ARS ORIENTALIS
VOLUME VIII
1970
ARS ORIENTALIS
### CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTICLES</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kubiak, Wladyslaw B.</td>
<td>Medieval Ceramic Oil Lamps from Fustat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atasoy, Nurhan</td>
<td>Four Istanbul Albums and some Fragments from Fourteenth-Century Shah-Namehs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denny, Walter B.</td>
<td>A Sixteenth-Century Architectural Plan of Istanbul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grabar, Oleg</td>
<td>Three Seasons of Excavations at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr Sharqī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adams, Robert McC.</td>
<td>Tell Abū Sarīfa, A Sassanian-Islamic Ceramic Sequence from South Central Iraq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galerkina, Olympiade</td>
<td>On Some Miniatures Attributed to Bihzād from Leningrad Collections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dohanian, Diran K.</td>
<td>The “Elephant Wall” of the Ruwanveli Dāgoba in Anurādhapura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harle, J. C.</td>
<td>On a Disputed Element in the Iconography of Early Mahīṣāsuramardinī Images</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarr, Gary</td>
<td>Chronology and Development of the Chālukya Cave Temples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Joanna</td>
<td>An Unfinished Chaitya Hall: Junnar, Manmodi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawton, Thomas</td>
<td>Notes on Five Paintings from a Ch‘ing Dynasty Collection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovell, Hin-Cheung</td>
<td>Wang Hui’s “Dwelling in the Fu-Ch‘un Mountains”: A Classical Theme, Its Origins and Variations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeda, Robert J.</td>
<td>The Chao Ta-nien Tradition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meister, Michael W.</td>
<td>The Pearl Roundel in Chinese Textile Design</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Board of Editors*

Oleg Grabar  
Richard Edwards  
John A. Pope  
Walter Spink  

EDITORIAL OFFICE: DEPARTMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
MEDIEVAL CERAMIC OIL LAMPS FROM FUSTĀT

BY WLADYSLAW B. KUBIAK *

Among the great mass of ceramic objects excavated at Fustāt by the Archaeological Expedition of the American Research Center in Egypt, oil lamps were very common finds. They occurred throughout all excavation areas and in practically all working levels. So far, not less than several thousands of these objects were uncovered during this excavation. This large number constitutes only a small proportion of all lamps yielded by the Fustāt mounds. Ali Bahgat alone excavated many thousands of them. This was certainly the case in other digs, both authorized and unauthorized, conducted in the area during more than one hundred years. Therefore it is not surprising that today many collections of Islamic art include representative examples of these objects.

In spite of the popularity of Fustāt pottery lamps, not much was known about their chronology until quite recently. Even now, especially in museums, some confusion reigns as far as dating is concerned. Typological grounds are seldom sufficient for the correct dating of an object, and archaeological evidence was almost nonexistent. One had to look for this evidence at other sites, for example Corinth or Antioch which yielded some analogous material. Fustāt mounds were believed to be without value for archaeological chronology. Only recent archaeological research proved that, in spite of the activity of generations of sībāḥ-sifters and all kinds of private diggers and scavengers, the site still retains portions of undisturbed fills with preserved stratification. This, of course, does not automatically solve every chronological problem, but nevertheless it provides more solid ground for dating than traditional formal analysis of objects. It should be noted however that the site of Fustāt, as certainly every other archaeological site, has its specific characteristics which in turn have bearing on the scientific material obtained.

The major part of the city (at least the quarters under excavation) was founded on rock bedding, which was so convenient for foundations that almost every subsequent construction, even the latest, was also built on top of this surface. The natural result was that there was virtually no vertical growth of archaeological strata within the habitations. Theoretically a house from Umayyad times, if it could survive, would be at the same level as a house built in the middle of the Fatimid period. There was generally only one occupation

* The author is Assistant Director, Fustāt Expedition. This study was made possible through funds made available to the American Research Center in Egypt from the Smithsonian Institution.

1 In the Egyptian Antiquities Department storehouse at Fustāt there are still at least several thousands of them.

2 Cf. for instance the opinion stated in A. Bahgat et A. Gabriel, Fouilles d'al-Fustāt, Paris, 1921, p. 4.

layer, the last one; and what was under the floor could as well date from the time of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ as from the period of the early Fātimid Caliphs or be a mixture of all, which was usually the case.

Fortunately there are exceptions to this rule: the fill of the streets. The streets were unpaved, so they could naturally grow in thickness; and they alone, as a rule, show clear stratification. This does not directly help our study because oil lamps are not expected to be usually found in a street fill; but it certainly aids chronology of the site. The main source of our datable lamps are cesspools and sewage canals; but being a part of habitations, these quite naturally yield material mostly from the last stage of occupation which is, with few exceptions, the reign of Mustanṣir or, more precisely, the period of plague and famine around 1070. There were however cases when certain cesspools were abandoned in earlier times, mainly as a result of new constructions in which they did not fit. In such cases they hold material necessarily predating the construction. But this did not occur frequently. One of the reasons was that making a new cesspool must have been fairly expensive (they were hewn many meters deep into the bedrock); therefore, whenever it was possible old ones were adapted to a new construction.

The practical result of this situation for the present study is that we have a fair amount of objects from fills dated roughly in the third quarter of the 11th century; but both earlier and later types lack a sufficient amount of direct dating material, and their chronology has to be established by inference from other facts.

The present study is an attempt to work out a systematic chronology of the more common types of ceramic oil lamps, mostly glazed, excavated at Fustat in a clear archaeological context. It is exclusively based on the specimens discovered during the four seasons of excavation by the Expedition of the American Research Center in Egypt. The field work is not yet finished, and the future will doubtless bring us new material and new evidence. Therefore the conclusions are open to final adjustments, and the typology perhaps will be supplemented. It is hoped however that for the time being this study will fill a gap in our knowledge of Islamic Egyptian lamps and provide an archaeologist with useful information.

The available material has been divided into twelve distinct categories which we chose to designate by the letters of the alphabet. They comprise types which commonly occur from about A.D. 800 to 1500. Other less common types will be briefly discussed without an attempt to classify them. Complete typology, in addition to being unfeasible at the present stage of archaeological research, would have to encompass all known specimens, including rare, imported ones and those of uncertain origin and date. This is beyond the scope of this article.

4 For the Reports see G.T. Scanlon, "Preliminary Report: Excavations at Fustat 1964" in JARCE, vol. 4 (1965), pp. 7-30; "Fustat Expedition: Preliminary Report" 1965-Part I, JARCE, vol. 5 (1966), pp. 82-112; Part II, JARCE, vol. 6 (1967), pp. 63-86; The next Report by W. B. Kubiak and G. T. Scanlon is in preparation. The writer is indebted to Dr. G.T. Scanlon, Director of the Expedition, for yielding at his disposal all records of the excavation, including those of the season 1968, when the writer could participate only in the first month of the field work.
**Type A** (text figs. 1a–b and 2a–b; fig. 1).

The earliest type of ceramic oil lamp from Fustat differs in no important way from the common early Christian form. Lamps were made in a mold (bottom and upper parts separately) in the shape of a pointed oval. The upper part was usually decorated with molded designs in relief of floral, zoomorphic or geometric motifs. Regardless of the decoration, the majority of the excavated lamps belong to two main variants. Both of them have a rounded upper part which meets the bottom part of the lamp at a sharp angle. This type of lamp has a rather large central filling hole surrounded by a shallow circular canal which connects with a wide, straight, shallow trough running from the filling hole to the wick hole at the pointed nozzle end. The main difference between these two variants lies in the shape of the handle and foot. The first variant has a conical handle and a low circular or, at least, rounded ring foot. The second has a handle roughly triangular in section and slightly bent forward at the top (tongue-shaped). The base of this sub-type is usually flat and of the same pointed-oval shape as the lamp itself. Sometimes it is surrounded by a protruding low rim, similar to the ring foot of the first variant.5

Certain lamps of this family, especially (or as it seems almost exclusively) of the second variant, were glazed. The lead glaze was usually dark green but in a few cases was yellow. The same type of glaze was employed on technically similar molded relief wares of the late eight and ninth century.6

The molded decoration on both the glazed and unglazed groups of lamps is generally of a similar kind. It may even seem that the same workshop, using the

---

5 F. E. Day, "Early Islamic and Christian Lamps," *Berytus*, vol. 8 (1942), pp. 65 ff., who discussed the analogous material from Syria and Palestine, regards lamps of both categories to be of different structural types. The author calls them "lamps with conical handles" and "lamps with tongue-shaped handles" or "tongue handle type" respectively. F. O. Waage (*Antioch on the Orontes* III, Princeton, 1941, pp. 67–68 and p. 77, fig. 81) regards them as one type 56.

6 See A. Lane, "Glazed Relief Ware of the Ninth Century A.D.,” *Ars Islamica*, vol. 6 (1939), pp. 56 ff. He discussed lamps on p. 57.
same molds, could produce lamps which were either glazed or unglazed.

Decoration normally covers the upper part of a lamp. The style and decorative motifs on the majority of unglazed lamps follow local tradition, Byzantine-Coptic patterns (as the lamp in fig. 1). Some other unglazed specimens and the majority of glazed ones do not, however, conform to early Christian tradition but rather show influence of what we would call the 'Abbasid or Samarra style of decoration (see text fig. 1). Besides the standard lamps there were certain specimens showing more individual characteristics. They may be regarded as more developed forms of the common type. A few of them deserve mention:

1. A fragmentary lamp, with the top completely flat, of the same pointed-oval shape as the flat bottom. The trough between the filling hole and the wick hole, which is a common feature of pointed-oval lamps, was not present except for decorative value (a few straight lines in the usual place of the trough).

2. Another fragmentary lamp, yellow tin glazed, with a trough only as a decorative mark and a completely rounded bottom without a foot. A rear part of both lamps was broken, therefore the shape of the handle is unknown; presumably it was of the triangular type.

3. A lamp with only a decorative trough perhaps regarded as an intermediary form which developed into a wheel-made type with a handle. It is of elliptical shape with a small, round foot and large loop-handle which goes from the filling hole to the back of the lamp (text fig. 2a and b).

4. A lamp found in the context of the ninth and early tenth century which is a rare example of a zoomorphic type. It is roughly oval and has general characteristics of the Type A lamps, but the shape was largely modified to imitate the head of a crocodile. It has two wick holes, representing nostrils of a crocodile, and a small loop-handle. It might be regarded as a transitional form.

Text Fig. 2 a and b.
Lamps of Type A were made of either red or grey clay. The latter one seems more common. Our research does not show preference for either kind of clay in application to particular sub-types or modes of decoration. Similarly, also glazed lamps are either red or grey ware. Both clays are usually of good quality: hard, heavy and fine grain. They seem to be local, especially the red clay, which is similar to the clay used in some common pottery wares from earlier strata of Fustat. Approximately the same kind of clay was used to make certain lamps of Type B and G. Grey clay is usually unlike any other common grey ware of this time and distinctly differs from that of later types of lamps.

Most of the Fustat lamps of Type A, either glazed or unglazed, with the exception of those, fairly numerous, found in disturbed upper strata of excavation, came from deposits roughly dated to the ninth and tenth centuries. Several specimens, rather unexpectedly, came from deposits dated as late as the second half of the 11th century. These were, for instance, the fragment of an unglazed lamp with a ring foot and decorated with a cross (i.e. of the 1st variant) which came from the pit VI1-23-E, and the lamp of the 2nd variant from the pit U in the Quadrant XXI-8.10 Fills of both pits were dated by the glass weights of al-Mustansir. Another lamp, green glazed, was found in an undisturbed layer of sebakh which filled the empty place left by a dismantled wall. From other evidence, it was proved that the wall was dismantled after this part of the city was definitely abandoned, and this could not have happened before the "great calamity," i.e. around the year A.D. 1070. Other pottery of the late Fatimid date found in the same location corroborates the late 11th-century date of the fill.

No lamp as yet has come from any location which could be undisputedly dated to the seventh and eighth centuries.11 The absence of datable early finds does not, evidently, prove that lamps of this type were not used at Fustat before the 9th century. The type was certainly used during pre-Islamic times and must have been common at Fustat as well as in other Near Eastern countries during the first centuries of Islam.12 On the other hand the occurrence of lamps of this type in late fills would be indicative that they were used throughout the first half of the Fatimid rule in Egypt.13

10 This deposit will be discussed in the Fustat Report 1966 (in preparation).
11 One lamp of the first subtype was found in the pit together with a coin of the Emperor Heraclius, but other objects did not permit dating the fill prior to the 9th century.
12 For instance the specimens from Antioch are regarded as "the VIc. lamps par excellence," cf. Antiocb-on-the Oronites III, p. 67. According to Day, op. cit., pp. 70–73, where further references are also given, conical handle type should be assigned to the Umayyad period, and the tongue handle type, originally Umayyad, continuing in the 'Abbásid period. Two Egyptian lamps of the latter type with Kufic inscription, published by J. D. Weil, "Note sur deux lampes Egyptiennes en terre quite," in Syria, vol. 28 (1951), pp. 265–268, were also assigned to the 'Abbásid period (ca. A.D. 860) on epigraphical grounds.
13 One lamp of this type, with an Arabic inscription, a surface find from 'Athlit, according to C. N. Johns, "Excavations of Pilgrim's Castle" ('Athlit), Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, vol. 1 (1932), p. 129 and pl. LIII,
Our material does not allow more precise dating nor does it provide grounds for more exact typology. Both described variants seem to have been used simultaneously, at least, through the ninth and tenth centuries; and the glazed lamps intermingled with the others. It is, however, doubtful if the glazed category came into use before Abbasid times.

Another problem which cannot be satisfactorily solved now is the provenance of Fustat specimens. Since no wasters were recorded, there is no direct evidence of the local manufacture. Use of clays, which also occurred in other wares commonly found at Fustat, and modes of decoration would however indicate the local production.

**Type B (text fig. 3a–b; figs. 2–4).**

Contrary to lamps of Type A, which are unquestionably the earliest in Medieval Egypt under Islam, there is a certain confusion as to which type of lamps developed next. There are two, perhaps four, types which can be considered as the chronological successors of Type A. Archaeology as yet does not satisfactorily answer the question, and purely typological considerations are difficult because of the complete change of production techniques. Molding was replaced by throwing, and therefore normal transitional types do not exist to indicate the supposed course of typological evolution.

Superficially lamps of Type D without a projecting nozzle seem closer in shape to the early oval-pointed Type A lamps than the Type B lamps. But from the technical point of view, production of the Type B lamps was much simpler than the others; and this, besides some other typological and archaeological indications which we will discuss later, was the decisive, although not conclusive, criteria for establishing the chronological sequence of types.

Lamps of this wheel-made type are usually small: the bodies average about 6 cm., though some occur as large as 8 cm. and as small as 5 cm. The oil container (the body) is usually bowl-shaped, not very deep, with slightly rounded sides. Its top part meets the sides at an angle and rises a little toward the filling hole. Some vari-
ants of this type are all rounded and, with the exception of a flat foot, are almost spheroidal. In the center of the top there is a round filling hole proportionally large and without a neck. The rather unpronounced foot is round and flat; sometimes there is no foot at all, only a flat round bottom. At one point the side of the container is pierced through to give the wick an outlet to a protruding, slightly pointed, and rather short nozzle. On the opposite end of the container there is a small handle which has the shape of a long conical stub lapped over toward the filling hole. It can be assumed that this particular shape of handle originated from handles of Type A. Slightly bent handles, both conical and triangular, could inspire introduction of a new shape. A simple stub handle, roughly conical with a crudely cut top, observed on one specimen could be regarded as an intermediary form. Another unglazed example has a small tongue handle, exactly as the Type A, variant 2.

Another feature, which recalls earlier lamps made in a mold, is a circular canal around the filling holes observed on many lamps of the present type. Generally the evolution of Islamic lamps from Fustat goes from neckless and stub handle types to those with a loop handle and a prominent neck. Within the group discussed, the development can be traced on a number of specimens. The lamp in figure 3, with the top almost of Type C, has a small loop handle with a nib on top which is characteristic of Type F and the successive ones. The lamp in figure 4 developed a high flaring neck and a spheroid-elliptical body.

Most lamps of Type B are glazed although unglazed ones are not rare. Glaze is always applied both inside and outside. Most common was an early type of a green, olive-brown or yellow-brown lead glaze. In addition, tin glazes, white, white with green splashes, brown, pale yellow and light green were used.

Some of these lamps are carefully made and well potted, but many are quite crude. All of them are rather heavy with thick walls disproportionate to the small size of objects. The clay used was either red, similar (though not identical) to Type A, or grey. Occasionally a buff or yellowish, sandy clay also occurs. This is similar to the clay of the majority of later lamps.

Most of the undisturbed fills which yielded lamps of this type could be dated roughly to the middle Fatimid period. Terminus ante quem of several deposits provided glass weights of al-Mustansir, although some associated artifacts, especially pottery, glass and bone objects, could be dated to the early Fatimid or even pre-Fatimid times. It seems therefore that the safe date for the Type B lamps would be the 10th and 11th centuries. The same, or slightly later date, would probably also apply to similar lamps found at Qal’a of the Banu Hammad. It is likely, however, that the type developed much earlier. Lamps of this type with a single stub handle were found in a trial pit at the Ribat of Susa in the layer which corresponds with the construction of the first Ribat, i.e., probably before the year 796. At Fustat, however, no evidence has been discovered so far to support such an early date. On the contrary, the
types of glazes commonly applied to those lamps in all probability did not develop before 'UJunid times.

**Type C (text fig. 4a-b; figs. 5 and 6).**

Lamps of this group are usually much larger than the preceding type. The body varies from 6 to 8 cm. in diameter. It has usually a straight-sided body which is rounded near the flat, footless bottom. The top was turned separately on the wheel. It slopes from the filling hole to the edge of the oil container, then slightly rises to form a distinct edge at the joint. Sometimes there is a short neck or a collar around the filling hole. A flat loop handle is attached with one end to the rim of the filling hole (or the neck) and with the other to the side of the body. Opposite the handle there is a nozzle, proportionately short, of the same sort as on the Type B lamps, which connects with the container through a wick hole. Occasionally there are lamps with two nozzles (see fig. 6).

All recorded specimens are glazed. Both lead and tin glazes are equally common. The range of colors is practically the same as on lamps of Type B. The only difference is that a few examples are decorated with a turquoise tin glaze, the kind which occurs often on later Fātimid pottery.

The majority of objects in this category which were studied are very well potted, with relatively thin walls, carefully shaped and glazed all around. The clay is usually of the same kind throughout the series: pinkish, pinkish-brown or pinkish-grey, medium-hard and coarse-grained, almost sandy. This clay is unlike that of the other lamps, a fact which would point to one, highly-specialized center of production. A few examples, usually much cruder, are of yellow-buff, rather soft, sandy clay, typical for local products.

Development of this type from the preceding one is attested to by a number of transitional specimens in both groups. Chronologically Types B and C seem roughly contemporary, although Type C probably lasted longer. The approximate date is the 10th and 11th centuries.

**Type D (text fig. 5a-b; fig. 7).**

This particularly common type has a very simple form. The lamp is composed of a round, shallow, saucer-like body with vertical sides rounded at the bottom and a
small, round flat foot. The side of the body is pierced by a wick-hole, at which point there is attached a short nozzle of the same type as in the *Types B* and *C*. There is no handle. Lamps of this type are lead glazed, usually yellow-brown, sometimes with spots of green pigment. The clay is buff-grey or pinkish-buff, rather soft and coarse grain. The lamps can be roughly dated to the 10th and 11th centuries.

**Type E** (*text fig. 6a–b; fig. 8*).

These very characteristic lamps are typologically related to *Type C*; but the distinction between the body and the top here is much more pronounced, and there is no protruding nozzle. The lamps are composed of two parts turned separately on a wheel. One part is a rounded saucer-shaped base with a small round, slightly protruding flat foot; it forms the bottom part of the lamp. The other part is a semi-globular top. This top has a slightly smaller diameter than the “saucer” so as to fit deep into it. As a result, the “saucer’s” sides protrude considerably above the joint of the two parts. A filling hole in the center of the top is surrounded by a prominent col-
The handle is attached with one end to the filling hole collar and with the other to the side of the base. A wick-hole is in the side of the semi-globular top, opposite the handle. The rim of the “saucer” at this point is slightly bent down to form a small nozzle. All known specimens are glazed, sometimes with the exception of the bottom. The glaze is usually transparent green or green-turquoise. One specimen, made of red clay, with yellow tin glaze over the cream slip, was also found. Another one was covered with dark brown-manganese glaze. The body is ordinarily of a buff, soft and coarse grain clay, practically the same color and texture as the other common kinds of Fuṣṭṭāt glazed pottery. Its use for local manufacturing of wares is attested to by many pottery wasters, although no waster-lamps of Type E have been found.

There are not many lamps of this type recorded at Fuṣṭṭāt. Their date roughly corresponds to those of Types B, C and D. Lamps of this type are fairly common in the Valley of Orontes and in Corinth where earlier unglazed variants are also recorded. Numerous lamps of this type, but with brown glaze, were found at Corinth together with coins from the time of John Tzemiscēs. This date, however, seems too early for Fuṣṭṭāt. Also the date of the Antioch specimens, assumed to the 9th–10th centuries, should be put forward to the 10th–11th centuries at Fuṣṭṭāt. As, however, no earlier prototypes are found in Egypt, it is possible that our specimens originated by imitating foreign models, hence the later date.

Type F (text fig. 7a–b; fig. 9).

This is another very distinct group of lamps closely related to Type E. They are generally larger and much cruder than the others. The body is cylindrical with a flat footless bottom, and the sides rise above the slightly concave top cover. It forms a prominent rim much more pronounced than that of Type C. The top of the container of many specimens has a simple openwork decoration of a row of longish triangular holes. Sometimes there are only

---

17 Cf. Waage, op. cit., p. 68, type 58a (ills. on pl. p. 77), fig. 81.
Fig. 1.—Lamp. Type A.

Fig. 2.—Lamp. Type B.

Fig. 3.—Lamp. Type B.

Fig. 4.—Lamp. Type B.

Fig. 5.—Lamp. Type C.

Fig. 6.—Lamp. Type C.
Fig. 7.—Lamp. Type D.

Fig. 8.—Lamp. Type E.

Fig. 9.—Lamp. Type F.

Fig. 10.—Lamp. Type G.

Fig. 11.—Lamp. Type H.

Fig. 12.—Lamp. Type I.
Fig. 13—Foot of lamp. Type I.

Fig. 14.—Waister of lamp. Type I.

Fig. 15.—Lamp. Type J.

Fig. 16.—Waister of lamp. Type J.

Fig. 17.—Lamp. Type K.

Fig. 18.—Lamp. Type L.
Fig. 21.—Fatimid lamp.

Fig. 22.—Lamp with a stand.

Fig. 19.—Lamp. Pre-Islamic Egyptian molded (African).

Fig. 20.—Fatimid lamp.
a few of them between the neck and the nozzle; sometimes they are all around the cover. A high funnel-neck with a flaring rim leads to a small central filling hole. A handle is attached with one end to the top and the neck and with the other to the rim of the container. Usually it is large and high and at the top has a pointed nib. The nozzle is of the same kind as on earlier types (B, C and D), but it is proportionately longer and heavier. It is slightly pointed at the end, and the wick channel is oval when viewed from above. Sometimes, from the rim of the body on both sides of a nozzle two small nubs protrude. Almost all fully developed examples are glazed with a turquoise tin glaze. A few have a bluish-green glaze; and only the earlier, transitional examples, with a shorter neck and a body with a less prominent rim and rounded bottom edge, such as the Type C, are differently glazed (brown, yellow, milky-brown).

The buff-grey clay is soft and coarse grained of the same general sort (except a slightly different color) as that of lamps of Type E and some others.

Some lamps of this type came from undisturbed fills together with other finds of the middle Fatimid period. Many more were found in the later dump mixed up with elements of different times, but predominantly of the late Fatimid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. A large number of these objects in the dump would indicate that they were common in the period when Fustat already had become a kharāb (rubbish mound). It is however doubtful if the short nozzle types of lamps survived for long in the post-Fatimid period. Therefore, the proposed date would be the second half of the 11th and the 12th centuries. The discovery of similar lamps at the Qal’a of Bānū Hammād, would indicate the approximate date.

Type G (text fig. 8a-b; fig. 10).

With the introduction of this type the large family of long nozzle lamps, which dominated production in post-Fatimid

times, began. The shape differs considerably from lamp forms known before, although some elements were already developed on earlier types.

The body is spheroidal, slightly flattened and squat on a well-pronounced, slightly concave foot. It has a large, tall neck
with flaring sides and a slim, long straight nozzle. But some, presumably early, specimens with a large body have a disproportionately thin and rather short nozzle. The small ring handle is attached to the upper part of the body and the neck. On its top there is a small flat triangular slab to support a fingertip; on later types this is transformed to the shape of a nib protruding from the handle itself.

Early examples are usually well potted with thin carefully turned walls; later ones are more crude with wider nozzles, a more globular body and a narrower neck. Some specimens are close to certain variants of a later group, Type I, which certainly developed from this type. The only difference lies in the shape of the handle, which here is always small and approximately ring-shaped.

All known examples are glazed inside and outside. Usually the foot is left unglazed. The normally used glaze is transparent green or greenish-blue of siliceous type. On better examples of a presumably earlier, squat variety sometimes a simple sgraffito under-glaze decoration is applied. The technique and glaze of this variant is the same as of the so-called late Fatimid under-glaze sgraffito pottery of the Fustat type.

The body is of the same standard clay as that of Types E and F, which is soft and sandy. It is, however, normally of a better whitish-buff quality of clay.

Many specimens found in undisturbed fills were associated with objects of the middle Fatimid period. They were also found together with lamps of Type F. The safe date of this type is the 11th and earlier part of the 12th century, although some late variants continued much later.

**Type H (text fig. 9a–b; fig. 11).**

The next group of lamps, roughly contemporary to the two preceding ones, belongs to the same large family of the long-nozzle lamps. The shape, however, is quite distinctly different. Its main characteristics are a very small spheroidal body with a flat footless bottom and a long, straight and rather wide nozzle rounded at the end, usually with the short, pointed triangular tongue above the wick-hole, at the point where the nozzle meets the body. The nozzle is disproportionately large for the small size of the body. The neck is wide and tall with straight flaring sides. A prominent, rounded handle, with a nib on its top, is attached with one end to the neck and the other to the body. The handle and nozzle are so well balanced in size that in spite of a relatively small body the lamp looks pleasant and well-proportioned.

