itself as a record of the successful completion of this task.



Fig. 4. Frontispieces. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, pages 2–3. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)

In iconographical terms, the two frontispieces are very similar to two of the four in the *Naʿt*, those on folios 3v and 4r (figs. 9a and 9b), which also depict two enthroned figures, the one on the left turned slightly towards the other, who, in frontal position, represents royal authority. There are striking similarities between the thrones, which have high, decorated backs with slightly flared shoulders, thickly molded legs, and seats covered by carpets with inward-folded corners, on top of which are cushions. The RAM frontispieces each have as background a gold canopy patterned with blue vine scrolls, which descends from the ceiling and widens to cover the back of the throne. Although the two aforementioned frontispieces in the *Naʿt* (folios 3v and 4r) have solid gold backgrounds, the other two (those on folios 2v and 3r) have gold backgrounds covered

by very similar vine scrolls. The arches at the top corners are also similar architectonic references, while the textile designs in the Tehran manuscripts—for example, the checkered pattern of the two throne carpets, each with a row of gold roundels near the border—are practically identical to those in the *Naʿt* frontispieces. Furthermore, the clothing type—long tunics with white, baggy trousers underneath—is identical in the two manuscripts, as is the tunic decoration and rendering of folds: in these details one may compare the RAM figures not only to two of the *Naʿt* frontispieces already mentioned (folios 3v and 4r), but also to the figures on folios 101v and 96r in the *Naʿt* (figs. 5, 6). In addition, the pseudo-calligraphic *tiraz* bands represented on folio 101v are identical with those of various constellation figures in the *urjūza*,





Fig. 5. Ibn Bakhtishu' and a pupil. From an Ibn Bakhtishu' *Kitāb Na't al-hayawān*, ca. 1220–25, North Jazira (?). London, British Library, Or. 2784, folio 101v. (Photo © the British Library)



Fig. 6. Aristotle and a pupil. British Library *Na't*, folio 96r. (Photo © the British Library)

for example, those on pages 12, 24 (fig. 26, Cassiopeia), 37 (fig. 20 left, Andromeda), and 72 (fig. 22, Centaurus with Lupus). With regard to posture and facial traits, the figure on the left in the RAM frontispiece has a marked resemblance to the one also on the left in the miniature of Ibn Bakhtishu' and a student on folio 101v (fig. 5). Finally, one may note that the position and nature of the bowl of fruit in the right-hand frontispiece is identical to that on *Na't* folio 4r (fig. 9b).

Other striking similarities are apparent in the depiction of animals, for example, the lions and the leopard on *Na't* folios 208r (fig. 17) and 100v, as compared

to the constellation Leo on page 49 (fig. 16) and, for the face, Delphinus on page 32 (fig. 18) in the *urjūza*. In general, the animals' bodies are treated in a very similar manner: they are rather large and fleshy, with curved lines to mark the folds of the skin, as in the constellations of Ursa Minor on page 5 (fig. 12) and the bear in the *Na't* on folio 174v (fig. 13); Centaurus with Lupus on page 72 (fig. 22) and the onager on folio 151v (fig. 23); Aries on page 41 and the ram on folio 111v; Cygnus on page 23 (fig. 14) and one of the domestic pigeons, second from the right in the upper row on folio 14r (fig. 15); Pisces on page 57 (fig. 24 left) and the mullet on folio 74v (fig. 25);





Fig. 7. Erasistratos and a pupil. From a Dioscorides *Khawāss al-ashjār*, dated 621 (1224), North Jazira(?). Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, F1947.5. (Photo: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC)





Fig. 8. Aristotle, holding an astrolabe, and students. From an al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam wa-mahāsīn al-kalīm*, Syria (?), early thirteenth century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, 3206, folio 90r. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul)





Figs. 9a (right) and 9b (left). Double-page frontispiece from the British Library *Na't*, folios 3v and 4r. (Photo © the British Library)









Fig. 10. Cassiopeia (right) and Perseus (left). From a Qajar copy of the RAM Ibn al-Sufi, dated 1312 (1894). Tehran, Majlis Library, no. 5099, page 14. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library, Tehran)

and the wing of Pegasus on page 36 (fig. 20 right) and that of the unicorn on folio 197v (fig. 21).

Another striking feature that relates the *urjūza* drawings to thirteenth-century manuscripts is the already-mentioned red outlines of the constellations, which have been drawn over in black ink. This is typical of early-thirteenth-century Arab painting, but less so of al-Sufi manuscripts (even if they belong to the thirteenth century), which more often have incised outlines, a feature absent from the RAM manuscript (and, incidentally, from the Majlis Library copy).

These close resemblances suggest, if not that the same artist worked on both the RAM Ibn al-Sufi and the *Na't*, then that the two manuscripts were illustrated by artists in a master-pupil relationship, or

working in the same atelier, or both. Also consonant with such a conclusion is the similarity between the script of the RAM manuscript and that of the *Na't*. Unfortunately, the delineation of a historical style-map of *naskh*, especially of the early periods,<sup>24</sup> still lies in the future. We lack adequate criteria for situating a manuscript in time and place with any accuracy on the basis of its script; indeed, we even lack a sufficiently objective conventional vocabulary to define script features for comparative purposes. But despite this situation, we can still reasonably claim a broad family resemblance among the scripts of the various manuscripts of this group, and especially strong similarities between these two manuscripts in particular.





Fig. 11. Aquarius. Majlis Library Qajar copy, page 27. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library, Tehran)

Because of these various parallels the conclusion is virtually inescapable that the RAM Ibn al-Sufi forms part of a strongly profiled group of early-thirteenth-century manuscripts, and if, in the light of the dated inscription, further argument is needed, one need only point to the absence of such parallels with the surviving illustrated manuscripts of the twelfth century, including al-Sufi manuscripts. Those that were made close to 1159, whether from an Artuqid, Zangid, Abbasid, or Fatimid environment, all exhibit a different style of depicting human figures, and the line drawings in the al-Sufi and *urjūza* manuscripts from this period also differ in style from those in the RAM *urjūza*.<sup>25</sup>

Accepting the RAM manuscript as a further addi-

tion to the thirteenth-century group, we can logically assign it a date close to that of the *Naʿt*. On the basis of stylistic similarities with other dated manuscripts, in particular the above-mentioned 1224 Dioscorides (fig. 7)<sup>26</sup> and Christian Syriac manuscripts—especially the 1220 Gospel book in the Vatican Library, produced in the monastery of Mar Mattai,<sup>27</sup> and the 1216–20 Gospel book in the British Library, most probably also produced in Mar Mattai<sup>28</sup>—the *Naʿt* can be confidently assigned to around 1220–25.<sup>29</sup> Given the extremely strong iconographical and stylistic similarities between it and the RAM manuscript, it is logical to suppose that the latter, too, was produced at that time.

The other members of the group consist of two





Fig. 12. Ursa Minor. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 5. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 13. Bear. British Library Naʿt, folio 174v. (Photo © the British Library)





Fig. 14. Cygnus. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 23. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 15. Domestic pigeons. British Library Naʿt, folio 14r. (Photo © the British Library)





Fig. 16. Leo. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, pages 48–49. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)

manuscripts of the *Maqāmāt*, one dated 634 (1237) and another, now in St. Petersburg, that closely resembles it (figs. 28, 29).<sup>30</sup> The latter is unfortunately undated, but it is reasonable to assume that it is the earlier of the two, its miniatures showing experimental features that are then handled more confidently in the 1237 manuscript. Accordingly, it has been assigned to ca. 1230–35.<sup>31</sup>

As for provenance, the 1237 *Maqāmāt* is usually attributed to Baghdad, on the rather dubious grounds that its compiler and painter has the *nisba* al-Wasiti, on which basis he is assumed to have worked in Baghdad.<sup>32</sup> The case is strengthened somewhat, however, by the sumptuousness of the miniatures in this manuscript and the high quality of its calligraphy, which are consonant with a royal commission and increase the likelihood of production in a capi-

tal city. Because of the close resemblances between it and the St. Petersburg *Maqāmāt*, the latter is also usually thought to have been produced in Baghdad. But other manuscripts in the early-thirteenth-century group have a different provenance: the Mar Mattai Gospel book was produced in the monastery of Mar Mattai near Mosul; for various reasons the *Naʿt* too can be confidently attributed to a North Jaziran environment to which the 1224 Dioscorides, because of its strong similarities to the *Naʿt*, can reasonably be assigned as well. Thus, although the possibility of a Baghdad provenance cannot be completely excluded for the Reza Abbasi Museum *urjūza*, it is clear that the particularly close relationship of its visual components with those of the *Naʿt* point to the greater likelihood of a center of production in the North Jazira, probably in the Mosul region.



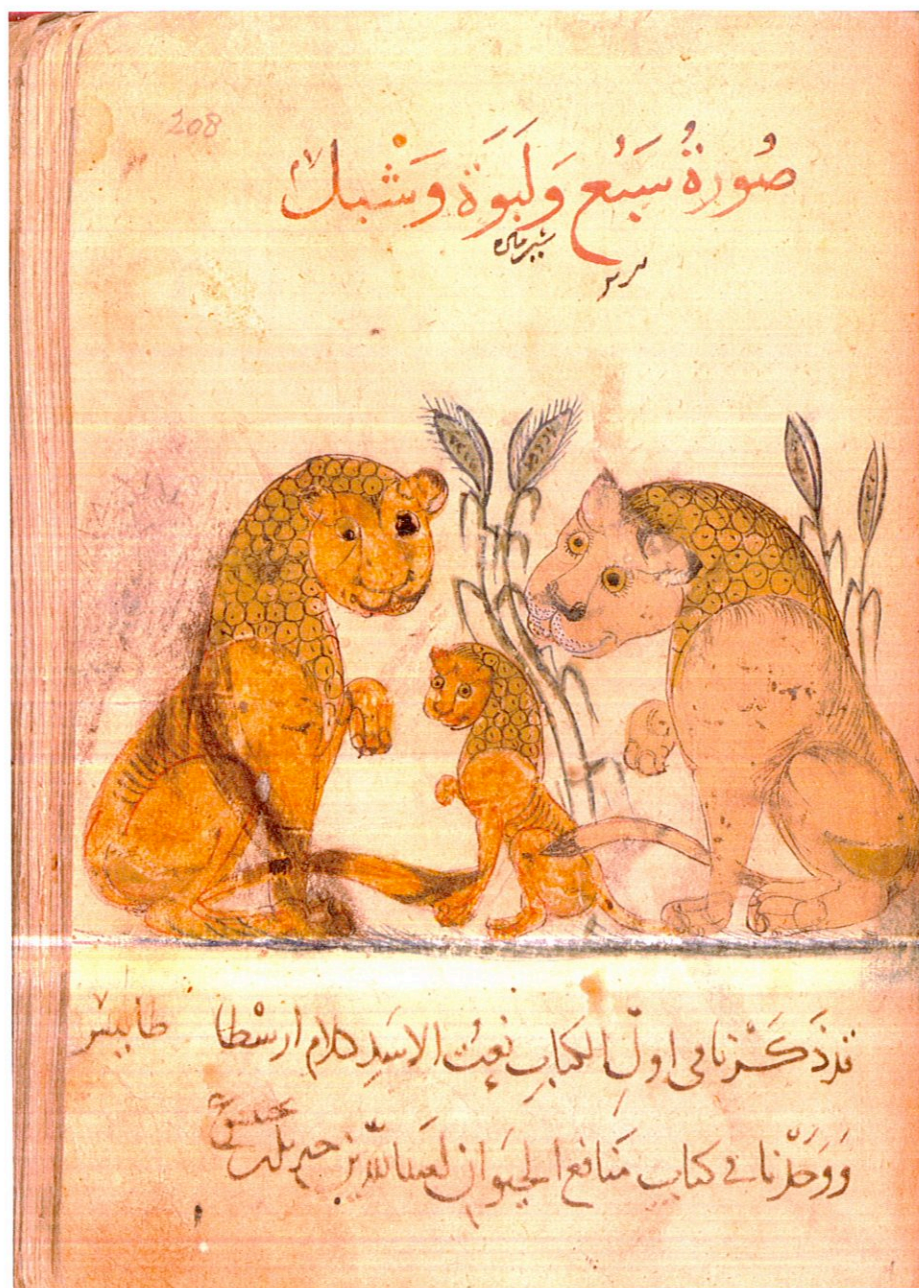


Fig. 17. Lions. British Library Na't, folio 208r. (Photo © the British Library)