There is a variant of this type with a
lager body of characteristic conical shape. The filling hole inside the prominent neck is usually small. Otherwise the main characteristics are the same with the exception of the glaze which is always of a pale yellow tin type and of poor quality. Regular specimens most commonly are tin glazed, dark green, bright yellow-green, yellow with light green pigment, or whitish-green; rarely the glaze is transparent brown without an admixture of tin. Many specimens are unglazed.

The clay is always dark or medium red, soft and somewhat gritty. It is different from the clays of other lamps, but not unusual in other red wares from Fustât. This, as well as the rather distinct glaze, would however point to a very individualized center of production, perhaps outside Cairo.

Lamps of this type were often found within the middle Fatimid context, sometimes together with specimens of Types F and G. They most probably continued throughout the 12th century. Late dating is confirmed by frequent finds of the same lamps at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria in the early Ayyubid Layer, dated by the underlaying, well-dated, late Fatimid necropolis and the ceramics. The date is approximately the second half of the 11th and the 12th centuries.

**Type I (text figs. 10a–b and 11a–b; figs. 12–14).**

This very numerous group of late lamps, although largely differentiated by certain details of shape and decoration, is

sufficiently homogeneous to regard it as one type. It clearly is derived from more developed varieties of Type G. The main difference is a single or double loop-handle with or without a nib on the top, a larger nozzle rectangular in shape when viewed from above, and a glazed, flat or slightly concave foot with an incised ring inside (see fig. 13). The neck is tall with a flaring rim or with straight flaring sides, but also sometimes cylindrical or with a wide collar on the top. The handle is attached with the one end in the middle of the neck and with the other in the middle of the globular body. A great majority of the lamps, perhaps 90 per cent, conform to this description. Half of them are glazed with turquoise tin glaze and the other half with green transparent glaze of various shades, mostly deep dark-green. Better examples are very well proportioned and, having a nice shiny color, present a pleasant image.

Besides the standard lamps, described above, there exist many varieties, different in shape and decoration: for example, lamps with two or three nozzles, or with one nozzle with two or three wick channels. Only the variant with three nozzles presents more individuality because of their radial arrangement. Otherwise the shape of the body, neck, foot and nozzle is unchanged.

A common type of decoration is a primitive relief kind. It consists of simple decorative elements such as rosettes, button-like circles, pearls and mere knobs and rods applied to the body of a lamp, sometimes stamped in extra clay and covered with a regular glaze. An equally frequent occurrence is an extra decoration applied to the handle. Another is a painted decoration, usually of simple geometric motives; it is painted under transparent glaze in the usual Mamlûk technique and with the use of the same colors: namely blue, black and white. Other, usually cruder examples are painted in blue and manganese. Very infrequent is the application of the otherwise very common Mamlûk potters' decorative technique of sgraffito under the lead glaze. A number of lamps, apparently very early examples of the type, were covered with a good quality white or slightly bluish tin glaze with smudges of blue and manganese pigment. This kind of glaze sometimes used along with the lustre decoration is usually associated with the late Fāṭimid pottery.

Clay used for production was almost exclusively of the same calcareous, coarse grain, whitish, greyish or buff kind as that used frequently by the potters of Fustâṭ. Wasters of lamps found during the excavation (fig. 14) leave but little doubt that they were locally manufactured.

Lamps of Type I occur in the dump of the late period. A thick layer of this dump has been, as we know, thoroughly disturbed; nevertheless innumerable objects of the Mamlûk period, which make up as much as about nine tenths of all finds from this layer, give a prevalent Mamlûk date. In addition to that, the types of decoration, in most cases distinctly Mamlûk in style and technique, help to attribute the majority of the lamps of Type I to that late period of Egyptian history. On the other hand, certain modes of decoration on some examples

20 Good example of a three-nozzle lamp is illustrated in A. Bahgat and F. Massoul, op. cit., pl. LVII, fig. 5.

21 Ibid., pl. LVI, fig. 1.
are attributed to an earlier date. All facts considered, the proposed date would be from the second half of the 12th through the 14th or even 15th centuries.

**TYPE J** *(text fig. 12 a–b; figs. 15–16)*.

There is a close relationship between these lamps and those of **Type E**. Some authors classify them even within the same category. In our opinion, however, there is a sufficient dissimilarity in techniques and clay to justify the separate classification.

Generally the type is a considerable simplification of **Type E**, and the specimens are usually much cruder, although the main characteristics remain much the same. These include a saucer-body, separately turned on the wheel, which here is considerably deeper with straight flaring sides and a semi-globular top. About half of the flaring sides are pinched in to form a kind of high nozzle. This is quite prominent in comparison with a small depression in a lip characteristic of the **Type E** group. The bottom is usually flat, but some specimens have a well-pronounced foot, a characteristic of the **Type I** group. A small semi-globular top, separately turned on the wheel, is attached deep to the “saucer” to form an oil container. It has a short, straight neck; and in one side, opposite the nozzle, there is a wick-hole. The handle is attached with one end to the neck and top, with the other to the rim of the “saucer.”

The majority of our specimens are covered with monochromatic lead glaze tinted brown. A few are covered with dark green glaze. Both kinds of glaze are of the same type as on the common Mamluk sgraffito pottery. Wasters *(fig. 16)* attest to local production. The clay is always of the same sort: brownish-red, rather soft, medium grain. It is the same kind as that used in the **Type H** lamps.

All specimens were found in the layer of the late medieval rubbish, in the same context as the lamps of **Type I**. The approximate date is the 13th (?) 14th and 15th centuries, which roughly corresponds to the assumed date given the specimens from the Valley of Orontes.23

22 Cf. Waage, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and fig. 81, type 58 b, c.

23 *Loc. cit.* A similar lamp was found in Athlit together with coins of the late 12th and 13th cen-
The date is probably much the same, although progressive simplification would point to a slightly later development of the form. More precise chronology is not possible in view of insufficient evidence.

**Type L (text fig. 14a–b; fig. 18).**

The shape of this type of lamp follows the external form of J and K, but they are plain inside without any top or handle. They developed, however, a well-pronounced, rather heavy, low ring foot. This type is thickly potted, rather crude and glazed in green.

The clay is brown-red or greyish, medium soft and coarse grained. The date is probably late and post Mamlûk. ²⁴

Besides the lamps classified, there are some others of various shapes which do not correspond to the characteristics of the common types. There are individual examples which do not appear in series, rare types, or fragmentary specimens not sufficiently preserved to allow their proper classification. Some others are similar to foreign types and more than likely were imported from outside Egypt. These small, relatively strong objects could have been easily transported, so there probably existed a substantial commerce in lamps throughout the Middle Ages. Egyptian lamps found in other Mediterranean countries bear witness to this commerce, which doubtlessly must have had two directions. In spite of that only very few specimens found at Fustât can be safely attributed to a foreign source. Since the technical ideas and concepts of forms travelled freely

²⁴ F. O. Waage for the Antioch specimens gives the date post-medieval, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
pointed-oval lamps. A few of them, un-glazed, could be attributed to pre-Islamic types, as for example lamps referred to by Waage as “African” but which are clearly derived from pre-Muslim types manufactured in Egypt or are the genuine imported specimens. Lamps from this group were recorded once or twice at Fustat (fig. 19). Some other fragmentary examples are glazed and Islamic in style, probably Fatimid. They usually are of angular shape, sometimes with the handle side of the body rounded and decorated in deep molded relief.

Another group would be hand-made lamps. They are usually luxury objects, sometimes of zoomorphical shapes decorated with luster. Very few objects of this group have been recorded. They could be attributed more than likely to the Fatimid period. It seems likely that certain shapes of the molded and hand-made pottery lamps followed the metal models.

The next group would constitute “open lamps,” that is the lamps with an oil container without a top cover (as Types D, K and L). They are relatively numerous but differ largely in shape, size, and decoration. Listing of particular lamps would serve no purpose here, especially since they cannot be associated with any particular period.

A number of specimens and fragments, although with characteristics of the large family of lamps with protruding nozzle and a top cover, cannot be attributed to any of our types (figs. 20 and 21).

Text Fig. 14 a and b.

throughout the medieval world, exclusively typological studies do not always give conclusive proof for the origin of particular objects.

Within our unclassified finds certain groups can be distinguished:

First, is the group of molded lamps which do not fit into the common type of

25 It might be generally stated that lamps of the medieval Mediterranean countries show much similarity. On the other hand lamps from the Eastern Islamic hinterland, as for example Persia, produced much different forms. For lamps from Iran and Central Asia cf. J. Lacam, Etude et classement des lampes a huile musulmanes (Collections des Musées français), Cahiers de Byrsa, vol. 3 (1953), pp. 197–203 and plates, passim.

26 It is his type 54, op. cit., p. 67 and fig. 80.
27 An example is illustrated in A. Bahgat and F. Massouli, op. cit., pl. LVII, fig. 4.
28 Ibid., pl. LVII, fig. 5 and pl. LVII, fig. 7.
29 Ibid., pl. LVII, fig. 2.
Lastly there is a fairly numerous group of lamps attached to a stand. Some of them, which belong to the best known group, have on top of the tall stem a small lamp (a Type L shape; fig. 22). As a base they probably had a flat plate with low sides. The date of recorded specimens would be roughly the 12th and 13th centuries, but perhaps later as well.

The other kind which can be called "ring lamps" were in the shape of a circular pipe-like channel attached to the hollow stem. The "pipe" holds oil. It opened into a nozzle of a normal Type G shape. Presumably several lamps were attached, one above the other, to one tall, vertical stem. The shape of the base is unknown. The form of the nozzle and the type of glaze (white tin with blue and manganese splashes) give the 12th century as the approximate date of these lamps.

*Ibid.*, pl. LVII, fig. 6, which represents a rather early specimen.
FOUR ISTANBUL ALBUMS AND SOME FRAGMENTS FROM FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SHAH-NAMEHS

BY NURHAN ATASOY *

The albums (muraqqa'), perhaps the most valuable works in the Topkapi Saray Library, contain material of great importance for the history of miniatures. This library, which was formed by joining several collections, possesses more than 40 albums. A great variety of material is found in them: miniatures, including Persian, Ottoman, and Indian miniatures from the 14th to the 18th centuries; Chinese and Japanese prints and European lithographs; and examples of calligraphy, cut pattern works and designs.

The art of preparing albums began and developed in the 16th century, when some of the present albums were prepared; others date from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. Full page miniatures appear in later albums which are more attentively and carefully assembled.

In this large collection, the albums numbered H. 2152, H. 2153, H. 2154, and H. 2160 are of particular value since they contain literary and calligraphic works as well as miniatures which are unique or very rare. The arrangement of the individual albums is rather unusual: with the exception of H. 2154, they display a disregard for methodical gathering of material. The miniatures and the pieces of calligraphy have been pasted in the albums without trying to achieve any uniformity in style, subject matter, or dimensions. When the miniature or design was too large for the page, the protruding part was cut off and pasted elsewhere. So these three albums are a haphazard compilation, possibly meant for use as a model for further work. Obviously copied designs, half-finished images, numerous copies of certain scenes, human or animal figures in various poses support this view.

In spite of numerous publications we cannot say that the albums have been properly evaluated. Küehnel’s statement in his article published after the 1910 Munich exhibition that the albums would be published by the Ottoman Museums Administration has not been realized.2

The variety of the material in the albums, the certainty that the existing signatures were added later, the fact that many illustrations to specific texts were pasted in the albums without their texts, and a lack of records concerning the date and place of preparation of the albums and of the acquisition of their contents constitute a serious stumbling block for those studying them. Definitive and sound conclusions about the albums may be reached only after a lengthy and systematic cooperation

* Professor of History of Art, University of Istanbul.
1 Revan no. 2059, 9 miniatures; Bagdat no. 411, 6 miniatures; Bagdat no. 407, 7 miniatures; Bagdat no. 408, 44 miniatures; Emanet Hazinesi no. 2836, 2 miniatures; Emanet Hazinesi no. 2841, 6 miniatures. Hazine Library possesses the greatest amount of albums with miniatures: nos. 2132 through 2170.
among specialists. Since general studies on individual paintings would not suffice for a satisfactory evaluation, the existing material should be divided into groups according to various stylistic, iconographic, or other categories and studied accordingly. A study of European paintings would be useful for accurate dating of the gathering of the material and for throwing light on the relations between the West and the Near East. (See A.M. Hind, “Fifteenth Century Italian Engravings at Constantinople,” Print Collectors Quarterly, vol. 20, 1933.) Such a comparative study is essential for an evaluation of the design. Too, a separate study of paintings on religious themes and illustrations of certain literary passages would fill many gaps in the history of painting.

Fragment of illustrations for the Shah-nameh exhibit important stylistic characteristics and thus are vital for the study of the development of the history of painting in the East. Very few of the illustrations have been identified, studied, and published. This is easily explained when we remember that, with very few exceptions, the accompanying text was removed before the miniature was pasted in the album. To add to the difficulties, the paintings which belong to the second half of the 14th and to the beginning of the 15th centuries may also be illustrations for books other than the Shah-nameh.

Although it is not always difficult to determine the theme of certain scenes, the fact that some scenes, especially battles, fit several themes equally well does not make the researcher’s job any easier. Another difficulty is that throughout the centuries several popular themes were adopted by other literary works, and one cannot easily include or exclude these from the Shah-nameh tradition. On such occasions other literary works were referred to, and an attempt was made to overcome the difficulties by comparing scenes definitely belonging to the Shah-nameh with the doubtful ones. Style, color, quality, decoration and composition were taken into consideration when identifying and grouping those fragments that show similarities.

**Information Concerning the Albums**

**Inventory no. H. 2153** (previously numbered 1720, 37084).

**Description:**

Measures 51 by 34 cm.

Printed in gold.

Compiled during the reign of Abdül-hamid II.

Red leather binding torn.

**Contents:**

There are 199 folios containing material ranging from Chinese works to European lithographs pasted haphazardly. Among these, a group of paintings which shows strong Chinese influence and a complete ignorance of Iranian painting is striking. This group, which is known through “Master Muhammad Siyah Qalam,” occupies a special place in the history of Eastern painting. We see paintings from this same group also in the album Inventory no. H. 2160. Besides the “Muhammad Siyah Qalam” group, this album contains Shah-nameh scenes which, by virtue of their high quality, style and the period to which they belong, deserve an important place in the history of miniatures. Since many artists bear the surname “Ya’qubi,” this album must have been prepared for the
Sultan Ya’qub Ak-Quyunlu and is therefore named after him. Because it contains several portraits of Mehmed the Conqueror, the album has been mistakenly ascribed to the Conqueror and called The Album of the Conqueror.

**Inventory no. H. 2160 (previously numbered 2494, 47935).**

Description:
- Measures 35 by 51 cm.
- Binding bearing the seal of Abdülhamid II not original.

Contents:
- It has 90 folios and contains 110 miniatures, designs and paintings in Chinese style. The paintings have been carelessly cut before being pasted into the album; for instance, we find the legs of the duck on folio 43a stuck on folio 46a. This album contains very few miniatures which we can identify as Shah-nameh illustrations. This album is also referred to as the Ya’qub Beg album because of its similarities to H. 2153.

**Inventory no. H. 2152 (previously numbered 1719, 37083).**

Description:
- Measures 50 by 69 cm.
- Printed in gold.
- Red leather binding bearing the seal of Abdülhamid II not original.

Contents:
- It has 97 folios containing 498 miniatures, designs, paintings in Chinese style and lithographs (designs are in the majority). Some of the designs and miniatures have been pasted upside down. The first 31 folios of the album contain specimens of calligraphy. On folio 32a begins the genealogical table of the Mongolian Khans in Uygur script. Their portraits which were cut off from a long scroll were framed in squares or circles and painted red. The portraits are interrupted by examples of calligraphy. Since it contains signed specimens of writing by Bāysonghör Mīrzā and his brother, Ibrahim Mīrzā, Zeki Velidi Togan claims that it was produced at Herat for Bāysonghör Mīrzā by Amīr Khalīl.³

**Inventory no. H. 2154 (previously numbered 1721, 37085).**

Description:
- Measures 48 by 35 cm.

Contents:
- This album, known as The Album of Bahrām Mīrzā, contains 149 folios, two pages bearing the number 7 so one mistakenly thinks it has 148 folios. It contains 61 paintings which have been very carefully prepared. The edges of the pages have gold decorations. Beautiful examples of calligraphy, Chinese works, miniatures, and designs have been cut very carefully and pasted in the album. Among the miniatures from the 14th to the 16th centuries there is also a large Western portrait of a male (folio 115a, 36.5 by 24.5 cm.).
- In the medallion of folio 1a of the album is written “Bi resm-i kutubbâne-i Shebriyâr Abul Fath Bahrām jem-i iqti-dâr” which indicates that the album was made for the library of Bahrām Mīrzā, brother of Tahmâsp, the Safavid ruler. The page following this has a miniature portraying Tahmâsp, the reigning monarch. Over the miniature which depicts Tahmâsp at a banquet we read “majlis-i surat-i

Tahmāsp al-Ḥusaynī (painting of the meeting of Tahmāsp al-Ḥusaynī).

Bahram Mirza’s other brother, Shāh Sām Mirzā, states in his “Tūhfe-i Sām” that Bahram Mirzā died in 1549 when he was 33, had very expensive tastes, and was an extravagant and highly intelligent person who was skilled in calligraphy, painting, poetry, and music.

At the beginning of the album folio 8b-17b appears a history of painting from the 14th century onwards written by Dūst Muhammed entitled “Account of Past and Present Painters.” The first two pages of the text are beautifully illuminated. At the beginning Dūst Muhammed explains how Bahram Mirza became interested in calligraphy and that he instructed him to collect in an album the scattered masterpieces of past and present calligraphers from the 14th century onwards and, at the end, gives 1544 as the date of completion.

An important aspect of the treatise is the fact that Dūst Muhammed states the areas in which calligraphers or painters excelled. For example, Amīr Dawlat Yār, a slave of Sultan Abu Sa‘īd and pupil of Ahmad Mūsā, specialized in black and white drawing; Amīr Khālīl was unstandably unique in “dar tariq-i Khud,” his own invention; Ustādh Kamāl al-Dīn Husayn had no rivals in line (tırāb). All this makes it clear what importance was attached to techniques other than painting.

Dūst Muhammed’s account is followed in the album by examples of calligraphy and miniatures among which are the Mīrāj-nameh miniatures by Ahmad Mūsā, the great painter of the Il-Khanid period, to whom Dūst Muhammed refers as “the man who lifted the veil from painting.” The following are listed as his works: Abu Sa‘īd-nameh; Kalilah wa Dimnah; Mīrāj-nameh (as copied by Mawlana Abd Allah); and the history of Genghis. Of these, the Mīrāj-nameh illustrations have been separated from their text and are in this album. Some of the manuscripts mentioned by Dūst Muhammed exist today: Bāysonghōr’s Shah-nameh is in all probability the large size Shah-nameh dated 1429–30 in the Gulistan Museum in Teheran today. Though there is no definite proof for this, the presentation miniature showing Bāysonghōr during a hunt increases such probability.

The fragments of Shah-namehs included in these four albums depict different periods and styles. Those identifiable as belonging to the 14th century are found in two albums, H.2153 and H.2160.

SHAH-NAMEH SCENES IN THE ALBUMS

As indicated earlier, very few of the Shah-nameh illustrations scattered throughout the four albums appear com-

---

5 This was first discovered by Mehmet Ağanoğlu. The album was sent in 1931 to London for an exhibition held at Burlington House and a summary of this section appeared in the catalogue published for their exhibition (ibid., pp. 183-33). Three years later the Persian text was published (see M. Abdullah Chaghatai, Ed., A Treatise on Calligraphists and Miniaturists by Dost Muhammad, the Librarian of Bebram Mirza, d. 1500, Lahore, 1936).
7 Though this article describes all four albums, it is concerned primarily with the two albums mentioned above. The author hopes to publish the remaining Shah-nameh fragments in the future.
plete with the accompanying text. Some were, in fact, not made as illustrations for books but probably executed as individual paintings to be shown during the recitation of Shab-nameh. As a result of our comparative study of other Shab-nameh copies and text among the 56 miniatures used as illustrations for the Shab-nameh, we are going to examine only those that, in our opinion, were made in Tabriz in the 14th century. There are also in the albums 38 designs and sketches related to the Shab-nameh in subject matter. We have not included them in our study here since they also contain motifs which are used not only for Shab-nameh illustrations but also for other literary works.

This article will attempt to introduce 28 Shab-nameh fragments of the 14th century. Of these the largest measures 46 by 33.5 cm., and the smallest 19.5 by 18.5 cm. They bear a close stylistical resemblance to the Kalilah wa Dimnah miniatures in the Shab Tabhâmsp Album (F. 1422), transferred from the Yildiz Palace Library, and to the Demotte Shab-nameh miniatures in that they also show an influence of Far Eastern painting and have similar decorative details. When we examine these miniatures carefully we can divide them into groups according to stylistic characteristics, dimensions, similarities in color and thereby attribute them to certain artists.

**Group I**

We are going to examine the scenes of “Zal welcoming Bahmán” and “The Wed-

ding of three sons of Faridun to the daughters of the Shâh of Yemen” which are related to paintings of the Il-Khanid period.

In the scene depicting Zal welcoming Bahmán (fig. 1), the figures stand on a ground decorated with tufts of grass and against a gold background occupying almost all of the painting. The same meeting has been portrayed in the Demotte Shab-nameh in a Pozzi Collection miniature very similar to ours in size (21 by 20.5 cm.). There we see also the same kind of ground with the protagonists against a gold background. The horsemen and their mounts all face the center. No place has been given to architecture in the Pozzi miniature whereas in our scene there is a building on the left. In both scenes even the headgear of the embracing figures is the same. We come across the same ground in the battle scene between Isfandiyâr and Rustam again in the Demotte Shab-nameh. It is difficult to imagine that the painter of this scene in the album had not seen the Demotte Shab-nameh.

The second scene shows the banquet prior to the wedding of the sons of Faridun and the daughters of the Shâh of Yemen (fig. 2). The similar dimensions of the banquet scene and the scene showing Zal welcoming Bahmán indicate that these two miniatures may have originated from the same manuscript (16.5 by 28.5 cm. and 21.5 by 28 cm.). Unfortunately the latter miniature is in bad shape, thus preventing

---

8 A paper was presented by the author on this group at the Fifth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, which met in Teheran in April, 1968.

9 E. Blochet, Les Peintures Orientales de la Collection Pozzi, Paris, 1930, pl. IV.

us from a closer study to establish other similarities. The type of knotted curtains on both sides of the throne are seen in many scenes of the Demotte Shab-nameh.

We see motifs like the kufic border inscription and the zigzag design in the carpet in front of the throne also in scenes from the Tübingen album ascribed to the Chinese-Mongolian and Il-Khanid periods. This carpet design is seen also in copies of the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh of the Il-Khanid period. It is interesting to note also that Mongolian princes (shown on the left wearing their typical headgear) are taking part in the festivities.

The throne scene, depicting the meeting of the Mongolian princes, in the copy of the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh in the Asiatic Society of Bengal and claimed by Basil Gray to be not older than 1430, is very similar to ours. This scene from the Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh is in Timurid style but has remained faithful to the composition pattern and to the clothing of the Il-Khanid period. The similarity to the scene of the wedding of Farīdun’s sons is an indication that our scene also has been inspired by such an Il-Khanid throne composition.11

**Group II**

There are three Shab-nameh scenes, undoubtedly by the same hand, of very similar dimensions (two of them 28 cm. wide and one 27.5 cm. wide) that must have been painted for the same scene. One describes how Isfandiyār kills the two lions at the second stage (fig. 3). The diagonal skyline on the left is counterbalanced in the opposite corner by a brook bordered by a tree which extends beyond the frame of the miniature.

Also in the scene portraying Minūchihr placing Salm’s head on the point of a spear (fig. 4) the ground possesses very few tufts of grass. The horizon extends upwards from left to right with a black contour. On the horizon line is a tree which, like the previous scene, continues beyond the frame. The small plants on the ground and the position of the figures reveal the close similarity.

The scene showing Isfandiyār killing a witch called Gûl also belongs to this group (fig. 5). Although both the colors used and the plant motifs are similar, the badly erased traces of an earlier painting has a disturbing effect on this scene. In addition, the plant motifs, the figures and the composition of the scene show the same style.

**Group III**

The five images in this group, where landscape rather than the subject itself dominates the painting, may all be from the same book. The first one among them shows the Simūrgh carrying Zal to its nest (fig. 6). We are first struck by the rocks and the mountains with clouds behind them. Chinese or Far Eastern influence makes itself felt in the grass, painted with fine brush strokes, and in the trees along the outer edges of the rocks and the hills. The use of lighter and darker shades of the same color in the rocks is not a characteristic feature of Persian art. The schematic drawing of the Simūrgh’s feathers and the coloring of its tail follow the tradition of Moslem miniatures. Here the heroes have not been

---

11 M. S. Ipsiroğlu, Saray Alben, Wiesbaden, 1964, pls. VIII and XIII.
glorified at the expense of nature; but quite to the contrary, the love of nature has gained the upper hand. The huge cloud in the sky is another manifestation of this. The size of the figures has been kept within reasonable dimensions for fear of forcing nature into the background.

The scene portraying a later stage of the subject shows Sam praying to God for his help so that he can climb the Elburz mountain and find his son Zal (fig. 7). Although the incident takes place at the same place, the earlier scene has not been repeated. White clouds in a dark blue sky and the steep rocks with the unreachable nest on the top dominate the scene. The rocks, among which trees painted with light brush-strokes are scattered, are again bordered by a dark line and painted in various shades of grey. Simûrg and the young Zal are again the same in appearance. Sam and his attendants almost disappear in the scenery; only their vivid clothes help them stand out. Both paintings can be assumed to have been made by the same artist.

In the next scene, which is full of movement, the figures of the warriors are dominant (fig. 8). When we remember the dimensions of the scene, the figures are larger than the others we have seen. The first impression is one of a crowd although what we really have here are three horsemen in full view and three others in partial view. This effect is achieved by the clever painting of the ground and the natural scenery. The ground on which tufts of grass, rocks with dark outlines, and trees have been placed is painted black thereby creating an effect of depth. It is therefore difficult to observe the figures singularly. Such an effect of violent fighting against a fluid background is also seen in the Demotte Shah-nameh (Iskandar killing Fur in battle). In our painting the upper part is taken up by the dark blue sky covered with gold stars, a feature of this school. The rocks and plants remind one of the scenes showing the young Zal but with the added effect created by the use of a black paint like India ink. With the figures placed in a Chinese setting, the battle scene has acquired a very different character. The movement of the composition that develops in one direction is emphasized by the spear held in the warrior’s hand and the broken spears lying on the ground.

The scene portraying Zal showing his skills before Mintchihr by shooting arrows into a tree (fig. 9) makes use of a device popular with the Tabriz school in the early fourteenth century: a gold background, a characteristic frequently encountered in the Demotte Shah-nameh. The treatment of the tree pierced by Zal’s arrow shows a strong Chinese influence. The ground is identical with that of figure 8; but here the gold background which attracts attention to Zal and the tree is replaced by dark blue sky. Gold and blue paint are very well fused. The Chinese influence visible in the scenery is not present in the figures.

In the scene depicting Zal shooting a duck witnessed by Rudaba’s lady attendants (fig. 10), landscape and figures have been presented in balanced proportions without one dominating the painting at the expense of the other. The breaking waves on the river is derived from Chinese art. Neither bank of the river has been painted, and only some grass, flowers and small trees have been created with fine brush-strokes; these artistic effects and the treat-

---

12 Brian, op. cit., fig. 11.
ment of the rocks remind us of the background of the battle scene (fig. 8). There is also a strong similarity between the roots of this tree and that pierced by Zal’s arrow in figure 9. The figures have been given the importance due to them in the composition through the vivid colors with which they have been painted and with their movements and their grouping.

The two paintings related to young Zal in this group bear a strong resemblance in their scenery, particularly in the clouds and the rocks, to those in Kalilah wa Dimnah. Though the colors also show some similarity, it is not difficult to discern the different tastes of the two artists.

The scenes portraying young Zal being carried away by the Simurgh to its nest (fig. 6), Zal shooting the duck (fig. 10), and Minâchîhr’s battle with Tür (fig. 17), to be discussed later, have been published by Basil Gray, who states that the album H. 2153 also contains Shah-nameh fragments where scenery plays an important part. He adds that the same elements are still recognizably Chinese and that they and the Kalilah wa Dimnah scenes may have been made between 1360 and 1374 for Sultan Uwais in the school of Shams al-Din, Ahmad Mûsa’s pupil.

In the scenes belonging to this group, we see personages of a Mongol type. The color schemes of these images, which must have been devised by not more than two artists, their similar dimensions, the decorative design common to all of them and the figure styles show a closely related technique. The slanted eyes of the figures have lines painted around them. The nostrils are emphasized. The hands and fingers are long and slender. Another feature, the small feet in proportion to the rest of the body, is common to all the figures in the scenes we have included in this group.

**Group IV**

Figure 11 portrays Gayûmarth, the first hero of Shah-nameh and the first King of Persia, on his throne. The tree trunk serving as his throne and the rocks that provide the natural setting have been emphasized with contours. The clothes of the figures with dilated nostrils, their beards, and moustaches are drawn with a linear technique which adds depth; we also observe that there is no restraint in the movement of the figures. The gradual darkening in the colors of the rocks, tree trunks and the ground adds to the depth of the scene. The horizon is halfway down the scene, and the sky is light and dark alternately. This scene has been published by M. S. Ipsiroğlu, who dates it to the middle of the 14th century.

Although a throne scene in the same album (fig. 12) is presented in a rich architectural decor, it shows the same compositional scheme and arrangement and type of figures. The king sits in the posture of the ruler seen earlier. In the enthronement scene of Gayûmarth, the group on the right, consisting of three people, has been duplicated: only the man with a pole has been replaced by one holding a spear. The arrangement of figures on the left is similar. In place of rocks with flowers and grass before Gayûmarth’s throne, we see a

14 B. Gray, Persian Painting, Cleveland, 1961, pp. 41–44.
15 Ibid., pp. 40–44.
fountain. The old man with his cloak over his turban sitting in front of the king bears a resemblance to the figures in the Mirāj-nameh illustrations found in H. 2154 and ascribed to Ahmad Musa. The door on the left of the hall opens into a garden where we see two elephants; on the trunk of one we see traces of a piece of writing referred to by Z. V. Togan, who claims that "Musa" was written there and that this was erased by constant rubbing. Since all inscriptions and signatures in the same handwriting are not contemporary with the miniatures we need not dwell on them, but the person who ascribed this scene to Musa must have noticed the resemblance. Many motifs in the decoration are the same as those in the scene portraying Daqiqi’s death (fig. 16); for instance, the meander motifs on the floor are noticeable on the shelves of the cupboard in the Daqiqi scene. Decorations similar to those on the inside of the throne are seen on the carpet, and a richer variation of the tiles barely visible on the wall we see on the wall itself and in the niche.

Another scene from the same group (fig. 13) shows greater movement, particularly by the king who is shown with arm extended. Next to him stands an old man. The figures, the shape of the throne, the decorations, the double row of curtains framing the upper part of the scene, the decorative details and colors show a close similarity with other scenes from this group which is proof of single authorship.

Figures made by the same artist fill the execution scene (fig. 14). All attention has been concentrated on the action, and thus nature has been represented as simply as possible. The dark blue hue of the sky, the colors of the tents and the clothes of the condemned, form strong contrasts. We see the ornamental motifs on the tents and the vaults of the city wall also in the throne scene from the same group (fig. 12) and in the scene portraying Daqiqi’s death (fig. 16). The palmette motif over the door is also in the scene depicting Zal and Rudaba’s meeting (fig. 21) and above the niche in a painting showing a burgler in a bedroom (Kalilah wa Dimnah: Shah Tahmāsp Album, Istanbul University Library).

The compact composition of the scene portraying Faridun leaving his throne to his grandson Minuchihr (fig. 15) concentrates our attention on the three protagonists sitting on the throne. The curtains hanging on both sides act as a unifying element. The cover of the throne on which they sit has the same motif as the carpet in Daqiqi’s murder scene (fig. 16). The rich decoration of the others has been replaced here by gilding both sides of the throne. It should be noted here that figures in this group bear a strong resemblance to the figure looking out of the window in the Kalilah wa Dimnah scenes. The same motion of the hands, a distinctive feature of this group, is also seen in these figures.

The scene depicting Daqiqi’s death (fig. 16) is a foremost example of rich decoration. On the left we see a pitcher and a bowl, whose half-palmette motifs are visible in every detail in the Kalilah wa Dimnah scenes. The largest plant and flower


18 F. 1422, folio 24 b; Gray, Persian Painting, p. 39.

19 F. 1422, folio 11 a; Gray, Persian Painting, p. 39.

20 F. 1422, folios 11 a, 24 b; Gray, Persian Painting, pp. 38–39.
motifs of the carpet are frequently seen on the thrones of contemporary paintings, for example the throne scenes of the Demotte Shah-nameh (see figs. 12, 13 and 15).

The death of Daqiqi has been published by G. Migeon as a Turkish work.²¹ Although there is a title over the work giving the subject, the author has neither mentioned that the scene is from the Shah-nameh nor has he identified its subject.

Group V

This group consists of 11 high quality miniatures painted with less vivid but warm colors. Even when care is given in not permitting nature to overpower large battle-scenes, a few trees and rocks placed on the horizon are evidence of the highly developed technique and skill of the artist. Another noteworthy point is the amazing similarity between the various paintings of Rustam in scenes treating subjects related to him.

Figure 17 shows an Iran-Turan battle in a controlled composition. The fact that certain figures extend beyond the frame, or are cut off by it, is an indication of the development of the art of miniatures arising from the Il-Khanid period. Except for the few clusters of grass and trees on the left, nothing has been done to enrich the scenery. The ground has been very lightly painted and used as a surface for the placement of the figures. We notice the depth of the rocks and trees around the warriors only when we look at them separately. The warriors themselves form a flat surface broken only by the arrangement of the figures and colors. The left-to-right development of

In the scene showing Rustam’s fight with the Sultan of Mazandaran (fig. 19), the similarity in body proportions, features and colors between the previously seen Rustam and the protagonists here is noticeable. The two armies have been massed on the right and left of this painting which covers a double folio in the album. The frame cuts off the armies which are actually greater in number. The two warriors meet on an empty plain covered lightly with grass. The high horizon with dry and leafless trees has been delineated by a black line. Although the scene has some of the characteristics of the scene showing Minūchihir killing Tūr (fig. 17), it is simpler, and this quality increases the dramatic effect of the calm before the storm. The soldiers have been arranged on both sides very effectively. A copy of the scene in the large Shah-nameh made in 1430 for Bāysonghūr Mirza in Herat is now preserved in the Gulestan Library in Teheran. While our scene covers two pages, the one in the Gulestan Shah-nameh has been squeezed into a single page. The treatment of the ground and the tree makes the scene rather different. The two armies are again massed on both sides, but the general effect is lessened by the reduced distance between them and by having several pairs engaged in a fight.

Another scene from the same group (fig. 20) portrays Isfandiyār killing wolves. Nature dominates the scene and the composition without quite reducing the protagonists to insignificance. Rocky mountains rise toward a clouded sky. The ferocious wolves and Isfandiyār have been gathered in a triangle pattern. As in the scene showing Rustam’s fight with the Sultan of Mazandaran (fig. 19) and the one showing Minūchihir’s encounter with Tūr (fig. 17), the ground on which the protagonists are painted has been left quite bare. Black lines adding to the strength of the plants, trees and grass which in their turn add to the wealth of nature is a common feature of these scenes. Besides, the figure of Isfandiyār bears a great similarity to the figures in the scene showing Rustam’s fight with the Sultan of Mazandaran (fig. 19) even in details of clothing and armor. This scene has been published by M. S. İpsiroğlu and dated as belonging to the second half of the 14th century. 23

We see a similar scene in the Teheran Gulestan Shah-nameh. 24 Nature of an imposing aspect is replaced by trees in blossom, birds and sponge-like rocks, creating an altogether different impression. Both Isfandiyār and the wolves are copies of our figures, but since the wolves have been placed lower in the composition they are no more within the triangle pattern. While the individual figures are copied, the taste in nature has completely changed.

The meeting between Rudaba and Zāl takes place in a building (fig. 21) which fills the whole scene. This has, nevertheless, not prevented the artist from placing in corners and under the walls small trees with dry twigs and thorny leaves which gives the viewer a sense of the height of the wall scaled by Zāl. The wall, which creates the foundation for the scene, is made of solid regular blocks of blue-grey colored


23 Malerei der Mongolen, p. 86 (for the dating cf. p. 103).
24 Gray, Persian Miniatures, pl. 7; Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, op. cit., pl. XLVII B.
stone. The upper part of the wall is equipped with embrasures and decorated with a frieze of kufic writing. The lovers are on a terrace protected by brick walls on both sides. The curtains have a softening effect on the scene that has been divided into geometric spaces and decorated with tiles and carpets.

Another scene, with the same subject and of such amazing similarity that it can easily be mistaken for the original unless put side by side, we see in the Gulestan Shah-nameh. It is impossible that the creator of this miniature could not have seen ours first. The composition pattern, the division of the surface and the placement of the figures are identical. Only the details and some decorative motifs show a difference; for example, a few trees have been added to the part of nature visible at the bottom. The embrasures are changed, and the frieze of kufic writing has been replaced by nakshi writing. The figures are the slender types of the 15th century Herat school. The lovers are embracing. The posture of the attendants is the same; but to the musician in our Shah-nameh, two female figures (one playing a wind instrument and the other a small drum) have been added.

In the scene showing a king talking to a man holding an open book in his hands (fig. 22), the terrace has been painted in the same color as the wall in the preceding scene. The tiles of the wall behind them and the lotus palmette frieze are identical with those in the Zāl-Rudāba scene. The similarities in detail between the two scenes are not limited to these; the striped carpet under the lovers is the same as the one on which the king sits. The decorations on the clothes are also similar, though this is not easily seen in the photograph. The use of the similar color also increases the probability that both scenes were painted by the same artist.

In figures 23 and 24 Rustam’s adventures are described. Both pages, which are accompanied by the text, were restored with great skill when they were pasted in the album. In a study of the art of paper and miniature restoration in the history of Moslem bookbinding art, these two pages would be of particular interest. It is very difficult to trace the lines where the pages have been joined; but there is a difference in color between the original and the restored parts which the restorer has tried to remove by re-painting the skirt of the witch in figure 24. Rustam, who is the hero of both scenes, has been skillfully made to look like the other Rustam figures in this group: his elongated face has a long moustache and a slightly pointed beard. The ground, which is always in various shades of beige, is ornamented with grass painted with very fine brush-strokes by the same artist. In this painting we see Rakhsh from the rear, before he was stolen. While in figure 23 Rakhsh is shown with his head turned, the addition to his neck makes him appear rather strange. In both scenes (figs. 23 and 24) the figures have been freely placed in this setting, which serves more that a supporting purpose.

The scene showing Tahmina’s visit to Rustam’s room (fig. 25) has been divided into three sections by walls. The main incident takes place in the right portion which occupies more than half the scene. This section is decorated with tiles on the

wall behind the figures and around the platform with carpets and cushions. The curtain overhead softens the general effect, and the open window and door, with figures gazing in, give the only depth to the scene. The face of Rustam here and that of Rustam fighting with the Sultan of Mazandaran look as if they were painted by the same artist.

There are two more scenes which we may add to this group, but with reservations due to the coloring used. The treatment of nature and their pattern of composition suggests that they may have been left incomplete and then painted in at a later time.

One of these shows Gayumarth’s enthronement (fig. 26). The scene is presented in a vast natural setting, with the first ruler of Persia sitting on a rock covered with a tiger skin serving as a throne. Mountains rise on both sides of the throne, leaving a gilded sky visible behind it. The artist has tried to give the ground a rich appearance by painting grass and rocks here and there. The tree with big leaves on a gilded background lacks the qualities observed in earlier scenes; it must have been completed later.

Also the scene portraying Faridun’s execution of Zahhak on Mount Damavand (fig. 27) has been tampered with: three additions were made to it when it was pasted in the album. The black contours of the dark rocks show Chinese influence. The scene is divided into two sections. On the left, Zahhak looks like a white blot in the dark cave; and in the bottom right hand corner, Faridun and his entourage sit on their horses. The sky is visible between two hills rising on both sides (similar to the Gayumarth scene earlier), and again on the right we see a tree. Though the composition is different, the main pattern of the scene is the same. The scene in the Gulestan Shab-nameh depicting the same subject is a copy of this, down to the composition pattern, movements and the distribution of the figures. The hills again rise on both sides, with a tree on the right. The difference lies in that the present one is more two-dimensional. Rocky parts covered here and there with plants are later additions, presumably when the miniature was put in the album. These show differences in color from the original but possess the same attitude toward color. The unfinished portions at the bottom have later been completed, and an attempt has been made to cover this up by repairing and retouching the original, while still preserving its beauty. The additions on three sides may be considered a framework provided by nature.

Another reason for our inclusion of the work in this group is that it may also have served as a model for the Baysonghor Shab-nameh in the Gulestan Museum in Tehran.

**Group VI**

This scene which portrays Kay Khusrav as he asks his mother what she would say about marrying his uncle (fig. 28), displays characteristics of the same period and the same school (similarity in details, tile decoration, friezes with lotus palmettes, flower motifs on the inside of the throne) with the scenes so far examined; yet they are obviously by a different hand. Apart from the physical proportions, movement and stance of the figures, the

26 Binyon, Wilkinson, Gray, *op. cit.*, p. 70, pl. XLVIA.
main difference lies in architecture. In the works we have seen so far, architecture filled up the whole scene, whereas here the throne is placed on a platform before a high wall. The raised level of both throne and wall, the elongated slender figures, the placing of the throne in the middle, and the strong symmetrical composition create an altogether different impression and distinguish it from the groups examined above. When we remember that a number of artists went from Tabriz to Herat toward the end of the 14th century, it would not be implausible to claim that his work was done by a Tabrizi artist in Herat or is an example of later stages of the 14th-century school in Tabriz.

Conclusion

As has been pointed out above, it is very difficult to date the fragments of the Shah-nameh in the albums. Unfortunately, the Demotte Shah-nameh and fragments of Kalila wa Dimna in the Shah Tahmāsp Album, the most important works which show stylistic similarities to our fragments, are undated as well. The various differences of style in the miniatures of the monumental Demotte Shah-nameh plus the fresh Far Eastern influences present in it leads us to date these fragments within the span of 1330–75, which encompasses the dates proposed by various scholars.77 The many similarities between our Shah-nameh fragments and the Demotte Shah-nameh lead us to think that they must have been made during the same period. Therefore, if we accept this thesis, that both our Shah-nameh fragments and the Demotte Shah-nameh were created during the same period, it is difficult for us to accept a shorter span of time for the creation of our fragments than for the creation of the Demotte Shah-nameh for it is likely that only during a broad span of time could works of such size and quality have been painted.

Perhaps one could also consider the possibility that our Shah-nameh fragments came from the Demotte Shah-nameh, however, from the point of view of dimension and style it seems more likely that our fragments are from five different manuscripts. These are the general characteristics within each of the groups:

1. The two miniatures (figs. 1 and 2) which comprise the first group must have come from the same manuscript because of the similarities in style and dimensions.

2. The many common features of the three miniatures (figs. 3–5) in the second group indicate that they were done by the same artist, and because of their similar dimensions, are probably scenes from the same manuscript. The relation of the figures to the whole of the scene, the colors used, the vegetation, the facial features and expressions of the figures, and the ornamentation on the armor worn by the principals are so similar to each other that these three miniatures were very likely done by the same artist.

3. The miniatures of the third group (figs. 6–10) must also be from one book. There is a strong Chinese influence in all these scenes: the landscape motifs are outlined with black ink and nature either dominates the scene or is as important as the principal subject.

4. In the miniatures of the fourth group (figs. 11–16) the scenes with black

contoured rocks are in a linear style. Mongol-type figures predominate. In all, slender long-fingered hands attract one’s attention. The paintings show a close resemblance to the Mīrāj-nameh paintings which are attributed to Ahmad Musâ and also to the fragments of Kalīla wa Dimnah which are in the Shah Tahmāsp Album. The similarity between Kalīla wa Dimnah and figures in the fragments of this group is so great that they probably were done by the illustrator of Kalīla wa Dimnah, Shams al-Din. However, their similarity with the Mīrāj-nameh miniatures, which are attributed to Ahmad Musâ, is not strong enough to attribute any of them to him. The paintings of this group show that they were done by one or two artists. The similarity of the style, the overflowing of the dark colors outside the landscape, similar dimensions, and the lack of scenes with common subjects increase the probability that they came from the same manuscript as those of the third group.

5. The miniatures of the fifth group (figs. 17–27) are of very high quality, except for the last two which we assume were completed later. They are products of a developed drawing technique. The common peculiarities are ornamentations in pale, quiet colors, rocks surrounded by dark colored contours, a landscape which shows a strong Chinese influence and which overflows from the frame, and the cutting of the figures by the frame. In the scenes involving Rustam, the similarity of his portrayal is significant.

6. The sole scene of the sixth group is separated from all the miniatures of the other groups by virtue of the proportions of the architecture and the elongated figures.

Among these six groups the first, because it preserves the compositions and motifs found in the Ǧāmī’ al-Tawārīkh, may have been painted between the years 1330 and 1350. The second, third, fourth and fifth groups of miniatures were painted in the second half of the 14th century, simultaneously with some of the Demotte Shah-nameh paintings. One part certainly must have been completed before 1374, as were the Kalīla wa Dimnah miniatures in the Tahmāsp Album which are attributed to Shams al-Din who worked under the patronage of Sultan Uwais Jalayîr.28 As for the separate scene which is designated as the sixth group it must have been made later and probably by an artist from Tabrîz who went to Herat.

Zâl Welcoming Bahmân (fig. 1).29

Alexander’s son, Bahmân, dressed as a prince, goes to Zabulistan to see Rustam. He is sighted in the distance by a sentry who informs Zâl that someone is coming. Zâl is about to fight the visitor when he realizes that it is Bahmân. He welcomes Bahmân, who wants to see Rustam immediately. Zâl suggests that he rest since Rustam is out hunting, but Bahmân refuses and goes to find him.

We observe the meeting of the two heroes of the right on the painting. They embrace, watched by surrounding figures who are partially obstructed by the frame as well as by the horses they have just dismounted. On the left we see a structure with light blue kufic decorations on a red background. The door is gold on grey, and

the door frame is gold on navy blue. The first floor has a balcony, and a woman with her hand on her mouth watches the two heros. Behind the building we see a tree with white blossoms. Three birds fly overhead. Between the building and the protagonists there is another figure standing to welcome Bahman. Green grass decorates the beige colored ground. The faded colors of this worn miniature are purple, violet, navy blue, brown, blue-gray, and green.

It is a well-proportioned and balanced composition. Movement coming from opposite directions meets with the two embracing figures who, though not in the center of the composition, attract our attention. The birds overhead also draw our eyes to the principles of the painting. The group of men and horses on the right is counterbalanced on the left by the building. A man, perhaps coming from the building, extends his arms in greeting, thus linking the entire composition together.

The Marriage of Three Sons of Faridun to the Daughters of Serv, King of Yemen (fig. 2).

Cendel is charged by Faridun with the duty of finding three beautiful girls fit to marry his three sons. After an extensive search Cendel decides that the three daughters of the Sultan of Yemen are suitable and asks for the hands of the girls in Faridun’s name. The sultan says that he will ask his daughters; then he cannot sleep the whole night for fear of losing them. Finally, realizing that he cannot deny the wishes of Faridun, Serv expresses a wish to see the sons. Though he tries many tricks to avoid losing his daughters, they are to no avail. He is obliged to give his consent to the marriage of his daughters.

In the background of the painting the three couples sit on the throne. A curtain decorated with star motifs is draped over it. In front of the throne there is a single step. The walls on both sides are decorated with star- and cross-shaped tiles. On both sides of the background are curtains knotted over open doors. In the foreground there is a carpet decorated with a yellow-red zigzag design in the center and bordered with kufic writing. In the center of the foreground is a female dancer entertaining the couples. On the lower right are the musicians and on the left are the guests, some in fashionable Mongol headdresses and the ladies with drinking cups in their hands. The dominant colors are green, violet, gold, red, navy blue, orange, yellow, black, blue and white. The kufic frieze on the wall reads “El mülk-ü lillah” (God is sovereign).

Isfandiyar Killing Two Lions: Second Stage (fig. 3).

After having killed the wolves, Isfandiyar asks Gurgsär what he will encounter on his next stage. Gurgsär tells him that he will meet to kill two lions which are so fierce that no crocodile would dare to meet them. Next morning Isfandiyar goes directly to the lair of two lions, one male and the other female. He first fights the male lion and cuts off its head. The female now attacks him fiercely; but in the end she, too, is killed.

Isfandiyar is on the right, dominating the scene. His head is inclined to the left,
and he is sheathing his sword. Above his orange boots and blue clothes, we see his gold-colored armor. Over this he is wearing another coat of mail. On his head is a gold-plated helmet. The head and forelegs of his horse are visible. On the left are the two dead lions: one with its head split open; the other with its head cut off.

Isfandiyar is shown with his feet on a beige ground which is separated from the unpainted background by a row of trees. The horizon is high with the light blue sky showing in the upper left. In the upper right there is a small brook with bushes on its banks. Its original silver painting is oxidized and dark. On the far bank the lower trunk of a tree is observed. On the top of the painting is the name “Ahmad Mūsā” which was added later.

The first thing we notice when looking at this carefully executed scene is the figure of Isfandiyar. The brook motif on the right parallels the diagonal line of Isfandiyar’s arm. The completion of the act is understood not only by the dead lions but by the fact that Isfandiyar is sheathing his sword. The quietly standing horse increases the effect of the scene. The bent branches of the trees and bushes lend action to the scene by creating an effect of the storm continuing.

Minūchīhr, After Having Cut off Salm’s Head, Observes it on the Point of a Spear (fig. 4).\(^{32}\)

After Minūchīhr slays the Arab champion Kakuy, grandson of Zahhak, the Byzantine Emperor retreats in confusion with his army, hotly pursued by Minūchīhr and his soldiers. Minūchīhr catches up with Salm, who had killed his brother in the quarrel over the crown, and with one stroke of his sword cuts off his head. After seeing the head of their leader at the point of a spear, Salm’s army scatters in all directions. Minūchīhr sends Salm’s head to his grandfather, Farīdūn.

Slightly to the left of the center of the painting we see Minūchīhr on his brown steed. He is dressed in a finely ornamented gilded coat of mail. The front legs of the horse rest on a rock with thin leaves of grass sprouting through its cracks. We view Minūchīhr not from profile but diagonally as he looks back over his right shoulder while sheathing his sword. A partial form of a horse and soldier with pennant in his hand can be seen entering the painting on the left. In the bottom right we see Salm, the other protagonist of the incident, lying in a heap of armor. Two persons, one of whom wears a coat of mail, are sticking his head on a spear. The horizon is high above the beige-colored ground with bits of grass scattered over it. In the upper left a tree has been placed against the light-blue sky.

The scene depicts the moments immediately following the beheading of Salm, who has been moved to the side so that the hero can dominate the scene. Between Minūchīhr and the two soldiers on the right is a later inscription in Persian saying “Kar-i Ahmad Mūsā ba-gāyat hûb sāhta ast” (The work of Ahmad Mūsā, very well executed).

Isfandiyar Killing Gûl, a Witch Capable of Transforming Days into Nights; Fourth Stage (fig. 5).\(^{33}\)

Isfandiyar and his soldier pitch camp on the banks of a brook. After dining, Gurjār tells him that he will meet Gûl, a

\(^{32}\) Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 229–230.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 128–131.
witch who can change days into nights. They at once take down their tents and set out that same night. A little later Prince Isfandiyar enters a dark, beautiful forest with a gold bowl and valuable lute and starts singing. The witch approaches him in the guise of a pretty Turkman girl. Filled with admiration for her, Isfandiyar offers her wine. Then he slips a steel chain he had kept hidden from her around her neck. This renders her helpless, and she takes the appearance of a lion. Drawing his dagger, Isfandiyar tells her to take her original shape. As soon as she appears as a black-faced, white-haired hag, he beheads her.