Fig. 20. Pegasus (right) and Andromeda (left). RAM Ibn al-Sufi, pages 36–37. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 21. Unicorn. British Library Naʿt, folio 197v. (Photo © the British Library)





Fig. 22. Centaurus with Lupus. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 72. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)



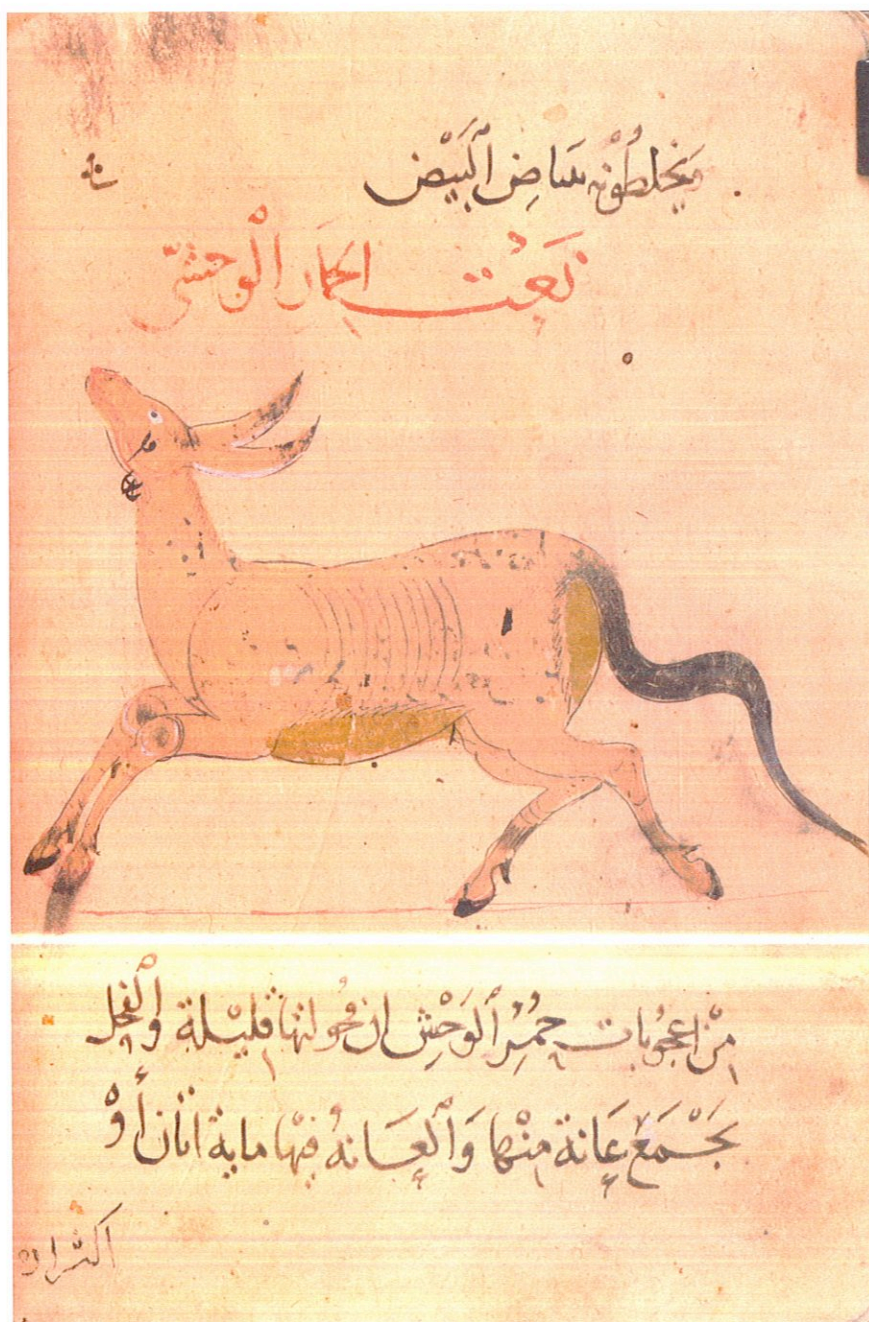


Fig. 23. Onager. British Library *Naʿt*, folio 151v. (Photo © the British Library)



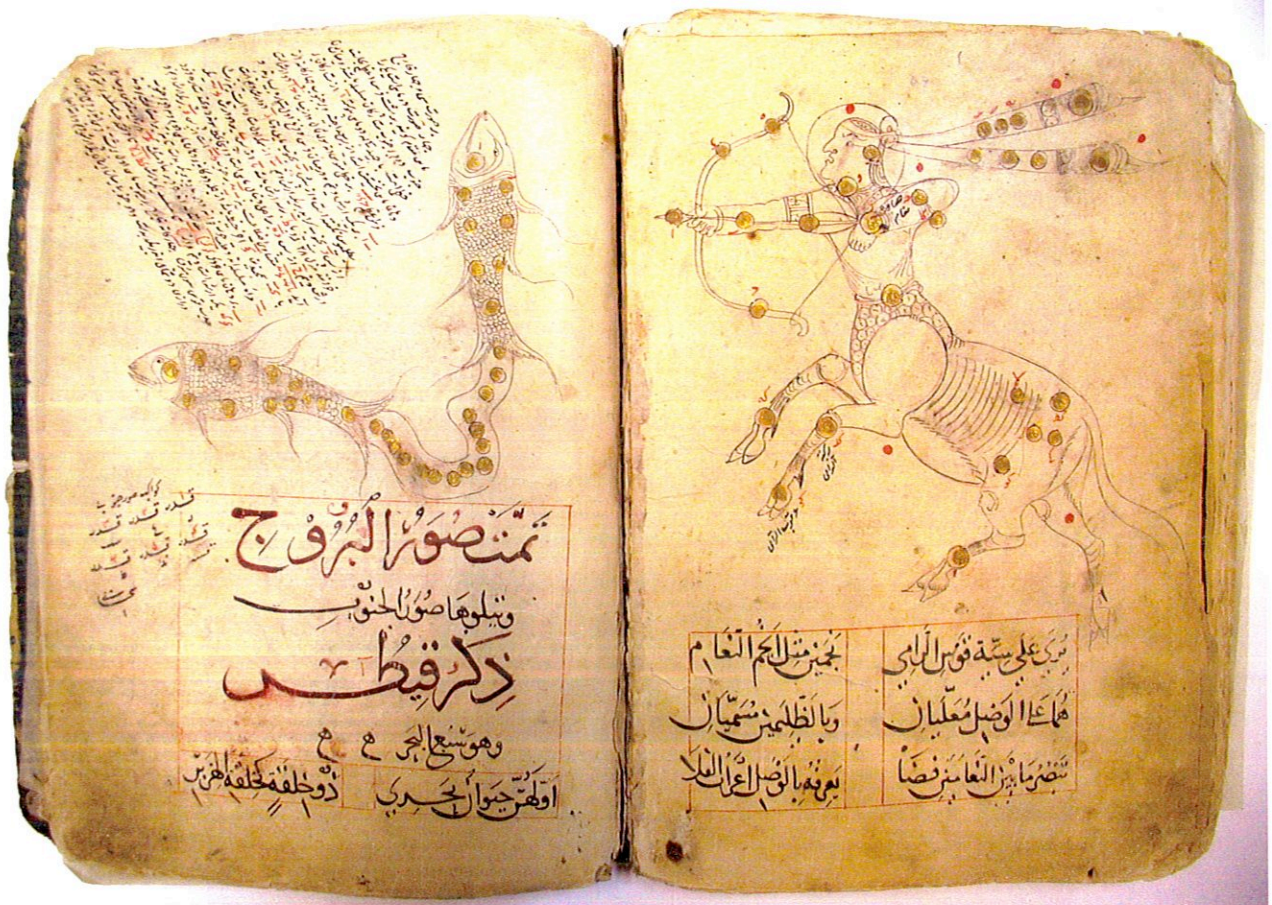


Fig. 24. Sagittarius (right) and Pisces (left). RAM Ibn al-Sufi, pages 56–57. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 25. Mullet. British Library Naʿt, folio 74v. (Photo © the British Library)





Fig. 26. Cassiopeia. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 24. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 27. Colophon. RAM Ibn al-Sufi, page 76. (Photo: Anna Contadini, courtesy of the Reza Abbasi Museum, Tehran)





Fig. 28. Abu Zayd before the governor of Rahba. Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, dated 634 (1237), probably Baghdad. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. arabe 5847, folio 26r. (Photo © the Bibliothèque nationale de France)





Fig. 29. The case of the lost mount. Al-Hariri, *Maqāmāt*, ca. 1225–30, probably Baghdad. St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, ms. S 23, page 288 (folio 145r). (After Pétrosyan, ed., *De Bagdad à Ispahan*, 126)



## APPENDIX

CONTENTS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE REZA  
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32. *al-Hūt/al-Samakatayn* (Pisces), missing part of section, but drawing on 57

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36. *al-Arnab* (Lepus), 63

\*37. *al-Kalb al-akbar* (Canis Major), title and one line of text, but the rest of the section and drawing are missing

\*38. *al-Kalb al-aṣghar* (Canis Minor), missing section and drawing

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40. *al-Shujāʿ* (Hydra), 66

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## NOTES

*Author's note:* I should like to thank the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of SOAS for sponsoring my trip to Tehran to study the manuscripts there. I am very grateful to Mrs. Batool Ahmadi, the Director of the Reza Abbasi Museum, who gave me permission to study the Ibn al-Sufi manuscript, and to Ms. Tayebeh Ghodratabady, curator, for her kind help. I should also like to thank my friends and colleagues Abdullah Gouchani and Sheila Canby (who was my companion on this trip) for looking at the Ibn al-Sufi manuscript with me and for their insightful comments. Thanks are also due to Abdolhamid Keshmirshakan, who helped at an initial stage of the investigation on the RAM manuscript. I am also grateful to the Director of the Majlis Library in Tehran, Hojjatol Eslam Abhari, and the Keeper of Manuscripts, Prof. Abdul Husseyn Haeri, for permission and help in studying the Qajar copy. Majid Saeli was very kind in guiding me through the various sections of the Majlis Library, and Fariba Afkari prepared the way. My thanks are also due to Rebecca Foote, who gave me access to the al-Sufi manuscript of the National Museum in Qatar. I am also grateful to Prof. Abdel Halcem, of SOAS, for discussing with me the date found in the RAM manuscript, and Alexander Morton, who discussed with me the date, commentary, and seal impressions in the same manuscript. Prof. Charles Burnett, of the Warburg Institute, kindly read a draft of this article, and I



am grateful for his helpful comments. For the other manuscripts mentioned in the article, both in the main text and the notes, I should like to thank again the British Library, the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Süleymaniye Library and the Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, and the Vatican Library.