Isfandiyar stands in the center foreground, dressed in a gold helmet, red and black decorated coat of mail covering his dark-blue clothes. In one hand he holds a sword, in the other his shield. Most of his horse is visible. The body of the witch, dressed in red and green, lies before him. On the beige ground there are tufts of grass; behind the mountain on the left the sky can be seen. Light-green colored trees are concentrated at the point where two mountains meet. In the unpainted upper left-hand corner "Kār-i Sunullah" (the work of Sunullah) and on the piece of paper stuck on the upper right-hand corner "Kār-i Dervish Muhammad" (the work of Dervish Muhammad) is written.

The painting, for which dull and faded colors were used, is rather worn. The traces of earlier figures roughly drawn are faintly visible: under Isfandiyar one can discern an outline of a figure in armor and a horse facing the other direction. This figure looks back with one arm lifted. Opposite it there are a few lines that may have been the beginning of a dragon. Movement has been given to the skyline with hills and boulders. Simūrgh Carrying Zal to its Nest in the Elburz Mountains (fig. 6).^{34}

Sām’s greatest wish is to have a child, so far unfulfilled. He finally has a child by a beautiful girl in his harem. The child is very handsome, but his hair is all white. The women, though afraid at first, at last tell Sām about this. He considers this a punishment sent from Heaven and orders them to dispose of the child. The child is left on the Elburz mountains where the Simūrgh has its nest. The Simūrgh pities the child and takes it to its nest.

Most of the painting is taken up by a great mountain, covered with bunches of shrubs and trees with long leaves. The blue-gray and yellow boulders in the foreground create another mountain on the left which is covered with trees. On its summit we see the Simūrgh’s nest with yellow and red baby simurgs. The Simūrgh, itself, is visible in the center, flying towards its nest with the child. Against the yellow background of the mountain, the Simūrgh is created in violet, blue, purple, green, orange, and red. A huge cloud almost covers the entire sky. Even more than the Simūrgh and the baby, Zal, nature dominates the scene. The later writings above Zal and on the right of the hill have been erased.^{35}

Sām Goes to the Elburz Mountain and Prays after having Dreamt about Zal (fig. 7).^{36}

The Simūrgh raises baby Zal together with its little ones. This is soon known all over the land. Meantime Sām has been having pangs of conscience and dreaming about his son in his sleep. Although doubt-

---


^{35} Gray, *Persian Painting*, pp. 41.

ful that the baby could survive on the mountain, he goes in search of him and finally locates Simūrg's nest on the Elburz mountain, but in such an inaccessible place that he goes down on his knees to pray God for help. The Simūrg has been watching this from its nest. Although he is very fond of the boy, he considers that it would be better for him to be with his father and takes him down. Sām thanks him with a deep bow.

A rocky mountain dominates the scene. The upper right of the painting is not visible having been covered over by another miniature pasted on this same page. On the upper left in the dark grey mountains, the Simūrg's nest is visible, and in it are the Simūrg and the child, Zāl. The area where Sām is praying with his men and horses watching is unpainted but for the grass and bushes. The sky is light blue with white clouds. On the back of the figure of Sām is the phrase “Suret-i Sām-i Nariman” (picture of Nariman's son, Sām), which was added later.

The mountains and figures do not easily form a pattern; the mountains are so overwhelming that at first glance it is difficult to grasp what is taking place.

Minūčihr Slaying Tūr with a Spear (fig. 8). 37

Farīdun sends his grandson, Minūčihr, at the head of an army to fight Tūr's forces. The commander of the Turks creates havoc among Minūčihr's soldiers, but in the meantime Tūr is surrounded. Tūr is followed by Minūčihr as he tries to escape and is speared in the back.

Most figures are facing right in this composition. Along the lower edge of the painting we see swords, broken spears, arrows, maces, quivers, and dead soldiers and to the right a short tree. The ground is painted grey-black. The horizon rising from left to right is covered with warriors. The lower trunks of two trees appear in the upper right. The dark-blue sky is covered with many stars and the sun. In the foreground a rider in a gold helmet and coat of mail spears his adversary in the back. Tūr, whose armor is meticulously decorated, is sprawled out on the horse by the strength of the blow. In the background are several figures fighting, all moving from left to right, turning slightly backwards on their horses to exchange blows with their pursuers.

Since the figures of the warriors and their horses are cut by the frame, we get the impression that this is only a partial view of a great battle. The ground is not painted in the same shade of color; this tends to obscure the forms of the individual warriors which adds to the sense of violent movement. Though the incident took place during the day, stars appear in the sky along with the sun, possibly to add impact to the dramatic subject of the painting. On the hind-leg of the white horse is written “Ahmad Mūsā, ne boştur” (Ahmad Mūsā, how lovely) and on its neck “Suret-i kit'ayi Yasef.”

Zāl Showing his Skill to Minūčihr by Piercing the Trunk of a Tree with an Arrow (fig. 9). 38

When Zāl takes a letter to Minūčihr from his father, Sām, he is asked several puzzles. Minūčihr is highly pleased when

37 Ibid., pp. 220-221.

38 Ibid., pp. 311-313.
Zal answers them correctly. A banquet is given, and the next day several champions show their skill.

Zal, thereupon, shoots an arrow at an old tree; such is his strength that the arrow comes out at the opposite side of the trunk. This feat produces great admiration by the others.

The background of the L-shaped painting is gold. The right corner must have been cut to make place for the flower motif on silk which is pasted there (not illustrated). On the left is a large tree pierced by an arrow. On the right the figure of Zal, who is flanked by the spectators and the tree, immediately draws our attention. He is depicted at the moment the arrow left his bow, with his arms outstretched. His back is toward us, and we see him in profile. Behind him a group of Minüchihr’s men stand watching with their shields in their hands. In the space between Zal and the tree we read the words “Zal, Kari Ahmîd Lachîn (Zal, the work of Ahmîd Lachîn).” The colors of this miniature are dark blue, brown, green, black, white, orange, red, and yellow.

**Zal Shoots a Duck while Rudaba’s Ladies-in-waiting Watch** (fig. 10). 39

Zal and Rudaba hear such praises about each other that they fall in love. Rudaba reveals her secret to her five Turkish attendants who are at first flustered by the news but then decide to do all they can to help her. The next morning they go down to the bank of the river where Zal has his camp. They approach Zal’s tent with flowers in their hands. When Zal finds out that they are from Rudaba’s court, he dashes to the river in his excitement, asks for his bow and arrow from his slave, shoots a duck flying across the river and brings in the dead bird. On the other bank of the river, the slave discusses with the women ways of bringing Rudaba and Zal together.

The painting is divided diagonally in two by the river flowing across the middle. In the lower left, Zal (with “Zal” written in two places on his clothes) has released his arrow, and the bird is falling. He wears a long tunic of orange cloth and under it dark blue clothes decorated with gold stars. The ground under the men’s feet is not painted but is covered with greyish-green grass. The river, the banks of which are richly adorned with flowers, grass and small trees, is shown with regularly drawn breaking waves on its surface. Rudaba’s attendants are visible on the right, though partially cut off by the frame.

Although placed on the edge of the painting, the figure of Zal dominates the scene. By the colors used in the clothing of the onlookers and their placement at the lower corner of the painting, our attention is immediately drawn to Zal.

The subject of the painting is summarized in a few lines at the top. 40

**Gayumarth, the First Persian Sultan, Enthroned** (fig. 11). 41

After Gayumarth becomes king, the sun shines even more brightly; and the whole world is rejuvenated. Gayumarth lives in the mountains. He and his men wear clothes of tigerskin. It was he who taught everyone.

---

41 Warner, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 118.
how to thrive in this environment. Even the wild beasts show him respect. Gayumarth’s reign lasted for thirty years.

The painting depicts Gayumarth surrounded by luxuriant vegetation. He sits in the middle on a leopard’s skin spread out on the blue and yellow rocks. From the sides of his throne leafy branches and red flowers grow. Around him is his retinue wearing clothes of animal skin. In the background the sky is different shades of blue.

In front of the throne is a rock through which flowers and grass burst forth. On both sides of the rock wild beasts lie quietly. The ground is painted yellow, and red is used only for the flowers, boots and clothes.

Beside Gayumarth is written “adam-i safi (pure man),” and above on the right, “Kalâm-i Ahmad-i Lachîn (Drawn by Ahmad Lachîn).”

The elaborate treatment lavished on the painting of the rocks and the placing of the flowers and leafy branches create an atmosphere rich enough in detail for an enthronement scene.  

A King Enthroned (fig. 12).

The throne, slightly to the right, with the king sitting on it, is shown in a building which occupies almost the entire miniature. Blooming branches and sky are visible through the iron grilles of the two windows behind the throne. The windows are connected by a frieze with a gold wall between them. The golden throne is decorated with red flower motifs. The king sits with his hands on his knees, holding a handkerchief in one hand. On both sides we see his retinue and people he is receiving. In front of the throne there is a hexagonal pond. The violet-colored floor is completely decorated. The throne is framed by curtains hanging in folds from the ceiling. In the garden on the left, there are white elephants decorated with small bells. Behind them wavy blue and white clouds are visible. The hall in which the throne is placed and the garden are joined by the door, held ajar by a man in red clothes. Grey, green, brown, red, violet, blue and especially orange dominate the painting.

The portrayal of the ruler on the throne, separated from the rest, the weapons in the hands of his retinue and the posture of people sitting in his presence give the scene a formal appearance. Though orange is the dominant color, the ruler is immediately noticeable in his dark blue clothes and his black and white striped coat. The blue sky seen through the windows and the half-open door on the left add a feeling of depth, a third-dimension to the picture. The white elephants in front of the door are an indication of the sultan’s wealth. The words “Sayyid Muhammed” over the head of the main figure are a later addition. It is impossible to say who is depicted in this scene. A piece of writing which might have been a clue to the identity of the ruler is not legible on the elephant’s trunk. We can only conclude, because of its stylistic resemblance to other similar scenes in the Shahnahveh, that it is an illustration for the work.

Jamsbîd Teaching the Crafts (fig. 13).

Jamsbîd, who also rules over the demons, teaches his people all types of crafts,


including the making of armor and weapons.\(^4\)

In the upper half of the scene the sultan sits on his throne. Behind him are windows through which trees are visible. On both sides of the throne curtains hang over walls covered with hexagonal tiles. The throne is gold and decorated with flower motifs. The sultan, dressed in dark blue and orange clothes and a striped gown, is pointing at the newly made objects. On the decorated floor in front of the throne lie swords, shields, helmets, maces and coats of mail. On both sides of the throne stand the sultan’s retinue; giants are watching them through the window on the right. On the frieze of kufic writing surrounding the window on the right of the throne, we can read “\(Sh\)\(ā\)\(b\)-\(i\) \(H\)\(ū\)\(d\)\(av\)\(end\)\(i\)\(g\)\(ā\)r.” The writing on the sultan’s belt does not seem to make sense.

The scene shows a wealth of decoration. Our attention is drawn to the sultan sitting on his throne surrounded by the curtains and the frieze. There is a great variety of types and postures in the figures.

*The Execution of Mani or of Farāmurz (fig. 14).*\(^5\)

One version of this painting is that it is narrating the story of a man called Mani marvellously skilled in the art of painting. He tells Shāh Shāpūr that he is the greatest evangelist and that he is spreading his message through his paintings, and asks him for permission to do missionary work in his territories. But he is accused of iconolatry, skinned and stuffed with hay, and left hanging at the city gate.

The following is the version of the hanging of Farāmurz: Farāmurz and Bahram’s armies meet at the frontier after Farāmurz hears that the army of Bahram, Isfandiyar’s son, has invaded Zabulistan. The army of Farāmurz is defeated, and he himself is taken prisoner after a long and valiant struggle. Bahram has him hanged by the feet and has arrows shot at him. So dies Farāmurz.

The hanging, the most important aspect of the painting, is placed in the center. Two gallows have been erected side by side: from one hangs a man wearing only white breeches; from the other only a head is held up by its hair. A fire, with gold flames, burns under the gallows. The blue sky and white clouds form a background for the gallows. The ground, painted pinkish-beige, rises from behind the hanged figures to form a hill behind the richly decorated tents on the left. The ruler, with mace in hand, sits in front of his tent decorated with blue rosettes and ornamental stripes and lined with red cloth. Some members of his retinue and the heads of three horses without bridles are visible behind him. On the right are the pink-colored city walls with a richly decorated gate through which two men watch. Someone is kneeling in front of them to stir the fire, and on the far right two others look on. The figures wear bright blue, olive green and brown clothes.

A group of paintings from the album, clearly taking *Shah-nameh* as their subject, show stylistic similarities to this miniature. The stories of hangings in the *Shah-nameh* that were considered nearest to our painting are the two related above, but neither

---

\(^4\) In the identification of this scene, I am indebted to B. W. Robinson for his valuable suggestions.

mentions burning. The painting, on the other hand, does not show arrows shot at the victim. It is possible that the artist may have added the fire for greater effect. The inclusion of a city gate increases the probability that the figure is Mani rather than Farāmurz.

Farīdun Abdicates in Favor of his Grandson, Minūchihr, and Entrusts Him to Sām (fig. 15).  

Minūchihr beheads both Sām and Tür. Farīdun wants to abdicate in favor of his grandson, Minūchihr, son of Iraj’s daughter; Iraj, himself, had been killed by Sām and Tür. Farīdun orders his council to meet and places the crown of Minūchihr’s head. He then entrusts him to Sām and asks him to look after his education. He then puts Sām’s hand into Minūchihr’s. Farīdun dies three days after this ceremony.

The throne is placed in the middle of the painting. Over it hang curtains decorated with gold flowers. Behind the throne the wall is dark blue with large flowers; on each side it is gold. A yellow carpet decorated with red flowers has been placed on the throne. Minūchihr and Farīdun sit on the left and right respectively, with Sām between. Sām holds Farīdun’s hand in his left hand and a wine cup in the other. Minūchihr grasps the mace lying on his knees with both hands.

Before them, on a violet-beige ground stand two wine decanters. Courtiers are visible on both sides. Dark-green, red, orange, dark-blue, yellow and beige are the dominant colors. On the left side wall is written “...awwal ...Zāl ...Kalām-i Ahmād Lachin” (drawn by Ahmad Lachin).

On the shoulder of the central figure is written “Sām-i Nariman.”

Although the scene shows great wealth of decoration skillfully executed, this does not interfere with the clarity of the main subject. By placing Sām between and making him hold hands with Farīdun, the artist has expressed his meaning admirably. The mace in Minūchihr’s hands is symbolic of his sovereignty. The other figures, too, add much richness to the scene.

Dāqiqī, The Poet, Stabbed by His Slave (fig. 16).  

Dāqiqī, who had started to write a history of the King of Persia, is stabbed to death by his favorite slave after he had composed a thousand couplets of the Shabnameh.

The incident takes place in a building, which has been divided into rectangular shapes, all richly decorated. On the left is a cupboard, with a cat on one of the shelves, to which a third dimension has been given by skillfully placed decorations. The cupboard seems to be normally covered by a purple curtain, now drawn up with a large knot. The murder scene takes up more than half the painting. Behind Dāqiqī is a cupboard, with one door open and books visible inside. He turns towards the slave who has attacked him and puts his hand on his wound. Before him on a low table are a bowl of fruit and a wine decanter. He sits on a carpet with a large floral design and a white kufic border design. Below the platform where the action takes place is a row of tiles. The painting is richly colored in orange, dark blue, green, red, yellow, violet, black and white. Gold is used exten-

46 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 231–233.
sively on the walls and titles. The only diagonal shapes are the decorations on the shelves and the open door of the cupboard behind Daqiqi. The whole miniature is divided into such richly embellished rectangular units that the figures seem inconsequential. There is no unity between the figures and the space. The wealth of the decorations makes it difficult to visualize the figures.

Within a frame above the painting there is writing about the theme of the scene. In the bottom left-hand corner is a piece of writing that reads “Kār-i Ahmad Lachin” (the work of Ahmad Lachin).  

Minūchihr Kills Tūr by Spearin Him in the Back (fig. 17).  

Farīdun sends his grandson, Minūchihr, to fight Tūr and his army. The two armies meet, and the chief of the Turks slaughters many. Tūr is soon surrounded and is speared in the back and killed by Minūchihr while he is trying to escape.

The painting has been pasted in the album without having been cut from an above text which describes a scene immediately preceding what is shown in this miniature. The important action takes place in the lower part of the painting. Minūchihr is on a horse galloping from left to right; he holds a spear in his right hand and the horse’s bridle in his left. (There is a faintly visible drawing of his left arm holding the spear.) The spear is stuck in the back of Tūr who is bent forward and about to fall from his horse. The other soldiers taking part in the fighting appear at the extreme bottom and the upper right. On the left is a row of horsemen, with trumpets and drums, and a standard-bearer. The pink-beige landscape forms a high horizon and extends beyond the frame. The sky is dark blue. An off white, grey, brown, blue, red and gold predominate the painting.

**Isfandiyār Killing the Dragon; Third Stage (fig. 18).**  

Isfandiyār’s guide on his journey to Turan following a route of seven stages is his prisoner, Gurgsār, who tells him that he is going to encounter a dragon on the third stage. Isfandiyār has a carriage built from which swords protrude, and he rides in it towards the dragon. The dragon tries to overthrow the carriage and the horses and is badly wounded by the swords in the process. Isfandiyār comes out of the carriage and kills the dragon, which has been weakened by the loss of blood. Isfandiyār falls on his knees and thanks God for his help.

The incident takes place in a magnificent setting. The rocks rising on the left have been painted in two shades of pink-beige. Before the rocks is the bleeding dragon painted blue-grey. A twisting tree trunk bends towards the left. The trunk is grey, and its small leaves are grey-green. On the right Isfandiyār kneels, and behind him stand his men. He wears a gown of animal skin and a gold helmet, and he is in the process of sheathing his sword. Above him, in the background is the carriage with a side view of the rear half of the horses. The carriage itself is very delicately decorated with gold on dark-grey, and its top is pyramid-
Fig. 1.—Zāl Welcoming Bahmān. H. 2153, 8 a (28.5 by 16.5 cm.).

Fig. 2.—The Marriage of Three Sons of Faridun to the Daughters of Serv, King of Yemen. H. 2153, 118a (28 by 21.5 cm.).
Fig. 3.—Isfandiyar Killing Two Lions; Second Stage. H. 2153, 16b (28 by 18 cm.).

Fig. 4.—Minûchîhr, After Having Cut off Salm’s Head, Observes it on the Point of a Spear. H. 2153, 35a (28 by 22 cm.).
Fig. 5.—Isfandiyar Killing Gûl, a Witch Capable of Transforming Days into Nights; Fourth Stage. H. 2160, 76b (27.5 by 18.5 cm.).

Fig. 6.—Simûrg Carrying Zâl to its Nest in the Elburz Mountains. H. 2153, 23a (31 by 19 cm.).
Fig. 7.—Sām goes to the Elburz Mountain and Prays after having dreamt about Zal. H. 2153, 156 b (33 by 28.5 cm.).

Fig. 8.—Minūchīhr Slaying Tūr with a spear. H. 2153, 22 b (28 by 22.5 cm.).
Fig. 9.—Zāl Showing his Skill to Minūchihr by Piercing the Trunk of a Tree with an Arrow. H. 2153, 112 b (28 by 22.5 cm.).

Fig. 10.—Zāl Shoots a Duck while Rudāba’s Ladies-in-waiting Watch. H. 2153, 65 b (25.5 by 19.3 cm.).
Fig. 11. — Gayomarth, the First Persian Sultan, Enthroned. H. 2153, 28b (27 by 26 cm.).

Fig. 12. — A King Enthroned. H. 2153, 28b (27 by 26 cm.).
Fig. 13.—Jamshid Teaching the Crafts. H. 2153, 55a (27 by 26 cm.).

Fig. 14.—The Execution of Mani or of Farâmurz. H. 2153, 113a (28.5 by 24 cm.).
Fig. 15.—Faridun Abdicates in Favor of his Grandson, Minūchīhr, and Entrusts Him to Sam. H. 2153, 134a (19.5 by 18.5 cm.).

Fig. 16.—Daqiqi, the Poet, Stabbed by His Slave. H. 2153, 112a (24 by 18.5 cm.).
Fig. 17.—Minūchīhr Kills Tür by Spearing Him in the Back. H. 2153, 102a (33 by 27.5 cm.).

Fig. 18.—Isfandīyar Killing the Dragon; Third Stage. H. 2153, 157a (46 by 33.5 cm.).
Fig. 19.—The Battle between Rustam and Juya of Mazandaran. H. 2153, 52 b (40.5 by 31.5 cm.) and 53 a (40 by 30.5 cm.).

Fig. 20.—Isfandiyar Killing the Wolves; First Stage. H. 2153, 73 b (32.5 by 28.5 cm.).
Fig. 21.—The Meeting of Zal and Rudaba. H. 2153, 171b (26.5 by 25 cm.).

Fig. 22.—The Sultan with a Scholar or Poet. H. 2153, 69a (25 by 21.5 cm.).
Fig. 24. — Rustam Falling Asleep at the Fifth Stage. H. 2153, 103b, 38.5 by 30.5 cm.

Fig. 25. — Rustam Killing the Witch. H. 2153, 103b. (43.5 by 33 cm.)
Fig. 25.—Tahmina Visits Rustam in his Room. H. 2153, 54b (31 by 26 cm.).

Fig. 26.—Gayūmarth, the First Persian Sultan, Enthroned. H. 2160, 62b (26.5 by 18 cm.).
Fig. 27.—Faridun Nails Zahhak into a Cave in the Damavand Mountain. H. 2153, 82a (34 by 29 cm.).

Fig. 28.—Rustam acts as Go-between in the Marriage of Fariburz with Firangis, Kay Khusraw’s Mother. H. 2160, 76a (26 by 19 cm.).
shaped. An inscription in Arabic encircles the pyramid. The blue-grey ground on which the carriage and the figures have been placed is decorated with dark-green plant motifs. The rocks on the left rise beyond the frame of the miniature.

The splendor of nature suggests that the narration of the event has been relegated into the background. A large portion of the miniature, devoted to a portrayal of nature, exhibits great care and skill in every detail. The use of various shades of the same color has given depth to the painting. An interesting aspect of the incident itself is that instead of one single moment three different moments of the encounter are depicted: the carriage and horses above give us the moment before the clash; below we see the dragon, wounded in four places, ready to attack Isfandiyar; Isfandiyar is shown sheathing his sword before he falls prostrate on the ground to thank God. The mass of rock on the left, the bent tree trunk, and the dragon, which looks as if it were part of the rock mass, balances the carriage and figures on the right.

*The Battle between Rustam and Juya of Mazandaran* (fig. 19).  

Rustam returns from Mazandaran, where he had been sent as an emissary, filled with hatred and anger, and tells his people what he saw and heard there. Kavus, the commander of the army, prepares for the battle in which the two sides meet on a plain. Juya, the famous champion of the Mazandaran army, challenges someone from the other side to single combat. Thereupon the two armies engage and the battle lasts for a week. When Rustam attacked Juya with his spear and pierced his armor, he was changed into a mountain through magic.

This large composition which covers two pages has been pasted in the album after the removal of a strip from the middle. Thus a narrow section of the painting, including a part of the main figures of the battle, is missing. The two armies, watching from both sides, constitute a frame for the painting. Those on the left are dressed in violet-purple clothes except for the front row which is in orange. The army on the right wears gold armor with red breast plates. The labelled flags of both parties are seen on the upper sides of the painting. The ground is pink-beige with tufts of grass in a darker tone. The horizon, with leafless trees, is very high, and the sky is painted in shaded tones of light-blue.

The fact that the protagonists of the encounter have been placed in the open space in the middle is enough to concentrate all attention on them. Both armies, by virtue of the artist’s arrangement and the great number of their soldiers, add to the wealth of the scene. The painting is clearly the work of a master in its detail and execution. The relative calm of the moments preceding Rustam’s eruption makes this a painting of great dramatic impact.

*Isfandiyar Killing the Wolves: First Stage* (fig. 20).

In Isfandiyar’s expedition to Turan in which he and his army are accompanied by his brother and his vizier, he is guided by his prisoner Gurgsar. They halt at a crossroads. Isfandiyar threatens Gurgsar with death if he does not act as a loyal guide, to

52 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 71-74.

53 Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 119-123.
which Gurgsar replies that there are three roads he can follow: the journey over the first would take three months, the second two months, and the third would take only a week but was infested by lions, wolves, dragons and witches. Isfandiyar prefers the third as it is the shortest even though it is full of danger. To complete the first stage of the journey he has to fight two monstrous wolves, one male and the other female. He weakens them by shooting arrows into them and then finishes them with his sword.

The ground is painted a warm beige color. The incident takes place within a triangle dotted with grass tufts and shrubs of different kinds. On both sides and above we see rocks, between which white clouds and a light blue sky are visible. Also blue-grey rocks extend along the bottom of the painting. In the center of the triangle is Isfandiyar, wearing a beautifully decorated gold armor. He is about to deal the huge wolf, with grey horns and long teeth, a blow with his sword. Both wolves have shafts of arrows sticking out of their bodies. Near the bottom of the picture, in the middle, is written "Kar-i Mir Halil" (the work of Mir Halil).

Although Isfandiyar and the two wolves constitute a second triangle within the larger triangle, there is no trace of rigidity about the composition which has been very skillfully handled.54

The Meeting of Zal and Rudaba (fig. 21).55

When Zal visits Kabul, he hears that the sultan, Mehrab, has a very beautiful daughter. He falls in love with her and finds it impossible to sleep at night thinking of her. Although Mehrab receives him most hospitably and invites him to a banquet in his palace, Zal imagines that this might impress his own people unfavorably and refuses the invitation. One day Mehrab happens to talk of Zal at his palace, and his daughter Rudaba falls in love with him. Her maids inform Zal of this and arrange a meeting between the two. One night Zal goes to see her, and she appears at the window. But talking to her from the street does not satisfy Zal, and he climbs to her window. He is offered wine and stays in her room until dawn. They part in tears, but they are to marry later and have a son, Rustam.

The scene is presented in an open terrace on top of high walls of stone or brick, which cover the lower half of the painting. In the upper half is the terrace surrounded by small embrasures on three sides. On the left is a door, but most of the space is devoted to the place where Zal and Rudaba are sitting on a striped cushion and embracing.

Before them is a table with a bowl of pomegranates, wine pitcher, cup and four candlesticks. On the left are two women serving them. On the right a woman plays a musical instrument for the lovers. Their cushion is placed on a raised platform covered with a carpet and decorated with tiles in front. On both sides of the platform are two windows whose curtains have been pulled up and tied with knots. Through the open window in the background a lily is visible.

54 B. Uğel, "Iki Minyatür Albümü Hakkında Notlar," Tarıh Vesikalari, Yeni seri, vol. 1 (August, 1955), pp. 135–141, fig. 2; Malerei der Mongolen, p. 86, fig. 50.

The Sultan with a Scholar or Poet (fig. 22).

The upper portion of the painting has been cut off, and the writing pasted in this space has no relation to the scene. The sultan sits on a cushion placed on a platform; he sits with his legs crossed and leans against a cushion with yellow, brown and white stripes. He wears a gold crown and a green gown with violet sleeves visible under it. He holds a handkerchief in his left hand. Behind him and to the right are two windows with gold grating through which we see flowers and blossoms. The wall behind him is covered with dark and light blue hexagonal tiles. On both sides of the sultan are yellow carpets bordered with white kufic design on red. A frieze of tiles covers the height of the platform. The floor is of slightly shaded light blue tiles. On the left is the figure of a scholar or a poet wearing a white turban and reddish brown clothes with a white shawl-like cover on his shoulders. He has an open book in his hand and is pointing at it while talking. At the bottom of the painting is a row of tiles with niche motifs.

There are no clues to enable us to identify the scene except a similarity in style to other Shah-nameh paintings. This might be the scene depicting the presentation of the book to which this painting belongs to Sultan Mahmud. The work is in rather bad condition, and the paint has worn off at the folds.

Rustam Killing the Witch (fig. 23).\textsuperscript{56}

Rustam sets out for Mazandaran, the land of giants and witches. After a long journey he comes to a grove where, to his surprise, he finds food and drink by a fountain. This was, in fact, the table of the witches who had run away when they heard him approaching. Rustam sits down, helps himself to food and drink, and then starts playing a lute that he found there. A witch, disguised as a young, pretty girl, comes to him. Rustam is so pleased with the turn of events that he thanks God. At the mention of God's name, the girl's face turns black. Only then does Rustam realize what is happening and, passing a noose around her neck, orders her to show her true self. He then kills her with his dagger.

The painting portrays the moment when Rustam has passed the noose around the neck of the witch. He has twisted the rope of the noose around his left arm and is preparing to draw his dagger. He wears a gold coat under a tiger skin and a gold helmet. The witch, colored very dark almost purplish-brown, has a terrible appearance with long pointed nails and teeth. In the bottom left is the saddle which Rustam removed from his horse, Rakhsh. Above, in the background, is the horse itself looking up from where it is grazing. Behind Rustam is the tree on which he has hung his weapons. The ground is reddish beige, with some grass here and there. In the middle we see the cup and the food.

Rustam Falling Asleep at the Fifth Stage (fig. 24).\textsuperscript{57}

One day Rustam gets bored and goes hunting on his horse, Rakhsh, towards the frontier of Turan. He reaches a plain where zebras are grazing; he kills one and cooks it on the fire. After the heavy meal he falls asleep while his horse grazes. Meanwhile

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 50–52.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., pp. 120–122.
some Turks passing by catch his horse and take it away. Rustam is grieved when he cannot find his horse upon awakening.

Rustam is asleep on his back in the right foreground using his saddle as a pillow. Over his gold coat of mail he wears a coat of tigerskin. Around him lie his quiver, bow and mace. On the left a man much smaller in stature is walking and is about to step outside the frame of the miniature. A row of rocks and bushes separates the meadow where the horse is grazing from the beige ground where the figures of Rustam and the Turk are presented. The horse, seen from the back, is orange-brown; and the meadow is painted in various shades of green with fine brush-strokes. In the upper left the dark-blue sky is visible.

The miniature is framed by texts above and below. The one above has no relation to the scene. An addition has been made also to the miniature, but it is very difficult to detect since it has been restored very skillfully. It starts from the bottom right corner and goes up, taking in Rustam’s quiver and joins the text above, over the dark blue-grey rock. Attention has been given to presenting the protagonist alone. His horse grazing freely is noteworthy. The scenery is not merely a background for the figures but becomes a space in which the figures have been freely placed.

_Tahmina Visits Rustam in His Room_ (fig. 25).\(^{58}\)

Rustam comes to Samangan looking for his stolen horse. He is welcomed by the sultan and other notables who promise to look for his horse. At the end of the banquet, Rustam feels drowsy and retires to his room. At midnight he awakens and is greatly surprised to see a slave with a candle in her hand and a very beautiful girl in his room. The beautiful girl is Tahmina, the sultan’s daughter. She declares her love for him and promises to find his horse and present him with untold wealth if he will marry her. Rustam asks the sultan for her hand. Out of their union Sohrab is born.

The incident takes place in a large room divided into three sections. On the left is an open window through which two women and a blossoming tree are seen. By the window is the chair on which Rustam’s armor, mace and helmet have been placed. Next to this first division is another long section with a closed window above and a door below with a violet and red curtain through which a woman is looking. The third section on the right takes the largest space and is divided into richly decorated rectangles. The wall in the background is covered with blue tiles. The raised platform, covered with animal skins and carpets, has a line of tiles in front, all decorated with _rumî_ and flower designs. The floor is covered with light blue hexagonal tiles. Rustam and Tahmina sit facing each other and converse gesticulating with their hands. Before them are gold utensils for drinks and food.

The whole miniature has been prepared without leaving any empty space; but by careful organization of all planes, an impression of confusion has been avoided. The platform on which Rustam and Tahmina has been treated as an ornamental surface, without any depth. However, the door and window through which the women are looking have added depth to the scene. The name “Ahmad Mūsā” has been added above the door.

---

Gayūmarth, the First Persian Sultan, Enthroned (fig. 26).  

When Gayūmarth ascends the throne, the sun shines even more brilliantly, and the whole world is rejuvenated. Gayūmarth and his men live in the mountains and wear animal skins. During his reign of thirty years he sets example of civilized living and is obeyed and respected even by wild beasts.

The scene is set among violet colored mountains where Gayūmarth sits barelegged on an animal skin. He wears a hat and clothes of leopard skin. Around him stand three bare legged men similarly dressed. Along the bottom of the miniature a tiger, a lion, a bear, a fox, a donkey, a horse, and a bear face the sovereign. On both sides of Gayūmarth, rocky mountains, painted in gold, rise into the sky. Behind him is a partially covered tree protruding from the rocks. Short trees, bushes and tufts of grass have been scattered on the mountains. At the bottom on the left “amal-i Sunullah” (made by Sunnullah) has been added later.

The scene is different from the usual enthronement scenes not only through the clothes and the presence of animals but also through the gestures of the men. The artist has thus tried to recreate the atmosphere of the period of the first Shah. The animals surrounding him clearly indicate their obedience to him.

Farīdun Nails Zahhak into a Cave in the Damāwand Mountain (fig. 27).  

Farīdun avenges his father by dethroning Zahhak who, through Satan’s curse, has snakes growing out of his shoulders which must be fed human brain. He wants to behead him after tying him securely, but an angel appears to him and tells him to take the prisoner to the Damāwand mountain. Accompanied by a few of his men, Farīdun takes Zahhak there and nails him to the mountain. Zahhak remains there bleeding, and his name vanishes from the face of the earth.

The dark grey and blue scene is set in mountainous country. Zahhak is immediately noticeable with his white beard and hair and arms held open against the dark cave. He wears only white trousers. The snakes growing out of his shoulders are twisted around his arms. Two men are driving nails into his arms and legs while a third man holds a candle. On the right, Farīdun, on his white horse, looks on with two of his men. The attendant behind him holds an umbrella over his head as a symbol of his sovereignty.

When the miniature was pasted in the album, a landscape from a different period was added on three sides. These sections include dark green and brown trees, bushes, and grass on the light beige ground whereas the living colors of the main scene indicate a later period.

Rustam Acts as Go-between in the Marriage of Farīburz with Firangīs, Kay Khusrāw’s Mother (fig. 28).  

Kay Khusrāw’s uncle, Farīburz, asks Rustam to act as go-between so that he can marry Firangīs, the widow of his brother, Siyawush. Rustam explains the situation to Kay Khusrāw, who says he will not object to the wedding if Firangīs is willing. Firangīs

59 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 118.
60 Ibid., pp. 168–170.
61 Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 146–149.
gīs is approached, and she accepts for her son’s and Rustam’s sake. So Firangīs and Farīburz are married.

On the beige, unpainted floor the elaborately decorated throne has been placed, and on it sits Kay Khusraw in violet and white clothes. The wall behind the throne is covered with turquoise and dark blue hexagonal tiles. Two figures, with a sword and a fan, stand behind the throne. On both sides are doors (or cupboards) with curtains held up with knots. In the foreground to the left is Firangīs in white and dark red clothes, her hands covered and looking down. With her is a woman in dark clothes. Kay Khusraw is addressing his mother, with his hands extended towards her. On the right stands Rustam with his mace on his shoulder and his shield hanging from his belt. Behind him are two male figures.

The unpainted state of the floor and the two upper corners indicate that the miniature is not complete. It portrays the moment Kay Khusraw tells his mother about the marriage. Firangīs’s and Rustam’s expressions give meaning to the scene. It looks as if Rustam were waiting for his turn to speak. The attendants around Kay Khusraw are indications of his power.
A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECTURAL PLAN
OF ISTANBUL

By WALTER B. DENNY *

In the Istanbul University Library is a remarkable illustrated
Ottoman manuscript, whose 107 miniatures illustrate the
halting places of the armies of Süleyman I in his campaign into the two Iraqs in
the years 1535–37. Entitled Mecmu-i Menazil,
or “Compilation of the Halting-Places,” it has long been known to contain
topographical information on the cities of Anato-
lia, western Persia and Iraq as they ap-
peared in the 16th century.1 The historian
and mathematician Nasuh as-Silahi alm-
Matraki, who wrote the work in 1537,
evidently planned for such a large number
of miniatures in order to illustrate each
step of the journey; the artists who exe-
cuted the miniatures created depictions of
various cities which were often so accurate
that they can be of great usefulness to the
20th-century scholar.2

Among the miniatures, it is most fre-
quently the depictions of large cities which
show the greatest topographical and ar-
chitectural accuracy, while the numerous
landscapes and tombs of holy men, by their
greater degree of stylization and schemati-
ization, serve rather as colorful accents to
the text, indicating symbolically the pass-
ing of events in the narrative. Thus the
views of Tabriz, Sultaniye, Baghdad, Di-
yarbekir and Istanbul contain more mate-
rial of interest for the historian of archi-
itecture than do the depictions of numerous
Imam Zâdes in the Iranian countryside.

None of the city plans or depictions in
the Mecmu-i Menazil has attracted more
interest than that of the city of Istanbul it-
self, shown with the suburb of Galata in
the opening two-folio illustration (figs.
1–4). Discussed in some detail in an im-
portant article by Albert Gabriel3 and il-
lustrated in color in two recent general
works dealing with Ottoman art,4 this plan
of Istanbul not only gives information ab-
out the 16th-century topography and ar-
chitecture of the Ottoman capital but in
addition provides insights into contem-
orary modes of representation and ordering
of visual data.

The artist in effect created a map of the

Ibid.
4 Cf. Art Treasures of Turkey, ed. E. Akurgal,
C. Mango, and R. Ettinghausen, Geneva, 1966,
p. 200; and David Talbot Rice, Constantinople,
New York, 1965, p. 162. Other miniatures from
the MS. are illustrated in Turkey – Ancient Mini-

* Assistant Professor of Art, University of
Massachusetts.
1 Istanbul University Library MS. Yildiz T
5964. I am indebted to Professors Oleg Grabar,
James Ackerman, John Rosenfield, and William
MacDonald of Harvard University for many
suggestions on the text and notes. I would like to
thank Professor Doğan Kuban and the staff of
the Istanbul University Library who were of valu-
able assistance in obtaining the photographs. Professor
H. Sumner Boyd of Robert College, whose new
historical guide to Istanbul will shortly be pub-
lished, and who helped revise many of the attribu-
tions.
2 A full list of the miniatures in the MS. is
given by Albert Gabriel, in his article “Les étapes
d’une campagne dans les deux ‘Iraq d’après un
manuscrit turc du XVIe siècle” in Syria, vol. 9
city and then depicted important landmarks en face on that map. The upper part of the map of Istanbul (fig. 1) comprises the tip of the Stambul peninsula which, because it was the site of many of the most important monuments then existing in the city, was exaggerated in size; the lower right corner of the map, containing the Ye-di Kule quarter, was greatly compacted to fit the page. Thus the Stambul peninsula, essentially a triangle about four miles on a side, became a rectangle in order to fit the folio of the manuscript. In this rectangle the artist depicted over two hundred buildings, many of them positively identifiable through their form as well as their location, and many of the others identifiable with a greater or lesser degree of certainty. The great historian of Turkish art, Albert Gabriel, in his valuable article on the manuscript, reflected the relative advancement of Byzantine studies over Ottoman scholarship at that time by attempting to place virtually all of the known Byzantine churches on the Stambul map, while neglecting some of the lesser-known mosques. The publication since Gabriel’s article of many important studies on the city of Istanbul enables us to expand Gabriel’s list of identifiable monuments and makes possible a more detailed examination of the method and rationale of the illustrations in the manuscript.

Several general observations can be made on the typology and arrangement of buildings in the map. First, within the city certain conventional forms and stylizations one might term “architectural shorthand” appear to have been used to denote specific types of buildings. Roofs made of lead, for example, are clearly distinct from those covered with tile. Grey is used to indicate stone construction, while other buildings in their white or yellow color suggest stuccoed brick. Baths are almost invariably shown as two-domed edifices with a tiny vestibule under one dome, regardless of the appearance of the actual monument. Türbes or tomb buildings are usually shown with a peculiar lantern-dome, not present on any such building in the city today. Some of the most enigmatic conventions employed are those for some Byzantine buildings; the church of Hagia Irene in the first court of the Topkapi Palace (no. 2; fig. 9) is shown in the form of a Russian or Byzantine church totally at odds with its actual appearance, suggesting that the artist may have used an icon as his model, rather than the building itself.

Apart from these typological categories, there are other conventions employed on the map which give important insights into its genesis. There is a definite hierarchy of scale and accuracy; the most important and larger buildings are less conventionalized, and their relative size on the map is quite large. Further, there appears often to be a greater regard for accuracy in an enumerative sense than in an architectural or topographical sense. Among the most interesting examples of this

5 The number reference refers to the numbers for each monument given in figs. 2 and 4, while the figure reference will hereafter refer to detail photographs of the miniatures illustrating the buildings discussed.

6 The accurate portrayal of architectural monuments appears to have been characteristic of Russian icons of this period. As examples of the general type, cf. K. Onasch, *Ikonen*, Berlin, 1961, especially plates 41, 57, and 108. The parallels appear striking enough to make plausible the suggestion that such images were indeed available to the artist of the plan.
attitude occur in the illustrations of what are termed "dependency buildings" of the various major mosques.

As Ottoman Turkish mosques served not only as houses of worship but as the central focus of a group of buildings called a külliye, which served social, educational, health and economic needs of the community or a quarter, one might well expect to see these important smaller külliye buildings depicted on the map. Looking at the mosque of Sultan Beyazit II (no. 45; fig. 15) we see four buildings of grey stone ranged around the mosque itself. To the left is an imaret or alms-kitchen (no. 46; fig. 15), with its vented domes, each topped by an aedicule, allowing the smoke of cooking to escape. To the right is a medrese or school (no. 47; fig. 15), seen en face; in plan the actual building is a rectangular courtyard surrounded by domed chambers, with the higher dome, that of the dershane or classroom, opposite the main portal. Above the medrese on the map is a bath (no. 48), with its two domes covering the cold and hot rooms, and a door indicating the entrance. Above and to the left of the bath is the türbe of Sultan Beyazit (no. 49), shown in conventionalized form with a sort of lantern-dome.

While the actual depiction of the buildings is remarkably accurate with regard to the mosque, imaret, and medrese, the disposition of the buildings with regard to one another is totally inaccurate. This might lead us to the conclusion that the artist of the Istanbul plan was primarily interested in enumerating the monuments of the city, with topographical accuracy very much a secondary consideration. In much the same way, contemporary pilgrimage maps of Rome depicted the seven pilgrim-
age basilicas in greatly outsized scale superimposed on a plan of the city. Such a mode of representation suggests striking parallels with the Ottoman literary mode of describing cities or architectural monuments through the centuries. In such works as the Tezkeret ül-Bünyan of the 16th-century poet Sâ-î, and in the many works of city-description, either in travelers' accounts or in compilations of architectural monuments such as the Hadikat ül-Cevami of the 18th century, the concern is in enumerating long lists of buildings, in some arbitrary order, whether alphabetical, chronological, or by size, location, or degree of holiness; each building on the list is often given a brief note as well. The provided information rarely, if ever, deals with an architectural description of the building's form except in poetic metaphor or hyperbole; rather, in the same enumerative tradition, the treatise will discuss the number of minarets, the number and type of dependencies, or will provide anecdotes about the designer of the stained glass or the inscriptions, together with information on the founder and the burials at the mosque.

7 For example, the map of Rome, Pilgrims visiting the seven churches in 1575, in A. Lafêty, Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, of the sixteenth century.

8 The tezkere, a list of the works of the architect Sinan, is given in abbreviated form in E. Egli, Sinan, Zurich, 1954, p. 124; an excellent concordance of three such tezkere dealing with Sinan is given by S. and A. Batur in their article "Sinan'ın Yapitlari" in Koca Sinan, Istanbul, 1968.

With this type of parallel in mind, one might venture hypotheses on several buildings which otherwise create puzzling problems on the plan. For example, the Atik Ali Pasha mosque built by the sadrazam or Grand Vezir to Beyazit II, has to its left on the plan a three-domed building whose place today, if we were to accept its accuracy, is occupied by a parking lot (nos. 33–34; fig. 5). Arguments for this building having been the demolished medrese of the mosque could be countered by the fact that the conventional depiction of a medrese on the map, with the exception of the most important ones, is a long, low building with numerous chimneys, corresponding to the actual appearance of most such buildings in Istanbul. Further, a revak or porch, in the form of a son cemaat yeri or late-worshippers’ place, is shown plainly on the front of the building in question.

If one were to posit literary sources as well as first-hand observation as a basis for the map, one might explain the building as the mosque of Zincirlikuyu, a six-domed mosque also founded by Atik Ali Pasha, but located in fact near the Edirne gate at the other end of the city, and apparently not depicted on the plan. The inclusion of the names of both buildings together in a literary source might have led to an accurate portrayal of the building in the wrong place.

More definite evidences of such an enumerative interest, this time in a quantitative sense, are present in the depictions of modular buildings, where one unit is repeated several times. Thus the bedesten or the covered bazaar (no. 37; fig. 14), above and to the left of the mosque of Beyazit on the map, is shown with the 15 domes it actually possesses; similarly, the Yedi Kule fortress in the lower right corner (no. 80; fig. 7) is shown with the seven towers its name indicates, although the forms of the towers recall those of the Kremlin in Moscow, with their fantastic spires.10

The desire to enumerate in an orderly manner may also explain the frequent depiction on the plan of orderly rows of buildings. To the left of the depiction of the mosque of Mahmut Pasha (no. 38; fig. 9) is a row of four buildings extending to the Golden Horn. They are, from left to right, a bath with two domes (no. 42), probably that built by Mahmut Pasha as a dependency of his mosque; a two-storied building which might be the mektep or primary school of the mosque (no. 41); a çeşme or trough fountain (no. 40); and another two-storied edifice, which may have been a private residence or kasır (no. 39).

The forms of many of these conventionalized representations of buildings are derived from actual observation, even as stereotypes. The two domes of the bath represent the domed camegâh and siceklik, or cold and hot rooms; remaining kasırs from the 16th-century show that this type of urban residence was indeed frequently part two-storied and part single-storied, often with a great domed room and a prominent chimney as the most noticeable features. The parallels between the kasır of the map and the existing residences of Da- vut Pasha and Siyavuş Pasha establish be-

10 The form of the Yedi Kule fortress in the plan appears to confirm the probability that icons, probably Russian icons, were used by the artist as the basis for some of the images on the plan. See, for example, virtually the same form of polygonal tower in a six-day icon from the first half of the 16th century illustrated in T. Talbot Rice, ed., Icons, London, 1959.
yond a doubt the identity of this stereotype; when the artist depicted the Byzantine Tekfur Saray palace (no. 90; fig. 10) he showed it as a larger version of other kusurs of the city, such as that between the Kilise mosque and the Aqueduct (no. 63, 62; fig. 10).

Thus the artist’s plan demonstrates an awareness of architecture developed to the extent that, in the Istanbul plan at least, the images of buildings are both symbolic and to some extent recorded observations as well; in marked contrast to this are the plans of other cities in the manuscript, such as that of Kufa, where symbols exist for buildings without any particular regard for type. In the plan of Istanbul, the city in which the illustrations were created, it is interesting to see that in those monuments where ground plan is the main determinant of architectural form, a “perspective” or three-quarter aerial view is used by the artist, whereas those buildings whose identity is established by their façade are depicted in elevation. Thus the courts of the Topkapi Palace (nos. 4, 7, 8; fig. 9), the bedesten (no. 37; fig. 14), the namazgâh of Hasan Efendi (no. 30; fig. 11) and the curious double medrese (no. 72; fig. 7), to mention but a few, are shown from the air, while the four greatest mosques, those of Aya Sofya (no. 25; fig. 5), Beyazit II (no. 45; fig. 15), Mehmet II (no. 66; fig. 12) and Selim I (no. 95; fig. 10) are shown, with really quite remarkable accuracy, in elevation.

Contrasting this accuracy in elevation with the frequently inaccurate plans of equally important monuments on the map, such as the Topkapi Palace, one may easily arrive at the facile explanation that it is easier to draw what one can see (elevation) than what one must conceptualize in an abstract sense. Yet the same artist, in another miniature in the manuscript, depicted a cross-section of a mosque and tomb with considerable accuracy. Whether one should rely on the dictum of U. Vogt-Göknil (“Ce que les Byzants concevaient en plan, les Turcs le voyaient en élévation”) or not, this does cast light on the fact that no Turkish architectural drawings or plans for use by builders are known to exist from the great period of building in the 16th century; the mentality which could create great buildings from empirical (i.e. visual) mental images and that which would illustrate buildings in this manner, and with this particular type of accuracy, are one and the same.  

15 Miniatures in other manuscripts can be used to support this point. In the Surname or “Book of Festivals” of Murad III from 1582 in the Topkapi Palace libraries (Hazine 1344) are many miniatures with prominent architectural subject-matter. Fol. 179 verso, for example, shows a model of the mosque of Süleyman I being carried in a procession by members of the mason’s guild. The painter has recorded correctly the number of arches, columns, windows, etc., but the proportions are not those of the building as it exists. Such models, it may be added, served Ottoman builders in lieu of drawings, but unfortunately none has survived. Cf. F. Öğütmen, XII-XVIII yüzylar arasında Minyatür Sanatından Örnekler, Istanbul, 1966, illus. after page 30.
It might be asked why some monuments have been depicted by the artist in fairly prominent scale, when in fact they are large neither in size nor in importance in our view of today. It would seem logical to suppose that the painter would make every effort to represent buildings founded by living personages of importance in the Ottoman court. In this way we can explain the relative prominence of the namazgâh of Hasan Efendi (no. 29; fig. 11) and other minor buildings; one might even hypothesize that virtually every building of any size shown on the map might have had a particular and definite identification at the time of painting because artists wished to please the powerful officials and their families, whose prestige was increased by their architectural patronage. Likewise, several very important topographical features of the city are not represented at all; the three great open cisterns of the city are missing from the plan, probably due both to the fact that they were not connected with an important contemporary patron and that a convenient mode of representation for a large hole in the ground did not exist.

Looking at the manuscript as a whole, one also notices in the illustrations a great prominence of religious buildings, whether rural Imam Zade or the great urban shrines of the two Idrâs. In our identifications of buildings on the Istanbul map, we have kept this religious emphasis in mind.

What direct bearing our map or plan of Istanbul may have on 16th-century architectural practice is more difficult to establish. The absence of detailed architectural drawings from that period, together with the very tenuous relationship existing between design as an element of drawing and the Islamic buildings themselves, makes it difficult to say much with regard to the map as documentation of attitudes toward architecture itself or toward the construction of monuments. However, on a limited plane, one may extrapolate a consciousness of architecture of a type different from that existing elsewhere in Islam. Whereas a 16th-century artist working in the matrix of the Persian tradition generally depicts buildings as a setting for the human figure, the Mecmu-i Menâzîl, in its strict iconoclasm, features buildings as its main subject-matter. Buildings become either symbols for holy men or are used to indicate what a given place looked like and what difficulties it presented when Süleyman’s armies passed through. A Persian building of the time, with its elaborately decorated surfaces, was depicted in Persian miniatures as precisely that—a series of elaborately decorated surfaces. The tasks of the designer of architectural revetments and that of the miniature painter, in this context, were almost identical. But if abstract surfaces formed a setting for the romantic events of Persian painting, Turkish painting concerned itself with more mundane matters. Consequently, even the architectural settings for the miniatures of processions, battles, festivals, and sieges, which form such an important part of Ottoman miniature painting, are more tangible, more rugged and true-to-life in keeping with the nature of the subject depicted.\(^{16}\)

\(^{16}\) While this description of Ottoman miniature painting has virtually become a cliché, it is nevertheless an accurate description of its qualities. Cf. the introduction by R. Ettinghausen in Turkey—Ancient Miniatures, UNESCO, Paris, 1961.
The descriptive qualities of Ottoman painting, seen so well in our map, are a mirror of Ottoman culture and a reflection of the “Turkishness” of this art. It must remain the task of a more exhaustive analysis of Ottoman society and culture to determine those cultural and social factors which led to such a great production of descriptive literary tracts and poems, such a concern with the contemporary scene and such a relative emphasis on the empirical in literature and painting which in part distinguished Ottoman culture from its neighbor to the east, Safavid Persia.