1. Tehran, Reza Abbasi Museum, M. 570. For this manuscript, see M. Mahboubian, *Treasures of Persian Art after Islam: The Mahboubian Collection* (New York, 1970), introduction and no. 913, where a brief description and a list of the miniatures are provided and five images are reproduced in black and white. The manuscript has been the subject of a general article by G. Aziz-zada, "Urjūza yā Risālat al-Sūfi fī 'l-kawākib," *Mūzih-hā* 31 [n.p., 10], 1381/2002: 12–14 (Persian text), where a more detailed description and a discussion of the date, author, and patron of the manuscript are found. A number of color images from this manuscript are published with discursive captions in N. Pourjavady, ed., *The Splendour of Iran*, 3 vols. (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 2001), vol. 3, 267–73. (This reference was brought to my attention by Moya Carey while she was my research assistant; for her work on al-Sufi manuscripts, see notes 3 and 8, below. She has also started building up research material on the Ibn al-Sufi tradition.) Although the captions of the Pourjavady book carry a general attribution of the manuscript to the twelfth century, one of them (269), which accompanies a reproduction of one of the frontispieces, a portrait said to be of al-Sufi, describes the figure's profile as being "characteristic of the 'Baghdad School' of the early 13th century."
2. British Library, Or. 2784. For this manuscript, see A. Contadini, "The *Kitāb Na't al-Hayawān* (Book on the Characteristics of Animals, British Library, Or. 2784) and the 'Ibn Bakhtishū' Illustrated Bestiaries" (PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 1992) and, further, K. Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 54, 1–2 (1937): 1–34, 14, no. 33 (where the work is mistitled); H. Buchthal, O. Kurz, and R. Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes to K. Holter's 'Check List of Islamic Illuminated Manuscripts Before A.D. 1350,'" *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940): 147–64, 153, no. 33; H. Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942): 19–39 and figs. 34–36, 39, 41; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneva, 1962), 136–37; A. Contadini, "The Ibn Buhārīshū' Bestiary Tradition: The Text and Its Sources," *Medicina nei Secoli: Arte e Scienza* 6, 2 (1994): 349–64; A. Contadini, "A Bestiary Tale: Text and Image of the Unicorn in the *Kitāb Na't al-Hayawān* (British Library, Or. 2784)," *Muqarnas* 20 (2003): 17–33; A. Contadini, "Musical Beasts: The Swan-Phoenix in the Ibn Bakhtishū' Bestiaries," in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. B. O'Kane (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 93–101. The discussion on the relationships between the RAM Ibn al-Sufi, the *Na't*, and other Arabic manuscripts will be developed further in A. Contadini, *A World of Beasts: Arab and Persian Books on Animals, 13th to 14th centuries*, forthcoming.
3. The term *qasida* is used on the last page of the RAM manuscript, in the title of the colophon: *najazat al-qasida al-fala-kiyya* ("The poem of the heavenly spheres is completed"); it also appears in the 519 (1125) manuscript now in the collection of the National Museum of Qatar, MI-02-98-80, which consists of the *Kitāb Suwar al-kawākib al-thābita* with the *urjūza* following it. See Sotheby's, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures* (London, sale LN8256, Apr. 29, 1998), lot 34, 32–48 (a long and comprehensive entry by D. A. King, B. Brend, and R. Hillenbrand). The title page of the *urjūza* (fol. 162r) reads *hādhihi qasida qālahā walad Abi 'l-Husayn / al-Sūfi nazama fihā mā nathavahu abūhu li-yashal / hijz dhālika 'alā man rāmahu* ("this *qasida* has been composed by the son of Abu' l-Husayn al-Sufi, who has put into verse what his father had written in prose, so that for those who wish it should be easier to memorize"). Moya Carey has written an entry on this manuscript for a forthcoming catalogue of the collection of the Qatar museum.
4. For the *urjūza* genre, see M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Raḡazpoesie* (Wiesbaden, 1966), especially 56–57, and G. Endress, "Das Lehrgedicht," in H. Gätje, ed., *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie, Band II: Literaturwissenschaft* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 471–73, where these authors have indicated the range of subject matter on which *urjūzas* are written. See also W. Heinrichs, s.v. "Raḡjaz," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2004) (henceforth *EI2*). For a music *urjūza*, see al-Khātib al-Irbili, "Jawāhir al-nizām fī ma'rifat al-anḡhām, dated 729/1328," in *al-Mashriq* 16, 1913: 895–901. For didactic poetry in both Arabic and Latin literature, see C. Burnett, "Learned Knowledge of Arabic Poetry, Rhymed Prose, and Didactic Verse from Petrus Alfonsi to Petrarch," in J. Marenbon, ed., *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–62, especially 42–47.
5. There seems to be no tradition of illustrating exclusively the Arab forms of the constellations, although in exceptional cases the Greek and the Arab forms are conflated in miniatures. For example, in the 1171 al-Sufi manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Ms. Hunt 212, fol. 49v, we find a picture of Cassiopeia as a woman seated on a chair and a camel figure drawn across her. See E. Savage-Smith, "Celestial Mapping," in J. B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1987–), vol. 2, bk. 1 (1992), 52, fig. 2.34. I am grateful to Dr. Colin Wakefield of the Bodleian Library for recently showing me again this fragile manuscript.
6. The ink has a tone of brown different from that of the main text and is also of a lesser quality, as it has rubbed off in some places.
7. Abu 'l-Husayn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfi, *Suwar al-Kawākib or (Uranometry) (Description of the 48 Constellations): Arabic text, with the Urjūza of Ibn al-Sūfi, Edited from the Oldest Extant Manuscript and Based on the Ulugh Beg Royal Codex (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Arabe 5036)* by M. Nizāmu'd-Dīn (henceforth Hyderabad ed.) (Hyderabad 1373/1954), 3. This edition, made in Hyderabad, is mainly based on the Oxford manuscript Marsh 144, dated 400 (1009), and that of Ulugh Beg, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 5036, datable to the mid-fifteenth century.
8. See S. M. Stern, s.v. "al-Sūfi," in *EI2*, with fundamental bibliography. See also E. Wellesz, "An Early al-Sūfi Manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: A Study in Islamic Constellation Images," *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959): 1–26; idem, "Islamic