With regard to architecture, we have seen that the particular consciousness evident in the plan under discussion caused form rather than decoration to constitute the main visual determinant of Ottoman architecture. Parallel to this, by the thirties of the 16th century, Ottoman architecture had evolved into a great number of well-established genres quite unlike one another in form, although sharing common principles of construction and a common vocabulary of structural units. Thus an Ottoman artist would be more aware of the form of a given building, more interested in depicting it accurately in order to make it recognizable to potential viewers sharing the same consciousness of form, and more likely to use conventionalized representations of materials, such as stone and brick, as the constituent elements of a building’s form, in order to identify a building.

Closely connected with this is a sense of propriety. Brick is not a proper material for a mosque; hence the brick mosque of Rumi Mehmet Pasha (no. 105) and the converted brick church of Küçük Aya Sofya (no. 31; fig. 11) are painted grey (stone) by the artist. It is improper for a church to look like a mosque, so two churches are given forms, possibly copied from Greek or Russian icons (nos. 2, 14; fig. 6), which are definitely church-like, and which no one would mistake for a mosque. Such a distinction, whether in a portrayal or in the actual building, does not exist to a parallel extent in Persian architecture, where the same basic forms found in the mosque are repeated in much the same arrangement in other buildings, and the iwan serves as a background to miniature paintings depicting palaces, schools, baths, and private houses.

To a great extent the sources of these conceptions of architecture are found in the genesis of Ottoman buildings themselves. Ottoman builders exploited the colors and natural textures of stone and lead, brick and tile, to an extent not reached by any other Islamic architecture in the 16th century. Similarly, the differentiation in form conforming to the use of a building, as we have seen, is quite pronounced in the Ottoman architecture of that time. The rich variety of types—soup-kitchens and Koran-schools, baths and tombs, mansions and libraries, sea-side houses, primary schools, and fountains—each had its own proper form, materials, scale, and location. The obvious reflection of this tradition in the Meemnu-i Menazil plan of Istanbul indicates a mode of making images and a set of attitudes toward architecture in harmony with one another.

This harmony enables the plan to constitute an effective image of the city as it was in the yet-early years of Süleyman’s reign. Curiously, although under Ottoman domination for more than eighty years, the
city appears through our Notes on the plan still markedly Byzantine in architectural flavor, due to the high proportion of converted Byzantine structures put to use by the Turks. The great surge of building under Mehmet II in the 15th century resulted in a large number of smaller, often practical and utilitarian buildings; small mosques, schools, and evidently fountains also were built in large numbers. But it is the great buildings of the latter part of Süleyman’s reign, and of the reigns of his son and grandson which, in an ornamental sense, in a sense indeed of elevation rather than plan, most fully contribute to the character of Istanbul as it appears today. In our plan, this impending period of great artistic activity is indicated by an unprecedented degree of architectural realism and topographical accuracy blending with an older tradition of enumeration and stylization at once literary and visual. Thus it is a documentation not only of a city but of a style of painting and a type of architecture and, more than that, of the attitudes and values in whose matrix the arts were created and the city adorned.

KEY TO THE ILLUSTRATIONS

These notes are given as a supplement to Gabriel’s attributions as given in his article “Les Étapes d’une Campagne dans les deux ‘Iraq” in Syria, vol. 9 (1928). Keyed to figures 1 and 2, expanded notes are given where Gabriel has not made an attribution, where there was disagreement with Gabriel, or where a particular building illuminates or illustrates points discussed above. In a number of instances the present article merely makes tentative attributions of buildings illustrated in the plan.

Where pertinent Gabriel’s enumeration is indicated.

1. The Bab-i Hümâyûn of the Topkapı Palace, depicted with its second storey, later destroyed in the 19th century.

2. Church of Hagia Irene (Gabriel 1a). Built by Justinian following the Nika riot and used after the Ottoman conquest for non-religious purposes. The form of the structure not only resembles existing buildings at Vladimir and Pereyaslav-Zalesk but has close parallels in Slavic icons of the 16th century.

3. The Orta Kapi or middle gate of the Topkapı Palace (Gabriel 1 b).

4. The first court of the Topkapı Palace (Gabriel 1).

5. The Kubbealtı (Gabriel 1 c). Meeting-place of the Divan.

6. The Divan tower (Gabriel 1 d). The tower in its present form dates from a later restoration. The German artist Lorichs illustrated it in 1559 in more or less the same form. (Cf. E. Oberhummer, Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen, Munich, 1902, pl. III.)

7. Second court of the Topkapı Palace (Gabriel 1 e).

8. Third court of the Topkapı Palace (Gabriel 1 f). As Gabriel remarks, the axis has been turned 90 degrees for reasons of space available on the page.

9. Throne room of the Topkapı Palace (Gabriel 1 g). This is probably the domed building illustrated by Lorichs (Oberhummer, op. cit., pl. III), since destroyed. The
present throne room, a more modest building, is evidently of 15th-century origin, although its interior was destroyed by a fire in 1856; the exterior decoration may be from the first half of the 16th century. The most prominent 15th-century building in the palace proper, the kiosk of Mehmet II Fâṭih, is a large double-domed building overlooking the Marmara. Possibly number 9 or 10 may represent this building.

10. A kiosk (Gabriel 11). Given its location on the shore, it is possible that this kiosk may have been located in the Mangana quarter.

11. A kiosk on the harbor shore (Gabriel 11). Gabriel's identification of this building, with its protruding buttress on the right, as the Çinili Köşk or tiled kiosk of Mehmet II, would appear to be incorrect. The latter building may have been eliminated from the plan for reason of insufficient space on the page, although the 90-degree turn executed by the artist makes it quite ambiguous. There have been summer kiosks on the harbor since the sixteenth century (Cf. N. M. Penzer, The Harem, London, 1965, p. 73), and the Yalı Köşk or seaside kiosk is shown by Lorichs as "das Lusthaus des Kaisers" (Oberhummer, op. cit., p. III). The conical-roofed tower slightly to the right of no. 11 on the land walls is probably another kiosk also illustrated by Lorichs in the same drawing.

12. The stables (Gabriel 8).

13. A tower (Gabriel 9).

14. A church (Gabriel 5). Identified by Gabriel as the convent of St. John and illustrated by Vavassore in his plan of 1520 as the church of St. Luke Evangelist (Oberhummer, op. cit., p. 22). R. Janin, in his monumental La Geographie Écclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantine, Paris, 1953, vol. 3, makes no mention of a church of St. Luke in this location, and one would not expect the church of St. John to have been depicted so prominently. The church is shown in white, with tiled domes, in a pronounced late Byzantine style with parallels in icons.


16. A church or mosque.

17. The sphedone of the Hippodrome (Gabriel 3c).

18. Votive column in the Hippodrome (Gabriel 3c).

19. The Built Obelisk in the Hippodrome (Gabriel 3m).

20. The Hippodrome (At Meydani) (Gabriel 3). Frequently depicted through the centuries, the Hippodrome with all of the monuments shown here is illustrated by Coecke van Elst in his Les Mœurs et fa-chons de faire de Turcs of 1533 and in the Turkish MS. of the Surname of Murad III of about 1585 in the Topkapı Palace.

21. The Serpentine Column in the Hippodrome (Gabriel 3n).

22. Obelisk erected by Theodosius II in the Hippodrome (Gabriel 3l).

23. Votive column (Gabriel 3n).

24. Baths of Zeuxippus (Gabriel 4). Gabriel's argument for this brick structure being the church of St. Stephen must be dis-
25. Church of Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya Mosque) (Gabriel 2). Shown in yellow (stucco).

26. Baptistery of the Hagia Sophia. Shown on the wrong side of the church, the building is now the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim.

27. Mosque of Firuz Ağa (Gabriel 13). Built in 1494 and shown in grey (stone), the mosque is one of the few in Istanbul whose minaret is actually to the left of the façade. The artist's sense of propriety shows it conventionally to the right. Coeck van Elst illustrated it in 1533. (Cf. P. Coles, *The Ottoman Impact on Europe*, London, 1968, fig. 37.)

28. Palace of Ibrahim Pasha at the Hippodrome (Gabriel 10). Ibrahim, sadrazam to Süleyman I, was executed in 1536. His wealth was supposedly equal to that of the Sultan himself. On the palace, cf. Z. Orgun, *Ibrahim Paşa Sarayı*, Istanbul, 1939; I. H. Konyali, *Istanbul Sarayları I, Atmeydan Sarayları*, Istanbul, 1943; and the contemporary illustrations in the above-mentioned *Surnâme* of Murad III, some reproduced in *Turkish Miniatures, Introduction* by R. Ettinghausen, New York, 1965. A few parts of the building still exist and are being restored to house the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art.

29. A fountain. The fountain is of the çeşme type, with a tap or taps above a trough, with a rectangular reservoir. The standard work on such fountains, I. H. Taşkın's *Istanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1943, lists only two fountains dating before 1537, neither of which appears on our plan. Due to the many earthquakes and fires which have ravaged Istanbul in the course of its history and the great popularity of fountain-building as a religiously-sanctioned good work, one may assume that the numerous fountains which must have existed in Istanbul of 1537 have been destroyed, their places to be taken by later structures.

30. Namazgâh of 'Iraqi Zâde Hasan Efendi (Gabriel 11). A raised open-air praying platform, it is shown from the air as it has no distinguishing façade.

31. Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus (Küçük Aya Sofya Mosque) (Gabriel 12). Converted into a mosque by Hüseyin Ağa around 1500, the building bears little resemblance to the image on the plan. The two-domed building below and slightly to the left is the Çardakli bath, built in 1504 as a dependency to the converted mosque. (Cf. S. Eyice, *Istanbul, Petit Guide*, Istanbul, 1955, no. 39.)

32. The column of Constantine (Gabriel 18).

33. Mosque of Atik Ali Pasha (Gabriel 17). Built by the sadrazam to Beyazit II, the image is conventionalized and virtually indistinguishable from no. 31.

34. Possibly the Mosque of Zincirlikuyu. This building, which could also be the medrese of no. 33, may have been the result of an error by the artist, as referred to
Fig. 1.—Plan of the Stambul peninsula.
Fig. 2.—Plan of the Stambul peninsula.
Fig. 3.—Plan of Galata and the Golden Horn.
Fig. 4.—Plan of Galata and the Golden Horn.
Fig. 5. — Central Stamboul (nos. 1-49, 52-54, 65).

Fig. 6. — Stamboul Point (nos. 1-4, 23-27, 32-38, 45-51).
Fig. 9.—Topkapi Palace Quarter (nos. 1–13, 25, 26, 36–44).

Fig. 10.—Fatih—Edirnekapi Quarter (nos. 59–64, 66–71, 83–87, 89–95).

Fig. 11.—Kadirga Quarter (nos. 17, 18, 29–31).

Fig. 12.—Mosque of Mehmet II (no. 45).
Fig. 13.—The Hippodrome (nos. 18–23, 28).

Fig. 14.—The Covered Bazaar (no. 37).

Fig. 15.—The Külliye of Beyazit II (nos. 45–49).
Fig. 16.—Galata—Tophane (nos. 102, 110–113, 115, 118, 119, 120).

Fig. 17.—Galata—Kasimpasa (nos. 107–109).
above (see p. 52), in the placing of Atik Ali Pasha’s mosque of Zincirlikuyu, built near the Edirne Gate. That mosque is of an unusual type for Istanbul, consisting of six domes of equal size, in two rows of three, fronted by a revak or porch. (Cf. Gabriel, “Les Mosquées de Constantinople” in Syria, vol. 7 [1926]).

35. A *han* or merchant warehouse.

36. Professor Hilary Sumner Boyd of Robert College suggests that this may represent the now-destroyed *medrese* of the Aya Sofya mosque, built by Mehmet II.

37. *Bedesten* or covered market of Mehmet II (Gabriel 14). (Cf. Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, p. 398 ff.)

38. Mosque of Mahmut Pasha (Gabriel 15). Built by a general of Mehmet II. The bath dependency of the mosque is still today one of the grandest in Istanbul; the presence of a two-domed bath at the end of a row of buildings to the left of the mosque leads to our suggestion that the entire row may have been intended to represent dependencies of the mosque. (Cf. Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, p. 174 ff.)

39. A *kasr* or mansion. This building may be an important residence or the *mahkeme* or law courts mentioned by Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

40. *Çeşme* fountain, depicted under a cypress tree.

41. Possibly a *mektep* or primary school. Originally, according to Ayverdi, it was on what in our plan is the right side of the mosque. Such a building might be a private residence of the type of the so-called “Fâ-tih house” in Bursa, a two-storied edifice with a bottom storey of brick and the upper of wood with an open-air porch, as seen in Gabriel, *Brousse, Une Capitale Turque*, Paris, 1958; or it might be a school or library of the type represented in a later period by the library of Saliha Sultan at Eyüp near Istanbul.

42. Possibly the bath of Mahmut Pasha.

43. A church (Gabriel 42).

44. The mosque of Ibrahim Pasha. In the Lorichs’ panorama drawing (Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, pl. IX), there appears a prominent building with a pyramidal roof and a minaret, above which is the note “Ibrahim Pascha (kirchee) oder Moschea.” The proximity of the building in our plan and in Lorich’s drawing to the tower (no. 65) leaves little doubt that the building represented is the recently restored mosque of Candarlı Ibrahim Pasha, built in 1477 by the sadrazam of that name.

45. Mosque of Sultan Beyazıt II (Gabriel 20). The *exedrae* on each side of the wings of the mosque do not exist in the present building, and the ground level has risen sufficiently to obliterate the steps before the main door.

46. *İmaret* or alms-kitchen of Beyazıt II.

47. *Medrese* of Sultan Beyazıt II. Although the rows of chimneys are omitted by the artist, the raised dome of the *dershane* or classroom positively identifies the building.

48. Bath of Beyazıt II.

49. *Türbe* of Beyazıt II. The two-domed construction of many tombs in Istanbul, with an interior dome resting on columns and an exterior dome resting on the walls,
may be the source of the curious depiction of this and other tombs in the plan. The actual tomb has a single blind dome supported by the exterior walls, as seen from the exterior.

50. The Old Palace or Eski Sarayi (Gabriel 21). The artist has shown the palace, since destroyed, as a group of kiosks inside an inner wall, surrounded by a walled garden. The two-walled scheme is also shown by Lorichs. (Cf. Oberhummer, *op. cit.*, pl. IX–X.)

51. Myrelalion Church (Bodrum Mosque). Built with its convent by Romanos Lekapenos (920–944) and converted into a mosque by Mesih Ali Pasha.

52. A bath.

53. A fountain.

54. Kadirga Limani, a port (Gabriel 27). The Kadirga Limani was second in importance to the Kasimpasha shipyards in its facilities for the building of ships. The berths, covered with masonry arches, are also seen at Kasimpasha (no. 105), and reflect a traditional form going back to the famous Seljuk Turkish shipyards at Alan-ya, of the 13th century.

55. Langa or Vlanga Bostani (Gabriel 28). Formerly a port, the area was by the time of our plan filled in and used as a garden.

56. A mosque. See no. 72.

57. A basilica. Janin, *op. cit.*, apparently gives no reference to a basilica in this part of the city. It cannot be the "İsa Kapı Mes-cidi" for reasons of placement and may conceivably represent a church, since destroyed, of the Armenian faith.

58. A mosque, probably that of Murat Pasha. The existing building is a two-domed building in the Bursa tradition built of alternating courses of brick and stone. For the problem of attributing buildings in this quarter (see nos. 72 and 60).

59. The street at Aksaray (Gabriel 22). It is delineated by the simple expedient of showing twomedrese-like structures parallel to one another.

60. Mosque (Gabriel 23). Gabriel identified this image as the Kalender Hane mosque, the converted church of the Akataleptos convent. However, our number 61, by its proximity to the aqueduct and its dome on a high drum, must be the Kalender Hane, leaving this an unknown.

61. Kalender Hane mosque, formerly the Akataleptos church. The long building below right may be the kalender hane or der-vish convent itself.

62. Aqueduct of Valens (Bozdoğan Kemeri) (Gabriel 25).

63. Kilise mosque (Gabriel 41). Although an accurate depiction of the Kilise mosque in actual form, the actual building, formerly a Byzantine church, is constructed of brick. Gabriel identifies this image as the Pantokrator church, but the location and the accuracy of the depiction suggest the Kilise mosque, converted after the conquest by the şeyhülislâm Molla Gürani.

64. Pantokrator church (Gabriel 40). If the Kilise mosque, a small building, is shown with considerable accuracy on the map, the large triple church of the Pan- tokrator to the west across the valley is shown in drastically abbreviated form. In the series of buildings numbered 60–64, it
would seem that only numbers 61 and 63 can be attributed with confidence.

65. A tower. By its location it must be the tower illustrated by Lorichs; see number 44 above. It is probably the tower found today in the Valide Han; of middle Byzantine origin, it is incorporated into a later Ottoman structure.

66. Mosque of Mehmet II Fâtih (Gabriel 26). The image agrees closely with most restorations of the original Fâtih mosque, destroyed by an earthquake in the 18th century. (For other depictions of the building, cf. Ayverdi, op. cit., illus. 52-53.) It is interesting to note that this building is shown in perhaps the largest scale of any in the city; the dependencies, in contrast to those of the Beyazit mosque (nos. 45-49), are only summarily indicated.

67. Karadeniz or Black Sea medrese, indicated by the expedient of a row of domes along the enclosure wall.

68. Akdeniz or Mediterranean (white) Sea medrese.

69. Possibly the Darüüşşifa or medical medrese of the Fâtih mosque.

70. Possibly the numerous other dependencies of the Fâtih mosque are indicated thus. The importance of these medrese and other dependencies accorded in many texts makes it likely that the artist indicated them in some fashion or other.

71. A column, possibly that of Marcian (Kıztaşı) although the location suggests it may be some other commemorative column of Byzantine times. Professor Boyd of Robert College suggests it is probably the Column of Virginity on the fifth hill, which was taken from its original location and used in the construction of the Suleymaniye mosque.

72. This curiously depicted structure appears to be a double medrese, possibly a dependency of the mosque of Davut Pasha (no. 75). Because of the crowding of the lower right part of the plan, there are numerous problems in attributing many of these images. Sequentially speaking, the existing buildings built prior to 1537 are strung out on the hilly ridge above the Marmara as follows: Bodrum mosque (no. 51), Murat Pasha mosque (no. 58), Davut Pasha mosque (no. 75), Imrahor mosque (no. 76), and the Kocanustafa Pasha mosque (no. 76). This leaves us with a mosque (no. 56), a large basilica (no. 57), a fountain (no. 74), and two baths (nos. 73 and 76) which cannot be identified. It appears that this quarter of the city, with its large Christian population, was not well-known by the artist. There is a further complicating possibility that no. 72 might be the imaret and medrese of the Haseki mosque, the first work of the architect Sinan in Istanbul, then probably under construction for the powerful wife of Süleyman and mother of Selim II, and completed in 1538.

73. Possibly the Bostan bath (Ayverdi, op. cit., cedvel 232), although it could have been an attempt to indicate the two-domed church of Constantine Lips, also known as the Fenarisa Mescidi.

74. Column of Arcadius (Gabriel 29).

75. The Davut Pasha mosque. An identification of the building as the Haseki mosque would mean, as Professor Boyd points out, that the miniature in all likelihood would have to postdate the colophon of the MS.
76. Church of St. John in the Studion, or Imrahor mosque (Gabriel 30). The roof as depicted here supports the theory that the building was constructed with a roof in the "halle-kirche" manner, without clerestory. Clerestory basilicas are clearly indicated in nos. 57 and 110–117.

77. A bath.

78. Church of St. Andrew in Krisi, converted into the Kocamustafa Pasha mosque (Gabriel 34).

79. Possibly the cloister or medrese of the Kocamustafa Pasha mosque.

80. Yedi Kule or Seven Towers fortress. Although in Gabriel's restoration illustrated in E. Mamboury, Istanbul Touristique, Istanbul, 1951, p. 236, the towers have conical wooden roofs covered with lead, the placement of the towers and the fanciful super-structures suggest an imaginary creation, or possibly again the influence of Russian icons. (See note 12.)

81. The Marble Tower on the Marmara sea, end point of the 5th-century land walls of Theodosius II.

82–83. Gates in the land walls.

84. Possibly the Monastir mosque (Gabriel 35).

85. A gate in the city walls, possibly the Topkapi or Cannon gate.

86. The Edirne (Adrianople) gate.

87. The Eğri or Crooked gate, in the single Comnean wall.

88. The Comnean walls and the Blacher-nae Palace (Gabriel 37).

89. Mosque of Kocamustafa Pasha, formerly the church of Hagia Thekla, also called the church of Sts. Peter and Mark (Gabriel 34). Not to be confused with number 78, converted by the same patron. The south apse of the building is said to contain the tomb of Cabir ibn Abdullah, companion of the Prophet's standard-bearer Eyup Ansari, himself buried on the Golden Horn (no. 106). The tomb may be indicated by the small structure to the right of the mosque in this abraded part of the miniature. (Cf. Lorichs in Oberhummer, op. cit., pl. XVI; also S. Eyice, op. cit., no. 94.)

90. Depicted as a kasur with a tall tower, this image undoubtedly represents the Tekfur Saray palace.

91. Possibly the small chapel known as the Boğdan Saray. This quarter of the city again is extremely difficult to decipher on the plan.

92. Possibly a bath, or the Fethiye mosque, converted from the Pammakaristos church.

93. The medrese of Sultan Selim I Yavuz, shown in a form similar to number 34, but without the revak or porch.

94. The tombs next to the Selim I mosque are those of Selim himself, Ayse Hafsa, mother of Süleyman I, and three sons of Süleyman, Murat, Mahmut, and Abdul-lah, entombed together.

95. Mosque of Selim I (Gabriel 32). Built in 1522 by Süleyman for his father. The large cistern to the southwest of the mosque is omitted in the plan.

96. A small wooden shed or sundurma, whose inclusion in the plan and whose function appear inexplicable.
97. Possibly the Chora church, more famous as the Kahriye mosque (Gabriel 36). Correctly placed with regard to the Edirne gate (no. 86) and the Tekfur palace (no. 90), the depiction bears however no resemblance to the actual Kahriye mosque. As in no. 91, the minaret is curiously shown on the left. In the former instance, one might suspect the artist has indicated a bell tower remaining from the Latin conquest.

The following notes refer to the numbered images in the plan of Galata, across the Golden Horn from Istanbul, and shown in figure 3.

101. The mosque of Eyüp. Built in 1458 next to the tomb Eyüp Ansari, standard-bearer of the Prophet who died during the Arab siege of Constantinople in A.D. 669. Our plan gives valuable information on the entire külliye, although trimming of the edge of the page has resulted in loss of part of the image. The mosque, completely demolished in the earthquake of 1778, is shown with adjoining “tabbane” rooms on either side, similar to those of the Selim I and Beyazit II mosques. To the left is the tomb of Eyüp and then a series of other dependencies, among which the imaret with its vented domes is most clearly seen.

102. The Bosphorus.

103. Landing-stage of Usküdar; a meydan or open square is indicated in front of the landing.

104. The Kizkulesi tower in the Bosphorus.

105. The mosque of Rumi Mehmet Pasha. Built in 1471 of red brick, the mosque has been truncated by trimming of the page. It has been shown in gray (stone).

106. The Galata tower, with its Genoese superstructure shown in the original conical form.

107. A kiosk at the Sweet Waters of Europe, within an enclosing wall.

108. A mosque in the heights above Kasim Pasha. A medrese and a kasır are shown nearby, and the gate to the mosque enclosure is clearly shown.

109. The tersane or naval arsenal of Kasim Pasha. The tunnel-vaulted slipways where the boats were constructed, identical to those at Kadirga (no. 54), are clearly indicated.

110. A mosque on the Golden Horn.

111–117. Basilican churches of Galata, at this time heavily populated by Levantine Italians engaged in trade.

118. A bath, near present-day Karaköy.

119. The Tophane or cannon-foundry, shown with three great vented domes. A well for the quenching of the metal is shown to the left, as well as the cannons themselves, including what appear to be mortars, bombards, and field pieces, arranged by the landing stage. Nearby on the shore appear to be piles of wood for the foundry furnaces and a fountain and namazgâh.

120. A medrese or convent, with what appears to be a tomb and enclosure to the left.

121. The Golden Horn, the harbor of Istanbul. Galleys, galleons firing their cannons, and caïques with single oarmen are seen in the harbor.
THREE SEASONS OF EXCAVATIONS AT QAṢR AL-ḤAYR SHARQI

By OLEG GRABAR *

In 1964 the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan undertook the sponsorship of an excavation at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr Sharqi in the Syrian desert. The first season took place in September and October 1964. It was followed by a larger expedition in April, May and June 1966. In 1968 political circumstances made only a short trip possible during the month of June, while a fairly extensive season took place in April, May and June 1969. Altogether nearly seven months were spent at the site, and while the job is still not completed, we thought it appropriate at this stage to put together a report on the work done. This is not a coherent preliminary report, since such reports have regularly been published in the *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* since 1965. Nor is it a detailed study of some specific aspect of the site, which has been done for the ancient name of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr in the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, or for the problem of the population of the site, a study which will appear in the centennial volume of the mid-West branch of the American Oriental Society. Finally, it is not a final statement about the work done so far, for many documents have not yet been properly analyzed or understood, and much comparative work has to be completed before definitive conclusions and coherent hypotheses can be presented to the public. My intention in the following pages is rather to present some of the highlights of the discoveries which have been made and to discuss some of the problems which have been raised. There are several reasons which appear to me to justify an article of this sort. One is that, while final publications are indeed supposed to bring up all these points, they take a long time and by then both the authors and the eventual public may have lost interest in the site. Another reason is that every excavation brings to light new documents which modify, confirm, or otherwise correct whatever the prevalent body of factual information and of interpretations may be, and there is something slightly improper in withholding too long such information; art historians and archaeologists are particularly guilty of this sort of secretiveness, and unpublished documents and ideas outnumber by far what is available and known, to the detriment both of science and of morality. Finally and much more egoistically, the excavation of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr, like most excavations, has brought to light many documents and many problems which are be-

---

* Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University.