- Astronomical Imagery: Classical and Bedouin Tradition," *Oriental Art* 10, 2 (1964): 85–91; P. Kunitzsch, "The Astronomer Abu 'l-Husayn al-Sūfi and His Book on the Constellations," in F. Sezgin, ed., *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 3 (1986): 56–81; E. Savage-Smith, "The Islamic Tradition of Celestial Mapping," *Asian Art* 5, 4 (1992), 5–27; M. Carey, "Painting the Stars in a Century of Change: A Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sufi's *Treatise on the Fixed Stars*, British Library Or. 5323" (PhD thesis, SOAS, University of London, 2001); M. Carey, "Mapping the Mnemonic: A Late Thirteenth-Century Copy of al-Sufi's Book on the Constellations," in A. Contadini, ed., *Arab Painting: Artistic Treasures from the Islamic World* (London, forthcoming 2007). For very useful studies on the terminology of constellations and of al-Sufi's text, see P. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnomenklatur der Araber* (Wiesbaden, 1961); idem, *Typen von Sternverzeichnissen in astronomischen Handschriften des zehnten bis vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1966).
9. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* [supplement], 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–42) (henceforth *GAL/s*), vol. 1, 863, and also 398; also see idem, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1945–49) (henceforth *GAL*), vol. 1, 253.
  10. Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 1, 253; idem, *GAL/s*, vol. 1, 398; Stern, "al-Sūfi," which cites the previous literature as well.
  11. Hyderabad ed.; Wellesz, "An Early al-Sūfi Manuscript," 1, n. 2; F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Band VI: *Astronomie* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 232, where it is also stated that Ibn al-Sufi wrote his *urjūza* in 371/981; Sotheby's, *Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures*, 47; Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 12.
  12. Bodleian Library, Marsh 144. For this manuscript, see Wellesz, "An Early al-Sūfi Manuscript"; E. Wellesz, *An Islamic Book of Constellations*, Bodleian Picture Books, no. 13 (Oxford: The Bodleian Library, 1965); Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 52–53 and color pl. on 51; B. W. Robinson and B. Gray, eds., *The Persian Art of the Book*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1972), 9, no. 1.
  13. This is also the reading in Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 13. The ductus suggests *al-Hasan*, but what seems at first sight to be a *tashdid* belonging to *al-Rahmān* on the line below is better read as the dots of the *yā'* in *Husayn*.
  14. I am grateful to Charles Burnett, who made this sensible point to me during our discussions on the manuscript.
  15. Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 13.
  16. See C. E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 154–55.
  17. Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 13.
  18. Ibid. The manuscript is no. 5099 of the Majlis Library in Tehran, and the date is found in the colophon on page 76 (or folio 37 left); for this manuscript, see also C. Brockelmann, *GAL/s*, vol. 1, 398, no. 11; Y. I'tisāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Milli* (Tehran, 1933–), vol. 1, 109, no. 198.
  19. This is because al-Sufi wanted to represent one figure (that on the right) as seen from inside the celestial dome and the other (on the left) from the outside, as seen in celestial globes. See the explanation and passage from al-Sufi's text in Wellesz, "An Early al-Sūfi Manuscript," 1–26 and pls. 1–27, on 4–5.
  20. Pourjavady, *Splendour of Iran*, 269, and Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 13. For a discussion on frontispieces, see E. R. Hoffman, "The Author Portrait in Thirteenth-Century Arabic Manuscripts: A New Islamic Context for a Late-Antique Tradition," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 6–20.
  21. al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtār al-hikam wa mahāsīn al-kalim* (The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings), Syria (?), early 13th c., in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, 3206. For the text of this manuscript, see F. Rosenthal, "Arabische Nachrichten über Zenon den Eleaten," *Orientalia* 6 (1937): 21–67; and idem, "Al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik: Prolegomena to an Abortive Edition," *Oriens* 13–14 (1961): 132–58. For this particular copy, see Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 74–79 and color pls. on 75–77; D. James, *Arab Painting: 358 A.H./969 A.D.–1112 A.H./1700 A.D* (entire volume of *Marg* 29, 3 [1977]): 15; N. Nassar, "Saljuk or Byzantine: Two Related Styles of Jazīran Miniature Painting," in J. Raby, ed., *The Art of Syria and the Jazīra 1100–1250*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1985), 86, 88, 92, 94; J. M. Rogers, *The Topkapı Sarayı Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts, Translated, Expanded, and Edited from the Turkish Original by Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1986), 32, no. 20 and color pl. 20; Hoffman, "The Author Portrait," 12–16 and fig. 2; L. A. Hunt, "The Commissioning of a Late Twelfth Century Gospel Book: The Frontispieces of MS Paris Bibl. Nat. Copte 13," in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 2 vols. (London: Pindar Press, 1998), vol. 1, 149; L. A. Hunt, "Manuscript Production by Christians in 13th–14th Century Greater Syria and Mesopotamia and Related Areas," in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam*, vol. 2, 158–59 and fig. 4; A. Contadini, "Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts and Their North Jazīran and Abbasid Neighbours," in R. Hillenbrand and S. Auld, eds., *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City in Context, 1187–1250* (forthcoming).
  22. Aziz-zada, "Urjūza," 13.
  23. Possibly Amir Sa'd al-Din (fol. 4r): see color reproduction in Contadini, "The Kitāb Na't al-Hawayyān," pl. 14. For the Dioscorides manuscript, *Khawāss al-ashjār*, dated 642/1244, Egypt(?), in Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. arab. 2954, see Buchthal, Kurz, and Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes," 162, no. 1; E. Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskurides Arabicus," in R. Ettinghausen, ed., *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst: Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26.10.1957* (Berlin, 1959), 163–94, 179, and figs. 15–17; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 66; F. Gabrieli and U. Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia* (Milan: Garzanti and Scheiwiller, 1979), color pls. 715–22; M. M. Sadek, *The Arabic Materia Medica of Dioscorides* (Quebec: Les Éditions du Sphinx, 1983), 18, no. VI; A. Touwaide, *Farmacopea Araba Medievale: Codice Ayasofia 3703*, 2 vols. (Milan: Antea, 1992, 79–80 and figs. 74–76; Contadini, "Ayyubid Illustrated Manuscripts." For Dioscorides in general, see A. Dietrich, *Dioscurides Triumphans: Ein anonym arabischer Kommentar (Ende 12. Jahrh. N. Ch.) zur Materia medica*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988); J. M. Rogers, "The Arab Contribution to Botany and Pharmacology," *Arab Affairs* 6 (Spring 1988): 71–86; idem, "Text and Illustrations: Dioscorides and the Illustrated Herbal in the Arab Tradition," in Contadini, ed., *Arab Painting*; Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica*; M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals: The Illus-*