1 A summary of what had been known about Qaṣr al-Ḥayr before excavations will be found in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 1, Oxford, 1969, pp. 52 ff. Additional remarks of major importance were made by H. Ségrig, “Les Jardins de Kasr el-Heir,” and “Retour aux Jardins de Kasr el Heir,” *Syria*, vols. 12 (1931) and 15 (1934). The first contemporary publications of the site are by A. Gabriel, “Kasr el-Heir,” *Syria*, vol. 8 (1927), and A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York, 1927. The most important hypotheses about the site were made by J. Sauvaget, “Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades,” *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 231 (1939) and (posthumously) “Châteaux Omeyyades de Syrie,” *Revue des Études Islamiques*, vol. 35 (1967).
yond the competence of the excavators. By making some, at least, of these public before preparing the completion of the work itself, the hope is expressed that they will lead to comments and discussions, thereby making the eventual final publication not merely the expression of a single group’s views and interpretations but a truly useful summary of scholarly knowledge. For more than any other humanistic endeavour, archaeology is a collective enterprise and its results should reflect the collective effort of the academic community.

At the outset it is a particular pleasure for me to thank three separate groups without whom the excavations would not have been possible. The first one is the Syrian Service des Antiquités, whose successive Directors from Dr. S. Abdul-Haq to Dr. A. Darkal, whose director of excavations, M. Adnan Bounni, and whose Palmyra officials, especially MM. Khalid al-Asa’ad and Ali Taha, have smoothed our work in Syria in truly admirable fashion. The second group are the financial sponsors without whom our work would have been obviously impossible. In addition to the Kelsey Museum, these have been the Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies and the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, all at the University of Michigan, the Roy Neuberger and Laird-Norton Foundations, and, since 1969, an anonymous grant at Harvard University. The third group is the staff assembled over the years. While special recognition should be given to Dr. William Trousdale, Assistant Director of the expedition, and to M. Selcuk Batur, our architect, who participated in all campaigns, all of the following have made contributions to the daily work and to the interpretations of finds which are as numerous as they are difficult to assign to any one individual: Professor Doğan Kuban; Mrs. Ulkü Bates and Mrs. RenataHolod-Tretiak; Misses Linda Rhodes and Hayat Salam; MM. Fred Anderegg, Adil Ayyash, Douglas Braidwood, Robert Hamilton, Neil MacKenzie, and Peter Pick. Even though there is only one signatory to this report and even though, in the usual manner, he bears all the responsibility for the work done and for the judgements expressed, much of what follows is the result of collective discussions; and the author’s debt to the members of his staff is immense.

I. The Site and its Problems

The site ofQAṣr al-Hayr Sharqi belongs at first glance to a well-known series of ruins which are found in the desert proper or on the edges of the desert and of the “sown” from the Euphrates to the gulf of Aqabah, but it is distinguishable from most others by its extraordinary size. A wall, nearly sixteen kilometers in length, outlines a strange polygonal area (fig. 1). Most of the wall is only barely visible above ground (fig. 2), but at its southernmost end it has been preserved and contains a series of openings in a brick and stone masonry (fig. 3). Although there has been some debate about the function of these openings, the most likely hypothesis—fully confirmed by our excavation of 1969—was that these were sluices for the evacuation of water after the potentially ruinous flash floods of the desert in the spring. The elaborate quality of this mechanism for the control of an obviously dangerous but still only occasional occurrence suggests, on the one hand, that there was a major agricultural purpose to the site and, on the other, that it was de-
veloped at a time when considerable means could be devoted to the agricultural potential of this area.

The natural rain water whose control was effected by the sluices at the south end of the enclosure was not the only source of water supply for Qasr al-Ḥayr. An impressive underground canalization (fig. 4) with regular openings every thirty meters brought water from al-Qawm, nearly thirty kilometers to the northwest. For one of the paradoxes of Qasr al-Ḥayr is that it is without permanent source of water in spite of the good quality of its soil, whereas at both al-Qawm and the closer (fourteen kilometers) Tayyibeh (fig. 5), where the terrain is salty and less suitable for constant agriculture (even modern gardens have to be moved at frequent intervals of time because the soil loses its fertility), water is plentiful. The conclusion to draw from this point is that, while confirming the fact of a large investment made by whoever developed the site, it also indicates a remarkable awareness of local hydrographic conditions.

Most of the vast area surrounded by Qasr al-Ḥayr’s outer enclosure appears barren of any significant construction and the few traces which do exist seem to be either remains of minor and limited occupations (very few sherds are found on the surface) or parts of the site’s irrigation system. But at the northern end of the enclosure—where it is almost impossible from air photographs to decide how the outer walls met—the terrain is literally covered with traces of occupation (fig. 6). The most impressive ones, still wonderfully preserved, are the two celebrated enclosures. One, 70 by 70 meters, has a massive facade with stone, brick, and stucco decoration (fig. 7). Inside vaults are still standing in part (fig. 8); together with bonds visible in the walls they made it possible for Creswell and Gabriel to imagine a building with a hypothetical central courtyard and 28 vaulted halls perpendicular to the outer wall (with some exceptions in the corners, fig. 9). A second storey seemed assured by the bonds in the walls and by the preserved northeastern and northwestern corners.

The large enclosure is 160 by 160 meters. It has four axial gates and two supplementary ones on the east side facing the small enclosure. In spite of certain similarities between the masonry of the two enclosures, the striking feature of the large enclosure’s walls is the variety of masonry found in them, suggesting several periods of activity. Inside, if we except a late archway made up of re-used materials, all that was known before excavations is that there was a mosque with a high axial nave in the southeastern corner (fig. 10) whose plan could be guessed and that a brick vaulted cistern occupied the middle of the enclosure. When related to the size of the building, this evidence seemed to indicate that the enclosure was in fact a town with a history of several centuries (because of the repairs), and in this fashion a further coordinate appeared in our hypothetical understanding of Qasr al-Ḥayr. It was an urban entity.

This urban interpretation of the enclosure was further strengthened by an inscription seen in 1808 by the French consul Rousseau and now disappeared which stated that a town (madinah) had been built here by order of Hishām in 729–30 A.D. Since

2 The inscription is quoted and discussed by almost every one of the authors mentioned in the
the style of the small enclosure otherwise fitted with the Umayyad period, the conclusion reached by Gabriel, Creswell, and Sauvaget was that we were in the presence of an Umayyad city (the large enclosure) next to which stood a royal palace (the small enclosure). The peculiar position of the mosque in the corner of the city rather than in its center as supposedly required by early Islamic practice was explained by the presence of the royal palace, and the explanation appeared strengthened by the existence of a small door (fig. 11) leading directly from the sanctuary out of the city to the “palace.” City and palace were in turn, as Sauvaget had demonstrated, set in a large and artificially developed area for agriculture.

All writers emphasized the importance of the Umayyad period and toned down—at times even ignored—the archaeological evidence of repairs and reconstructions. But, regardless of the possible implications of this point, the fact of an urban center from early Islamic times, the very moment of the massive urbanization of the Arab world, gave to the site of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr a unique significance. The reasons for the existence of a city there could easily be guessed by a look at the map (fig. 5), for Qaṣr al-Ḥayr is at the foot of one of the very few passes across the mountain chain which crosses the northern part of the Syrian desert. Thus, in addition to its agricultural potential, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr had also commercial and strategic possibilities which would explain its urban features. Furthermore, by being located at the edge of the true desert, the site probably played a part in the relationship between settled and nomadic groups, thus appearing to be involved in all facets of Near Eastern life.

While these anthropological and geographic coordinates of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr had been mentioned, at least in part, by previous writers on the site and became gradually more real to us as we spent months working there, it would not be fair to say that they were the main reasons for our decision to excavate there. The latter were mostly historical and art historical. For external pre-excavation information clearly indicated that the main period of construction of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr was the Umayyad period. The unusual artistic wealth of this formative moment in Islamic art had already been made abundantly clear by such great secular monuments as Khirbat al-Mafjar, Mshatta, and Qaṣr al-Ḥayr Gharbi, not to speak of the religious monuments of Jerusalem and Damascus. Recently excavations had been carried out at Jabal Says, but, except for sadly unfinished excavations at

previous note. Its full text is most easily accessible in Répertoire Chronologique d’Epigraphic Arabe, Cairo, 1931 ff., no. 28.

3 Although ultimately probably acceptable, the argument is a bit dangerous, since it is in fact the façade of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr which created the standard by which other, less well-preserved façades have been reconstructed.


Ruṣāfah,’ all these monuments were in western Syria; and except for the religious ones, all of them had ceased to exist with their original function as soon as the Umayyad dynasty collapsed. Aside from the fact that what purported to be a royal foundation could be expected to yield the wealth of sculptures, paintings, and mosaics found in several Umayyad buildings in Syria and Palestine, its location further east near the large early Islamic settlements of the Euphrates valley led us to believe that we might be able to capture another aspect of Umayyad art, the Mesopotamian aspect. Only the incompletely published excavations of Wāsīt and Kūfah illustrated so far the Umayyad art of Iraq, whereas the Jazīrah was almost unknown. Yet, as Creswell had already indicated, the remains of Qasr al-Ḥayr above ground exhibited an unusual number of features which seemed closer to Iraq than to Syria. It seemed, therefore, that a further investigation into a link between the richest provinces of early Islam could be quite profitable. Finally the existence among the ruins of the two enclosures—and especially of the larger one—of a large number of classical and Palmyrene sculpted fragments, capitals and mouldings for the most part, indicated that the ancient world was present in the background of Qasr al-Ḥayr. Many earlier writers had even identified the site with a Roman post on the limes, and while the visible architectural remains could not without further investigation support the identification, it appeared that perhaps some new evidence could be gathered about the complex ways in which ancient sites were transformed into Islamic ones.

To sum up, then, a wide variety of crucial questions posed by the history, the anthropology, the material culture, and the art of early Islamic times seemed to find possible answers at Qasr al-Ḥayr Sharqi. None of us, of course, believed either that all the answers would be found or that Qasr al-Ḥayr was a key site for all these questions. Yet the fact that it partook, however insignificantly, provincially, and remotely, in a vast number of different aspects of Islamic life seemed justification enough to undertake its archaeological exploration.

II. THE EXCAVATIONS

Excavations were carried out in three places: the small enclosure, the large enclosure, and the outer enclosure. Each of the areas excavated posed its own problems and yielded different kinds of evidence. This is why they will be described separately under four separate headings: method, results, chronology, problems. At the same time it is obvious enough that the evidence from the three areas has to be correlated and therefore in a fourth part I have attempted to do so by discussing those separate aspects of the site which cut across single excavations units: comparative chro-

nology and history, functions, and finds. In this fashion I trust that the reader will be able to separate clearly what is assured information from interpretation and hypothesis.

A. The Small Enclosure

1. Method

As we began our excavations in 1964 our main effort was concentrated on the small enclosure, which we believed to be a royal Umayyad palace. Our objectives were first to record photographically and in drawings what was visible above ground, and then to begin a systematic uncovering of the enclosure by starting near the entrance and at the farthest end from the place through which debris could be evacuated (room 20 on fig. 12). The work was begun with a single 10 x 10 meter trench on the west side in order to acquire a datum point and a preliminary stratigraphic sequence (fig. 13). As will be shown in detail presently, one of the most important conclusions drawn from the 1964 excavation was that the small enclosure was never finished and soon rebuilt. Equally important, however, were the facts that it was well stratified (figs. 14 and 15) and seemed to provide important series of ceramics. Since the areas which had been excavated in 1964 had been much disturbed by antique robbers and by various restoration jobs, a large undisturbed area was chosen in the southwestern part of the enclosure, and the main objective of the 1966 excavation was the establishment of ceramic series, while at the same time uncovering more of the porticoed court and more of the halls in that part of the building. The purpose of the 1969 excavation was primarily that of confirming conclusions reached in 1966 by working in a hitherto untouched area, the southern part of the enclosure. While it can well be argued that the enclosure should be excavated in its entirety, such an excavation cannot be carried out without a concomitant work of restoration, which is beyond our means and competence. Furthermore, it seemed to us that the conclusions we had reached about the function of the building and about its archaeological history were sufficiently definitive to make a systematic uncovering of the whole building archaeologically unnecessary. The information likely to appear would be redundant and of little relevance to further hypotheses and conclusions. At the same time, now that ceramic sequences have been properly determined, we must investigate further whether the architectural and functional hypotheses we are proposing are themselves confirmed elsewhere in the building.

2. Results

At first glance the results of our work in the small enclosure confirm what had been assumed by Gabriel and Creswell. The building consisted of an outer shell of heavy masonry whose several repairs were almost always an imitation of the original work (fig. 16). In its center there was a handsomely paved courtyard surrounded by a portico for which we have two corner pieces (one of which, the southwestern one, has been beautifully preserved to a height of four courses) and 11 column bases (fig. 17). The distance between supports averages 3.25 meters with a wider (4.00 meters) interval on the axis of the building. Most of the bases and all the columns were brought from older buildings.
The most interesting aspect of the portico were the capitals, of which seven were discovered in a fairly good state of preservation. Only one of them (fig. 18) was entirely in stone. All the others had a very damaged stone surface which was then covered with a new face of stucco (fig. 19). The stucco was applied once the capital had already been put over the column. The conclusion to draw from this evidence is that capitals were used in a building which had been weathered and therefore came from some earlier construction in the region.\(^{11}\) No traces were found of arch stones or of bricks which could have formed an arch. Since the comparatively good state of preservation of most of the capitals indicates that they were protected by some sort of roofing, we are compelled to conclude that there was a wooden roof over the portico. Since most of the upper floors were never completed, there is no clear indication of what, if anything, was planned over the portico. But the discovery in the southern and western parts of the enclosure of a number of smaller and narrower columns than those of the portico suggests that a second storey colonnade may have been intended.

The excavation of rooms posed a large number of technical problems. The debris was difficult to remove because of large sections of fallen vaults and walls, while the bad state of the masonry under still standing vaults often made excavations dangerous. Inasmuch as the total excavation of the entrance and of room 20 as well as the partial excavation of rooms 1, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28 (fig. 20) did not yield any significant information about the decoration or function of the rooms, it did not seem necessary or worthwhile to clear most of them in their entirety.

All rooms except the corner ones appear to have been of the same type. A door covered with a brick arch led into halls which were about 18.00 by 9.50 meters in size; a door in the middle of the side walls led from one room to the other, thereby providing internal means of communication around the whole building. Except for a rather simple moulding at a height of 2.65–2.90 meters, there was no decoration in any of the rooms, and the only original feature which suggests a distinctive function to any of the excavated rooms is a plaster-lined small brick tank or cistern in room 25. But there is some uncertainty as to what this function was. All the halls were covered with brick vaults whose height reached at their apex 6.30 meters; except in rooms 1 and 28 it was 6.65 meters. Stone and bricks were superbly fitted with each other, indicating a technical mastery of both media of construction; but the basic module for the height of the building was the stone course of 33 cm. Furthermore, even though this conclusion raises one or two problems whose discussion must be reserved for the final publication, it appears to us that the brick vaults as well as the brick curtain wall and cupolas on top of the walls are of the same time as the rest of the building and not later additions or completions, as we first thought.

\(^{11}\) There is an alternate possible conclusion, to wit that the stucco was applied at some second stage of the construction after the original capitals had been damaged in an unfinished construction. In the light of what follows, this explanation cannot be dismissed outright, although I do not believe it to be correct. A full discussion of the arguments for or against one hypothesis or the other must be postponed until our final publication.
To this scheme of repetitious single tunnel-like halls there are exceptions in the entrance and in the corners. In the entrance there was found, first of all, a mihrab-like niche on the south side (fig. 21) which, in spite of some problems, should be considered as contemporary with the construction of the building and for which at the moment no sensible explanation exists other than that the entrance was used as an oratory at appropriate times. I shall return later to the hypotheses which can be drawn from this interpretation. In addition the entrance is also provided with a water channel (fig. 22) which was used to bring water into the building.

The southwestern and northeastern corners of the building contained one single room (2 and 27) of inordinate length. Their halls were vaulted like all other rooms, and since no trace of windows exists, they must have been remarkably dark and gloomy cellar-like units. The other two corners had much more peculiar arrangements. A small corner-room with, at least in the southwestern corner, a curious brick-decorated niche (fig. 23) was subdivided in elevation into two parts by a stone and mortar floor supported by brackets bonded with the outer wall (fig. 24). The upper half was a sort of loft which could be reached only through a narrow and low passageway made in the outer wall. No clear evidence exists at the moment as to how this passageway was reached from neighboring rooms. While all sorts of facetious or romantic explanations can indeed be given to this loft, the only sensible one seems to me to consider it as some kind of storage place.

The interior of the small enclosure was meant to have a second floor. Yet it is our conclusion that most of this second floor was never completed. Furthermore it is our conclusion that even what was completed on the first floor (in contrast to the lavish character of the façade) was not completed on the scale which had originally been planned. The full argumentation for these conclusions which are closely related to each other would take too long for the scope of this report and is reserved for our final publication, inasmuch as further excavations may bring still additional information to light. I will, therefore, limit myself to some arguments only.

First, except in the southeastern and northeastern corners, no trace of upper storey construction either in situ or in most of the debris (for one exception see below) has remained, and the beam-holes which are visible here and there on the inner face of the outer wall are much too irregular to be part of a completed building. It is much more likely that they are remains of partial and probably rather primitive shed-like covers. The only archaeologically definable exception lies in the fallen masonries discovered on the southern side of the enclosure (fig. 25) whose height can be reconstructed and corresponds to the height of the outer wall (12.21 meters). This was part of the inner wall of the enclosure between the porticoes and the rooms. But it is only on the south side that this wall was found, and one would have to conclude either that only the southern side had a second storey or, as seems preferable, that only this inner wall was finished. Even though the wall had been completed, there is no evidence that the upper rooms were; for, even if we agree that they were covered with a wooden ceiling, the traces for wooden beams are not found consistently
on the south wall, and the excavations did not bring to light any trace of the transverse walls which had to have existed.

A second argument lies in the character of the portico. I have mentioned the fact that the portico had a flat wooden roof. At the same time it is more than likely that it was meant to have arches, not only because such arches are typical of the whole tradition of porticoes in the architecture of the Near East but also because the projected height of the portico with semi-circular arches corresponds to the height of the standing vaults. It is clear that a portico which would have reached the apex of the room’s vaults would have made a more harmonious architectural composition than one which cut across the vault. Furthermore the only evidence found so far for stairs was found in the porticoes and is later than the first period of construction. In any event the portico’s roof could not have been used to enter into the upper floor if it was about 1.50 meters lower than the floor itself; the standing vaults themselves make it impossible to consider that there were stairs in the rooms.

The last argument I would like to bring up at this stage is that of the wall between room 1 and the entrance (fig. 26). It is obvious that the wall was redone or completed at some later time than that of its original conception. Although the point cannot be proved definitely, it is more likely that we are dealing with a completion rather than with a rebuilding, for not one single course of stones from an earlier construction was left. If so, it would be absolutely clear that the building was unfinished. But, even if we only have a major repair, the fact that it could have been made indicates that there was no second storey above it and that the portico in front had some simple flat ceiling.

To sum up, the original small enclosure was a curious building with a superb façade, a handsomely completed outer shell, a series of twenty-eight tunnel-like vaulted halls facing (with exceptions in the corners) a porticoed court. But this impressive composition not only was not finished according to its original plan but that which was in fact finished did not have the dimensions and quality of what had been planned.

3. Chronology

The evidence discussed so far poses a major chronological problem. For, while we can assume a first period for the outer shell, for the conception and plan of the interior, and for some parts of the completion (colonnade, vaults, southeastern and northeastern corners), we cannot prima facie decide whether there was an interruption in time between the first and more grandiose aspects of the building and its completion, or whether a continuous time is involved during which funds or labor or both were suddenly lacking. We tend to the latter interpretation at the moment largely because no evidence was found of major changes in plan at the beginning and because the stucco of the capitals appeared undamaged.

Thus, for the time being, we may consider the completed building as belonging to one period, and an Umayyad date for this completion can be secured for the following reasons: the typology of the façade, the consistent use of re-used materials and the style of the capitals which are relatable for instance to those of al-Muwaqqar. To

This original construction a number of modifications were made over the decades: blocking of the doors into room 27, building of a mud-brick stairway in the portico and of mud-brick walls between columns, installation of fireplaces and ovens on the original floor, removal of floor slabs in the courtyard for various pits, and so forth. These changes broke up the original unity of the building but still used its floors. Their precise date cannot be given, and it is likely that they were not all of the same time. But the rather consistent ceramic evidence from the last 25 cm. of debris provides a definite date for the abandonment of this original time of occupation. The presence, among other series, of Samarra-type luster ware (figs. 27 and 28) suggests the latter part of the ninth century or the early tenth.

Then it would appear that the small enclosure was almost totally abandoned for an undefined period of time since almost 1 meter of debris was accumulated. At some moment late in that period—and quite possibly under the impact of an earthquake—whatever walls were standing and the columns collapsed. Over the debris a new series of occupations were found. Plaster and at times (although rarely) stone floors were built, but while a few plans of primitive constructions can be mapped out, the elevation of buildings is impossible to determine since most of them were probably in mud or rubble and earth. While this occupation utilized whatever was still standing of the original building (for instance the vaults), it tended to develop mostly in the emptier courtyard and over the fallen ruins of the portico. Large ceramic series (fig. 29) allow us to date this succession of temporary settlements from the early twelfth century to the early fourteenth.

Thus for the small enclosure we can determine first an Umayyad period of planning and partial construction. This Umayyad period probably merged with a long period of use and transformations which lasted until the early tenth century. Then after an interruption a series of settlements of the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods are clearly visible.

4. Problems

Outside of a large number of comparatively minor problems of interpreting various details brought forth by the excavations, the central question is that of the function of the building, especially in its original form. It has in the past been considered to have been a princely palace. But strong arguments, it seems to me, militate against this interpretation. The first argument is an argument a silentio: the almost total lack of architectural decoration such as paintings, mosaics, or stucco sculpture. While admittedly this absence can in part be explained by the unfinished state of the building and while decorative designs are found on the upper part of the façade, still some evidence of floor or wall decoration would have been expected of a palace. This is especially likely if the building is of Hisham’s time, for even a building like al-Walid’s castle at Jabal Says had more decoration than Qasr al-Hayr, and the very limited amount of work carried out at Ruṣafah brought to light both sculptures and paintings.

A second argument lies in the internal arrangement of the building which consist-
ed of long, high, and dark vaulted halls without light and without apparent differentiation in size or in kind. And, when a differentiation does occur, as in room 25 or in the corners, it suggests very practical storage purposes. It is true, of course, that, as Sauvaget had pointed out, it is often on the second floor that the main official rooms were to be found in Umayyad palaces. But there also at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr it seems almost impossible to determine any differentiation between halls which could be explained in terms of royal or princely use. Finally, one should mention the entrance hall which is really a passageway opening directly and without doors into the portico and which has none of the benches or other features for waiting found in most palaces.13

If it is not a palace, then what could it be? Formally, it is possible to compare what we know of the small enclosure with the Tunisian ribāṭ of a slightly later period, and the reverse comparison has been made often enough.15 The problem is, of course, that of assuming the existence of the ribāṭ’s function in Syria in the Umayyad period. A more satisfactory alternative would be to consider our enclosure as a khān. Functionally nothing in what is known of the building would make this impossible. On the contrary, the character of the entrance, the long halls, the absence of decoration, even the possible use of the entrance as an oratory, these and many other features seem to fit. Moreover the later transformations of the original buildings would confirm its later use as a caravanserai. The difficulty here is formal, since the only certain early khān, the one at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Ghabī, is a far more primitive construction.16 And yet if one considers the later development of the khān, the monumental proportions it often took, and the obvious commercial importance of the site, could one not interpret our enclosure as the first preserved instance of this monumental architecture of trade which was so characteristic of mediaeval Islam?17

The answer to this question cannot be given without further archaeological explorations and textual investigations. At the same time the shift of direction we are proposing in attempting to understand the small enclosure of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr may prove of some value in suggesting new directions for research. It might for instance be an argument to consider the still unsolved Qaṣr Kharaneh18 as a caravanserai as well. But in a larger sense, by implying that a comparatively small number of architectural forms was used for a fairly large number of functions, this interpretation opens up interesting perspectives to the art historian whose further development must be left for some other occasion.

---

13 Partial list and further references in J. Sauvaget, La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine, Paris, 1947, pp. 124 ff.
14 Even Jabal Says, which is the simplest of the Umayyad castles, has an entrance complex which could be used to filter incoming people rather than invite them in, as at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr; Brisch in MDAI, Cairo, vol. 20, fig. 1.
16 D. Schlumberger, Syria, vol. 20, p. 120.
B. The Large Enclosure

1. Method

At the outset, in 1964, our objectives in the large enclosure were limited to the establishment of the exact plan of the mosque in its southeastern corner and to a few stratigraphic soundings. While testing what proved to be the incorrect guess made by Creswell about the size of the mosque’s courtyard, we discovered the first elements of an industrial establishment and a number of other urban features which made us realize that the large enclosure was likely to bring particularly significant data for the history of the site and of the area. As a result in 1966 much of our effort was directed toward the southeastern quarter of the enclosure. Since outside of the mosque and of the gates in the outer wall we had no definable starting point for investigation, the method used was that of a series of 5x5 meter trenches at regular intervals from each other. Eventually some of these trenches were united up to the point where we felt that a building or some other unit were as understandable as they were likely to be. Except when compelled to do so by the problems of the site, we did not attempt to uncover in its entirety any part of the enclosure. Thus our work of 1966 clarified most of the mosque and of the area west of the mosque, but major excavations had to be carried out in 1968 and 1969 to the north of the mosque. By the end of the 1969 season we felt that we had acquired whatever archaeological information can be obtained from the southeastern quarter of the enclosure, although, as will be seen presently, the correct interpretation to be given to this information is still a matter for discussion.