- trative Traditions (London and Toronto, 2000), esp. chap. 3, "The Illustrated Arabic Herbals."
24. Quite a lot of work has been done on so-called Kufic script. See F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran, aux origines de la calligraphie coranique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1983–85); idem, *The Abbasid Tradition: Qur'ans of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD*, The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 1 (London: The Nour Foundation, 1992); F. Déroche and F. Richard, eds., *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997); F. Déroche and S. Noja Noseda, *Sources de la transmission manuscrite du texte coranique* (Lesa: Fondazione Ferni Noja Noseda, 1998–); F. Déroche, ed., *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2000); F. Déroche, *Le livre manuscrit arabe: Pré-ludes à une histoire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005). However, there has been far less study of the other scripts, and scholarly terminology in this regard is consequently rather limited. A good survey of the problems linked to this issue (even though more specifically for Persian manuscripts) is M. I. Waley, "Problems and Possibilities in Dating Persian Manuscripts," in F. Déroche, ed., *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient: Actes du Colloque d'Istanbul 1986* (Istanbul and Paris, 1989), 7–15, especially 12–13. See also A. Contadini, "Travelling Pattern: A Qur'anic Illumination and Its Secular Source" in S. Canby, ed., *Safavid Art and Architecture* (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 58–66, esp. n. 24. Among the relatively little written on *nashk*, see J. Raby, "The Nayrizi Tradition: *Nashk* in Safavid and Qajar Iran," in N. F. Safwat, *The Art of the Pen*, The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. 5 (London: The Nour Foundation, 1996), 212–27; D. Roxburgh, "On the Transmission and Reconstruction of Calligraphy: Ibn al-Bawwab and History," *Studia Islamica* 96 (2003): 39–53.
  25. As examples, one may cite in this connection the following manuscripts: (1) an al-Sufi dated 400 (1009) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Marsh 144), for which see n. 12 above; (2) another in Qatar dated 519 (1125), for which see n. 3 above; (3) another in the Bodleian (Hunt 212), dated 566 (1171) and probably produced in Mosul, for which see J. Uri, *Bibliothecae Bodleianae codicum manuscriptorum orientalium*, 2 vols. in 1 (Oxford, 1787), pt. 1 (vol. 1), no. DCCCXCIX, 195, where the manuscript is misdated to 966 (1558) (see also n. 5 above); Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 4, entry h, where the dating follows Uri's incorrect reading; E. Wellesz, "Islamic Astronomical Imagery: Classical and Bedouin Tradition," *Oriental Art* 10, 2 (1964): 89–91; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 214; Savage-Smith, "Celestial Mapping," 52, fig. 2.34; Savage-Smith, "Islamic Tradition of Celestial Mapping," 14–15 and fig. 8; (4) another in the Topkapı Sarayı Library, Istanbul (Ahmet III, 3493), which was copied between 10 Muharram and 12 Safar 525 (December 14, 1130–January 15, 1131) by Wathiq b. 'Ali b. 'Umar b. al-Husayn, known as Abu 'l-Shawqi, possibly in Mayyafariqin, for which see K. Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift und die Makamen des Hariri der Wiener Nationalbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* N.F. 9 (1937): 36, no. 1; Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 3, no. 2, where the ms. no. is mistakenly given as 2493; Wellesz, "An Early al-Sufi Manuscript," 20–21; J. M. Rogers, *Topkapı Sarayı Museum: Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts*, 29–30, nos. 1–6 and color pls. 1–6; (5) another in Istanbul, in this case in the Süleymaniye Library (Fatih 3422), dated 529 (1134–35) and made in Mardin, its scribe signing himself as 'Abdallah b. Abd al-Jabbar b. al-Rahim b. Sadaqa b. 'Ali b. Yusuf b. Nasam al-Jabali, for which see Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 162; Holter, "Die Galen-Handschrift," 36, no. 2; Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 3, no. 3; Wellesz, "An Early al-Sufi Manuscript," 22–23; R. Ward, "Evidence for a School of Painting at the Artuqid Court," in J. Raby, ed., *The Art of Syria and the Jazira 1100–1250*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1985), 80; (6) another in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (5658), dated 630 (1233) and produced in Mosul, its scribe being Farah b. 'Abdallah al-Habbashi, for which see W. Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Arabische Handschriften*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1893), vol. 5, no. 5658; also, a copy of pseudo-Galen's *Kitāb al-Diryāq* dated to 1199, now in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (ms. arabe 2964), for which see W. M. le baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes* (Paris: Imprimeries Nationales, 1883–95), 530; B. Farès, "Le livre de la Theriaque," *Art Islamique* 2 (1953): 1–56; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 83–86, 91–92 and color pl. on 84–85; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture persane: Trois manuscrits de l'Iran seldjoukide," *Arts asiatiques* 16 (1967), 3–16, 25–30, and figs. 1–2, 7–12, who attributes the manuscript to Seljuq Iran; Hunt, "Commissioning," 132; James, *Arab Painting*, 22; N. Nassar, "Saljuk or Byzantine," 85, 86, 88–90, 92, 94, 96, and figs. 1, 2, 4; C. Vaudour and J. Mouliérac, eds., *À l'ombre d'Avicenne: La médecine au temps des califes*, catalogue of the exhibition held at the Institut du monde arabe (Paris, 1996), 156, no. 87 and color pls. on 102–3, 156–57, 230, 233; O. Pancaroğlu, "Socializing Medicine: Illustrations of the *Kitāb al-Diryāq*," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 155–72; J. Kerner, "Art in the Name of Science: Illustrated Manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-diryāq*" (PhD diss., New York University, 2004); idem, "Art in the Name of Science: The *Kitāb al-diryāq* in Text and Image," in Contadini, ed., *Arab Painting*.
  26. The bulk of the manuscript is in the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul (Ayasofya 3703), with a number of its folios dispersed in other collections. The colophon names the scribe as 'Abdallah b. al-Fadl, and gives the date Rajab 621 (July–August 1224). See Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 11–12, no. 27; Buchthal, Kurz, and Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes," 151–52, no. 27; 20–34; and 42, figs. 4–31; Grube, "Materialien zum Dioskurides Arabicus," 172–78 and figs. 1–4; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 87–90 and color pls. on 87, 89; and James, *Arab Painting*, 20. For a discussion of certain folios, see B. Gray, "Persian Miniatures," *The British Museum Quarterly* 9 (1935): 88–90, entry no. 58 and pl. XXIV; F. E. Day, "Mesopotamian Manuscripts of Dioscorides," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 8, 49–50 (May 1950): 271–280; Arts Council of Great Britain, *The Arts of Islam*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London (London, 1976), 324, nos. 520–21; Sadek, *Arabic Materia Medica*, 14, no. 11; and Touwaide, *Farmacopea Araba Medievale*, 254, no. 194, and color pls. on 46, 82, 85, 87, 92, 98–99, 254.
  27. Vatican Library, Syr. no. 559. See G. de Jerphanion, *Les miniatures du manuscrit syriaque no. 559 de la Bibliothèque vaticane*

- (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1940); H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts* (London, 1942), 21–22, no. 63; J. Leroy, *Les Manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1964), 280–302, pls. 70–92, 94–99, and color pl. between 4 and 5; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 98 and color pl. on 94; Hunt, "Manuscript Production," 160. The date of this manuscript has been disputed at times, but no convincing argument has yet been put forward for a revision of the 1220 date.
28. British Library, Add. Ms. 7170. See W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, 3 vols. (London, 1870–72), vol. 3, 1204; A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts: Now in the Possession of the Trustees of Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1933–63), vol. 1, cols. 1127–28, no. 590; H. Buchthal, "The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites and Its Relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art," *Syria* 20 (1939): 136–50; Buchthal and Kurtz, *Hand List*, 13–14, no. 19; Leroy, *Manuscrits syriaques*, 302–13 and pls. 70–78, 80–99; H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1997), 385, no. 254 and color pl. 254; L. A. Hunt, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfth to Mid-Thirteenth Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir as-Suriani and the Illustration of the New Testament Ms. Paris, Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo, Bibl. 94," in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam*, vol. 1, 262 and figs. 22–24; L. A. Hunt, "Cultural Transmission: Illustrated Biblical Manuscripts from the Medieval Eastern Christian and Arab Worlds" in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam*, vol. 2, 11; Hunt, "Manuscript Production," 160–62 and fig. 6.
  29. Contadini, *The Kitāb Naʿt al-Hayāwān*.
  30. The latter is in St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, Ms. S 23. See Holter, "Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 13–14, no. 32; Buchthal, Kurz, and Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes," 153, no. 32; D. S. Rice, "The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959): 215, 217, 218, and pl. 1; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 104–11 and color pls. on 106–8, 111–13; O. Grabar, "Pictures or Commentaries: The Illustrations of the Maqāmāt of al-Hariri," in *Studies in Art and Literature of the Near East in Honor of Richard Ettinghausen*, (Salt Lake City, 1974), 97–98 and pl. 3; D. James, "Space-Forms in the Work of the Baghdad Maqāmāt Illustrators, 1225–58," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 37 (1974): 305–6, 314–16 and fig. 4; James, *Arab Painting*, 20–22; O. Grabar, *The Illustrations of the Maqamat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 11, no. 4 and subsequent references in discussions of individual maqāmāt; Y. A. Pétrosyan, ed., *De Bagdad à Ispahan: Manuscrits islamiques de la Filiale de Saint-Petersbourg de l'Institut d'Études Orientales, Académie des Sciences de Russie*, catalogue of an international exhibition held 1994–95 (Paris: Fondation ARCH, 1994), 116–27, which includes 16 color reproductions.
  31. James, *Arab Painting*, 20; A. Contadini, "Islamic Manuscripts and the ARCH Foundation," *Apollo* (Feb. 1995): 29.
  32. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Arabe 5847. This manuscript is dated 6 Ramadan 634 (3 May, 1237), and was both written and illustrated by Yahya b. Mahmud b. Yahya b. Abu 'l-Hasan b. Kuwarriha al-Wasiti. See E. Blochet, *Catalogue des Manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions (1884–1924)* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1925), 125–26; E. Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux—turcs, arabes, persans—de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Éditions de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts (Paris, 1926), 56–58 and pls. X–XIII; "Die Islamischen Miniaturhandschriften," 13, no. 31; Buchthal, Kurz, and Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes," 152–53, no. 31; Buchthal, "Early Islamic Miniatures," 35–37 and figs. 32–33, 37–38, 40; Rice, "The Oldest Illustrated Arabic Manuscript," 215, 216–18, and pl. III; Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 104, 114–24 and col. pls. on 114, 116–19, 121–22; O. Grabar, "Pictures or Commentaries," 85–86, 87–88, 92, 94, 97–99, pls. I–II, V, VIII, XI; James, "Space-Forms," 304–6, 307–9, 313–15, 316–17 and figs. 1, 5; James, *Arab Painting*, 20–22; Grabar, *Illustrations of the Maqamat*, 10–11, no. 3 and subsequent references in discussions of individual maqāmāt; for the frontispieces of this manuscript see Hoffman, "The Author Portrait," 15 and figs. 6a–b.



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*Offprint from:*  
**MUQARNAS**  
An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World  
Volume 23 (2006)

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2006