Then in 1969 we began the investigation of the northwestern quarter. Since some technical problems had arisen in 1966 with 5 by 5 meter trenches over large (50 by 50 meters) areas of loose soil, we began with 10 by 10 meter trenches and eventually enlarged some of them or united them with diagonal trenches. The job there is still not finished, and it is not before the season of work planned for 1970 that we should have truly usable results. For this reason I shall only report in this article on such results from the northwestern quarter as seem reasonably assured or which otherwise confirm conclusions derived from the southeastern quarter.

For reasons which will appear presently, the large enclosure does not show a stratigraphic structure of superimposed floors and layers comparable to the small enclosures. Nor does it have as many standing elements which would pose restoration problems. The main difficulties of excavating the large enclosure are, first and foremost, the size of the area with the concomitant difficulty of evacuating debris, and, second, the poor state of preservation of most of the remains. As a result, it is necessary to excavate selectively, and the finds are often quite difficult to interpret.

2. Results

At this stage of our understanding of the complicated and much damaged evidence which came from the large enclosure, the simplest way of summarizing the results reached so far is to outline what appeared to have been the main master-plan for the enclosure. We believe that it was a master-plan for two main reasons. One is that all over the enclosure the first major constructions are identifiable by the use of
the same kind of masonry; it consists of large cut stones with rubble and mortar between them and occasional stretches (fig. 30). In most instances this masonry has only remained to the height of a single course, and considerable evidence exists to suggest that it rarely was higher than that. The second reason is that what appears to have been created by this masonry reflects a coherent and organized conception of the shape and of the function of the enclosure (fig. 31), as though a single purpose and a single effort were involved.

In this conception the central part of the enclosure was a large open space covered with a handsome stone pavement and surrounded by a portico. Corner pieces for this portico were found both in the southeastern and northwestern (fig. 32) corners. Elsewhere were found columns, bases, at times brick piers (fig. 33) and even one stucco covered capital similar to the capitals of the small enclosure. In the center of this open space there was a large cistern with a brick vault.

A series of four axial streets connected with the four main gates divided the enclosure into four quarters. In the southeastern one the corner was occupied by a large mosque whose hypostyle plan (fig. 34) is quite typical of early Islamic mosques. Its courtyard was provided with a large bell-shaped and brick-vaulted cistern fed by canals from the outside (through a small door, fig. 35) and from the open space in the center of the enclosure. Two other doors appear in the mosque. One led into the central area portico, the other one to a passageway which separated the mosque from a large building to the West. The latter had a double entrance toward the central area and two smaller doors toward the north-south street. It was organized around a central courtyard with a portico; on the east and west sides of the portico a series of single rooms were found which usually communicated with each other; on the south side there was a more complex unit consisting of a large central hall with narrower halls on either side (fig. 36). I shall return in a moment to further constructional details of this building. What matters at this stage is that next to the mosque there was planned a large single building with numerous entrances suggesting a public or semi-public character. Its only more private features are a rather curious small basin and a channel for the evacuation of water found in the southeastern corner of the building (fig. 37). We propose to identify the function of the building as that of an administrative center, and we may have here an example of the smaller type of dār al-ʿimārah, these “government houses” which symbolized the presence of an official representative of the central authority.

To the north of the mosque there appears first a bath, narrowly squeezed between two stone walls and so damaged as to preclude a complete reconstruction. Beyond the bath two press-rooms were found (fig. 38), one of which was sufficiently well-preserved to be reconstructed in its entirety, with a press-stone set in the floor, two jars, and a tank. These presses were used for the second pressing, while the first and rougher work was accomplished with an enormous stone of basalt (fig. 39) in a much damaged architectural context. Although the matter cannot be proved as yet, it seems most likely that olives were pressed in these presses, and that the whole compound served as a place for the manufacture of olive oil. The size of the presses does not suggest a major
manufacturing center producing oil for export but rather for local consumption only.¹⁹

The last unit found north of the mosque was a large (12 by 7 by 6 meters) cistern divided into two parts by a median wall (fig. 40). There is some uncertainty as to how this cistern was filled since—as will be discussed below—parts of this area were completely redone at a later time. In all likelihood water came through the northwestern corner of the cistern where a very damaged spout was found, but this matter cannot be settled with any degree of certainty.

Whereas the mosque and the bath communicated with the central open area, the presses and the cistern could be reached only through the main East-West street. It was an elaborate artery whose most impressive feature was that a canalization with occasional pipe openings (fig. 41) had been built nearly 40 centimeters under the street level. While we are still uncertain about the relationship between this channel and the center of the city, it is probable that in ways to be still investigated it communicated with a large channel found between the two enclosures. Although both its origins and ultimate use are equally unclear, an even more impressive system of water adduction with an elaborate system of pipes (fig. 42) in addition to a channel was found in 1969 in the north-south street and could be traced almost fifty meters beyond the north gate.

¹⁹ The evidence for this is mostly comparative, since to date neither analyses of remains from the sunken jars nor a study of the gardens have confirmed the presence of olive oil or of olive trees. It may be added, however, that no better interpretation seems available.

The still unfinished excavation of the northwest quarter has brought to light from the first master plan of the large enclosure a group of parallel long halls with few entries, but the area as a whole—insofar as we know it—was so damaged in later years as to make an understanding of its original function very problematic. The most likely possibility is that we are dealing with storage areas, and I shall provide later possible explanation for its existence.

In spite of this temporary uncertainty about the northwestern quarter and about the exact ways in which waters were distributed through the numerous channels and pipes which have been uncovered, it begins to be possible to define the main functions which had been conceived for Qaṣr al-Ḥayr. It was not so much an entity for living as for a number of official or public activities: praying, administration, bathing, manufacturing of oil, storage. Even if we assume that the other half of the city was for living—an assumption which is partly denied by a large sounding made in the northeastern quarter—it remains fairly clear that an inordinate amount of space was taken by other needs than those of private life. Formally the four gates, the central open area, the axial streets and any number of other features bear all the earmarks of a standardized plan issued from classical architecture.

The most important result of the excavations, however, is that none of the features we have described, except the water channels and probably the outer walls, was completed on quite the same scale and with the same technical means as had originally been planned. The matter can most clearly be seen in Building A, where many walls
were finished in mud-brick instead of stone and where modifications were brought in to the original plan with baked brick piers (fig. 43). Similar techniques and means of construction were found in the presses and in the porticoes of the meydân. It is probably also at this time of completion that the north and west gates were totally blocked with a heavy masonry. The completion—with alterations—of the enclosure’s constructions was accompanied by the covering of the walls of Building A with stucco, some part of which (on the soffits of arches and vaults and on the sides of doors, fig. 44) was decorated. Altogether over two thousand fragments of carved stucco have been discovered (fig. 45), all of which illustrate only vegetal and geometric designs. None of them show the decorative exuberance and the variety of the Umayyad stuccoes from Khirbat al-Mafjar or Qâṣr al-Ḥayr Gharbi; they are rather to be related to the stuccoes found by the Syrian Department of Antiquities in the early Abbasid houses and palaces of Raqqah and thus provide us with a tentative date for the completion of the enclosure’s buildings. Their use in early Abbasid times is confirmed by the discovery of an early luster ceramic in such areas as were destroyed and not re-occupied. But, just as in the small enclosure, it is impossible, for the time being, to say whether there was an interruption between the time of planning and the time of completion or whether there was a continuous effort over many decades with considerable variations in the funds and technical means available. It should be added that considerable additional documents exist from the time of completion of the building, such as stained-glass windows, roof-beams, tiles, and the like.

3. Chronology

As was mentioned before, the large enclosure does not provide a clear stratigraphic structure comparable to that of the small enclosure, and its history has to be reconstituted on the basis of a rather complex relationship between the original plan and later developments and changes brought to it. Since, with the exceptions of one area in the southern part of Building A, of a dump in the northwestern quarter, and of very late settlements of minor significance, the same original floors continued to be used for centuries, ceramic or other finds can only be used to date the latest periods of occupation. With this evidence we have been able to establish the following chronology for the large enclosures. The major effort for the planning of the enclosure can justifiably be put in the Umayyad period, since we have an inscription to that effect. The only point we may add is that there is some evidence to suggest that some constructions had begun before Hishâm’s main work. The latter, however, was not finished until the early Abbasid period; this conclusion rests entirely on the two arguments that the inscription was found re-used in the mosque20 and that the stuccoes are of the same date as Raqqah’s stuccoes. Since we only have Rousseau’s text for the place where the inscription was found and since the evidence for the early Abbasid date of the stuccoes has never been published, the conclusion is not fool-proof. What is, on the other hand, certain is that the first establishment continued to exist with only minor repairs through the ninth

20 Although not mentioned by most writers, this conclusion has already been reached by Gabriel in Syria, vol. 13 (1933), p. 319.
century. The reason we know this is that ninth-century ceramics or broken fragments of ceramics with paintings and inscriptions (fig. 46) which could only be early Islamic were found in the dumps or in such areas as were not used later.

At a certain moment in time this establishment declined and was in part destroyed by a fire which is particularly evident in the administrative Building A. Some of the outer walls were destroyed or collapsed, the presses and the bath were abandoned, and the cistern at the southeast was filled with dirt. This disaster or series of disasters may not have eliminated life completely from Qaṣr al-Ḥayr’s large enclosure, but its activities certainly declined for a while. Shortly thereafter there occurred a re-birth of activities. While a few areas were converted into dumps (fig. 47), the rest was cleaned up. The outer walls were once again put up, and new buildings, adapted for the most part to earlier ones (fig. 48), were erected all over the enclosure. Older stones were cut anew or re-used. Most of these buildings were small houses, but on the eastern side of the enclosure a rather elaborate tank for water was built (fig. 49) into which a channel high above ground and made entirely of re-used materials brought water (fig. 50). This new lease on life at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr lasted for some period of time, for it is possible to distinguish a number of changes and modifications in the masonries of the buildings. Altogether, however, they were in almost all instances rather mediocre affairs and with few exceptions—especially in the northwestern area—the new city must have looked like a bidonville of re-used and ill-fitted stone masonry with ubiquitous plastered water storage areas and underground pits. As to the time of this city, its beginnings cannot be dated archaeologically; but its end can be placed around 1300 since the main ceramic series are of the twelfth, thirteenth, and early fourteenth centuries (figs. 51a, b). Beyond that the enclosure was used only for temporary shelters, some of which are still standing and one of which has an early fifteenth century date.21

4. Problems

Aside from a large number of unsolved problems of detail, there are two major questions raised by the excavation of the large enclosure. The first one is that of the interpretation to be given to the functions of the enclosure during the two main periods of its active existence. The southeastern quarter had originally the fairly obvious diversified function of an early Islamic city: industry for local purposes, bathing, praying, and administration. The difficulty lies in explaining the storage areas of the northwestern quarter. One possibility is that these were arsenals, i.e. places where arms and other military supplies were kept.22 We shall see later that there are a number of other arguments drawn from a general consideration of the site which may serve to confirm this hypothesis, but it must be realized that it is only a hypothesis so far. As to the second period of occupation, its purposes are much more difficult to understand. Since the only clear things about it are that it existed and that the walls were rebuilt, we may suggest that it was primarily of military and commercial importance and that it was only very little involved in major

21 A. Musil, Palmyrena, p. 77.
22 This explanation was suggested to me by Professor Jacob Lassner.
urban or economic developments beyond the barest necessities of life in the steppe. It should be added, however, that the area itself was known in the twelfth and early thirteenth century for its mineral and stone deposits used in the manufacture of glass in Aleppo, and it is possible that some operation related to this industrial activity took place at Qaṣr al-Ḥayr.

The second question about the enclosure is that of the exact relationship between the relative chronology we have provided and an absolute chronology. The uncertainties in the scheme given above are two. One is at the very beginning of the sequence, before the large effort we are attributing to Hishām. It is conceivable that this effort was preceded by some first constructions, although none of them could be as early as the many re-used stones from Roman and Palmyrene times. A solution must then be found for the origin of the latter. The other uncertainty lies in the time of the abandonment of the first city. Thus far we have put it in the tenth century, but it must be admitted that we do not have any clear and incontrovertible archaeological evidence for this. It is mostly non-archaeological documents pertaining to the history of the area which have led to the suggested date.

C. The Outer Enclosure

In 1969 a number of soundings and clearings were made in the large outer enclosure in order to clarify such points as seemed to us essential for an understanding of the site. In view of the enormous size of the area involved, the impossibility of obtaining new air photographs of the whole area compelled us to limit this work to easily identifiable problems.

We were thus able to trace the way in which the main water channel from al-Qawm entered into the enclosure, followed the northwestern and western outer wall, then turned into the circumscribed area and disappeared near its southernmost extremity. The remarkable feature about this canal is the extraordinary quality of its construction with several courses of stone imbedded in heavy mortar and covered with stone slabs (fig. 52). A rough calculation indicates that the cut stones needed for this one single canal were more numerous than the stones needed for the walls and buildings of both enclosures.

A second series of investigations were carried out along the outer walls themselves. There, outside of the establishment of the exact techniques used for the construction of the walls, two discoveries are of particular importance. One of these concerns the existence on the eastern side of the wall of a series of long (about 35 meters) walls set parallel to each other and at an angle from the wall (fig. 53). Our suggestion is that these were deflecting walls protecting the outer enclosure’s walls, which were largely built of mud-brick, from torrential rains and floods. The other discovery concerns parts of the walls themselves. It will be recalled that at the southern end of these walls (fig. 3) there were sluices used, according to the best hypothesis, to rid the site from flash floods. It turns out that at the northern end of the enclosure a 270 meters long segment of the outer wall cutting across the large wādī suq was similarly composed of sluices (fig. 54), this time protecting the area from sudden torrents in the wādī. No archaeological evidence such as
inscriptions, coins, or ceramics was found to provide a date either for the completion of this work or for the time of its abandonment. But the fantastic means involved in the building of the walls, of the canals, and of the sluices suggest that they all belong to the Umayyad period, the main period of construction in the large and small enclosures. Similarly, the decay and eventual abandonment of the system must be related to the chronology established for the large enclosure.

Further minor investigations in the immediate vicinity of the large enclosure were less fruitful except in the negative way of showing that many of the traces of walls visible on the ground belong to late constructions, probably nomadic sheds or sheep pens. The only interesting feature is that at some late date the two enclosures were united by two walls transforming them into a single unit; at that time a small oratory (fig. 35) was built, and it is possible that the tower between the two enclosures dates from such a time when most of the buildings were already in ruins. It was probably used for optical signals.23

In the outer enclosure the main problems still to be resolved through further investigation are the purpose of a small number of buildings which seem to be more than simple sheds and the ways by which the canalization bringing water into the whole enclosure connected with the many channels we have found in the small and especially in the large enclosures. Whether these problems can be solved without precise air photographs or without technical means beyond our possibilities of the moment is still a moot question.


III. Conclusions and Hypotheses

The excavations carried out so far have been sufficiently extensive to provide us with a fairly clear idea of the development of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr over the centuries and with the functions it served. Chronologically the small and large enclosures coincide with a major imperially conceived plan from the Umayyad period, a completion in early Abbadid times, a decadence in the tenth century perhaps to be related to the Carpathian incursions and to the nomadization of Syria and of the Jazirah at the time, a revival in the eleventh century, a definitive abandonment in the early fourteenth century, and finally with a number of temporary later occupations in later centuries. As I have tried to indicate in another article,24 this sequence corresponds to what is known of the site al-Urḍ from the tenth century onwards, and one may suggest that the earlier name of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr was the Zayṭūnah of Hishām. Although the latter is only a hypothesis, it is a return to the first half of the great complex explanation of the site proposed by Sauvaget and later disowned by him.25

More complex is the matter of interpreting the functions of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr, and the following is but a hypothetical scheme of what presently available evidence suggests. On a site which could have been fertile if irrigated, which had strategic and commercial possibilities, and which was not too far removed from some classical or Palmy-


Fig. 1.—Air view of the area of Qasr al-Hayr. Courtesy, Institut Français de Beirut.

Fig. 2.—Wall of outer enclosure.

Fig. 3.—Sluices at southern end of outer enclosure.

Fig. 4.—Opening into canal beyond the two enclosures.
Fig. 5.—Sketch map of Syria.

Fig. 6.—Air view of northern end of the site. Courtesy, Institut Français de Beyrouth.

Fig. 7.—Facade of small enclosure.

Fig. 8.—Vaults inside the small enclosure.
Fig. 9.—Conjectural plan of small enclosure before excavations (after Creswell).

Fig. 10.—Piers in mosque before excavations.

Fig. 11.—Door from the mosque to the east.

Fig. 12.—Plan of excavated part of the small enclosure.

Fig. 13.—First trench in the small enclosure.
Fig. 15.—Section of west trench in the small enclosure.

Fig. 16.—Side of west trench in the small enclosure.

Fig. 17.—General view of the excavated part in the small enclosure.

Fig. 18.—Small enclosure from the south.
Fig. 18.—Capital B-1 in the small enclosure.

Fig. 19.—Capital B-12 in the small enclosure.

Fig. 20.—Room 20 after excavation.

Fig. 21.—Niche in entrance of small enclosure.

Fig. 22.—Entrance into small enclosure.
Fig. 23.—Brick decoration in room 17.

Fig. 24.—Elevation of southeastern corner of small enclosure.

Fig. 25.—Fallen masonry in the southern end of the small enclosure.

Fig. 26.—Wall between room 1 and entrance.
Fig. 28.—Luster ware from floor level of small enclosure.

Fig. 29.—Ceramics from the upper levels of small enclosure.

Fig. 30.—Typical main masonry in large enclosure.
Fig. 31.—Sketch plan of the excavated area in the large enclosure.
Fig. 32. — Northwestern corner pier of portico around central meydan.

Fig. 33. — Brick pier in portico.

Fig. 34. — Plan of mosque.

Fig. 35. — Small canal in eastern door of the mosque.
Fig. 36.—Plan of building A.

Fig. 37.—Basin and channel in building A.

Fig. 38.—Press rooms.

Fig. 39.—Basalt press stine.

Fig. 40.—Cistern in the area of the press rooms.
Fig. 41.—Channel and opening in main east-west street.

Fig. 42.—Pipes and channel in north-south street.

Fig. 43.—Brick piers in building A.

Fig. 44.—Decorated stucco panels from Building A.
Grabar Plate 12

Fig. 46. Broken ceramic fragment with painting and inscription.

Fig. 45. Fragments of succo from Building A.

Fig. 47. Side of trench in Building A.

Fig. 48. Later building in large enclosure.
Fig. 49.—Tank to the east of the large enclosure.

Fig. 50.—Later water channel in large enclosure.

Fig. 51a and b.—Ceramic fragments from later occupation periods in large enclosure.
Fig. 52.—Canalization in outer enclosure.

Fig. 55.—Oratory between the two enclosures.
Fig. 53.—Deflecting walls in outer enclosure.

Fig. 54.—Northern sluices in outer enclosure.

Fig. 55.—Complete glass juglet.

Fig. 56.—Complete ceramic piece from the 13th century.
Fig. 58 a, b, c and d. - Glass fragments from the large enclosure.
the Umayyads created the infrastructure for agriculture (canals, protective walls against animals and marauders, protection against natural floods), for a primarily administrative center (mosque, Building A) with supporting minor industry (presses for olive oil), for trade (the small enclosure), and for storage (the large halls of the northwestern quarter). This infrastructure was not finished until the early Abbasid period, and the separation of time between beginning and completion has been confirmed in striking manner by Carbon 14 evidence. Using one wood sample from the original wall of the small enclosure and another from a burned ceiling beam from Building A, the analysis showed a difference of some 75 years.26

The reasons for the creation of this entity are several. The Umayyads themselves had a major pre-occupation with the settlement of Muslim Arabs and of impoverished Christian Arabs from Western Syria. Qasr al-Hayr could be considered as one such settlement with the further functions of collecting taxes and administering tribes. Then both Umayyads and Abbasids had created a new agriculturally rich and strategically or commercially essential Jazirah, and Qasr al-Hayr could be interpreted as part of the kind of expansion into less hospitable areas which characterizes any development of a new geographical entity. Then also there was another aspect to agriculture than planting of foodstuffs. In an age without carts the main mode of transport for trade and for the army consisted in animals, camels, donkeys, horses. The whole area of Qasr al-Hayr, like most of northern Palmyrene,27 is an ideal grazing area, and thus we may also imagine that the site was built as a military base in which animals were raised and equipment kept during peace time. In time of war animals and equipment would have been brought to some point on the Euphrates, Raqqah for instance, for the caliphal armies moving toward Anatolia. We know far too little about the military organization of Islamic armies in the early Middle Ages to make this suggestion more than a hypothesis, but it is interesting to note that much of our archaeologically gathered evidence would thus find an explanation. This is particularly true of the apparent absence of living areas. A military, administrative, and commercial center with supporting agriculture would require only a minimal permanent population, while the larger numbers required at harvest time or whenever animals or equipment were to be moved stayed for only short periods of time and probably lived in tents.

Such are the hypotheses which present themselves about the first Qasr al-Hayr after three seasons of work. Obviously they are still tentative and require considerable elaboration; but they do indicate, it seems to me, that both the location and the archaeology of an impressive set of ruins in the Syrian steppe lead to a wide variety of questions of considerable historical importance.

We can be briefer on the second major moment of Qasr al-Hayr’s activity. It corresponded to the feudal period of Syria and

26 The analyses were made by the Physics Department at the University of Michigan. I am very grateful to Professor James Griffin of the Anthropology Department at the University of Michigan for having supervised all arrangements pertaining to these analyses.

of the Jazirah and in ways which are still to be investigated partook of the new growth of these provinces from the early twelfth century onward. Functionally it appears that military and commercial preoccupation predominated, but since water was still plentiful, it is not excluded that some of the more complex functions of early times were still continued, although on a more limited scale. Architecturally, however, there is no doubt that this second city was a crude creation without most of the amenities of earlier times.

IV. FINDS

While the main emphasis of our report so far has consisted of descriptions of buildings, of discussions of chronologies, and of hypotheses about functions, we have also mentioned that some of our dates and interpretations have been based on various finds: ceramic sequences in some instances and stucco decoration found in situ in other instances. It may be worthwhile at the end of this account to say a few words about finds in general.

Outside of a fairly large number of bronze objects of utilitarian character (which include one comparatively rare mirror type), of occasional fragments of wooden or bone objects, and of numerous tiles, pipes and other parts of architectural construction, the most important finds belong to three groups: architectural decoration, ceramics, glass.

Architectural decoration throughout is of two kinds: sculpted stonework, almost all of which belongs to pre-Islamic monuments from the Palmyrene and therefore whose study is beyond our immediate concern, and stucco sculpture, almost all of which belongs to the Umayyad or early Abbasid periods (figs. 44 and 45). Only a small number of fragments can be given a precise architectural setting. To the art historian the interest of these fragments is two-fold. On the one hand, the comparative paucity of designs found in some 3500 fragments (about 30 to 35 types) illustrates the kind of taste and models available in a provincial center of the middle of the eighth century, between the exuberance of the Umayyad estates of Western Syria and the classical standardization of Samarra’s ornament in the ninth century. On the other hand these stuccoes, together with Raqqa’h’s, may serve to define a Jazirah school of decoration, and it will be necessary to decide eventually whether this was merely a provincial offshoot of Syria or Iraq or an independent school altogether. In addition many fragments of painted stuccoes were found, but, outside of providing a range of colors, these are quite useless for the definition of designs.

The analysis of the ceramics from Qasr al-Ḥāyr posed a large number of problems since it was only in the small enclosure that any sort of clear stratigraphy was available and since almost total anarchy reigns in the description of medieval Islamic pottery. The emphasis of our work so far has been in organizing and classifying glazed series, for unglazed types seem to have been comparatively consistent throughout the Middle Ages. Inasmuch as only a small number of complete objects of major quality was found (fig. 56), our main objective was to provide a typological definition of the main glazed types found at Qasr al-Ḥāyr without, initially, being overly concerned with precise dates. Thus some twenty-five types
have been identified, the frequency of their occurrence recorded, and their physical and decorative characteristics defined. The following preliminary conclusions have been reached so far. First, almost none of the major types was manufactured on the site itself, and most of them were brought in from the east, primarily from the Jazirah, at least until the middle of the thirteenth century. Second, while certain types such as polychrome or monochrome luster painted fragments (figs. 27-29) are fairly well-dated, it seems to us that the life span of some of the earlier luster series should be extended beyond the limits usually assigned to them. Furthermore, we tend to conclude that most mediaeval glazed types continued over the whole of the Middle Ages and that what varied was the frequency of different types and the variations of their quality. Our third preliminary conclusion is that each type exhibited a surprisingly large number of quality differences. By a careful analysis of these variants we may be able to determine an essential aspect of the material culture of the time, the ranges of taste and technique which existed at any one time and were available at any one place. Since most of the types are related in technique or decoration to expensive series created in larger centers, we may also be able to define the degree of impact any one of these series may have had or to conclude that they were less exclusive than has hitherto been believed.

Although often relatable to ceramics in the kinds of problems they posed, glass fragments posed additional ones because there have been fewer attempts to properly catalogue fragments found in previous expeditions or to publish archaeologically provided holdings in museums. We hope to be able to do this with Qaṣr al-Ḥayr’s glass, for in addition to a fairly sizeable number of fragments or even of complete objects found all over the site (fig. 57), the 1969 excavations brought to light several hundred fragments in a dump of materials from the first main period of occupation of Qaṣr al-Ḥayr (fig. 58a-d). The study of this stratified material, which has only begun, should provide important information for the history of common glass.

Finally it should be pointed out that a number of graffiti were found ranging from the early Islamic period to the thirteenth century, and these may be of some interest in the history of the Arabic script. The more surprising feature of the excavation has been the lack of coins. Most of the ones which were found are very damaged bronze coins; only one or two have readable information, and none can be used for stratigraphic or historical purposes. This absence can be explained, it seems to me, by the fact that, whatever fluctuations its history may have had, Qaṣr al-Ḥayr was never completely destroyed. It was eventually abandoned; its last inhabitants packed their belongings and left, letting the buildings, the plants, and the broken sherds fade away in the sun before being covered with sand and earth by the violent winds of what slowly became a desert.
TELL ABŪ SARĪFA
A Sassanian — Islamic Ceramic Sequence from South Central Iraq

By ROBERT McC. ADAMS

Archaeological understanding of the Sassanian and Islamic periods in the Middle East has long suffered from a number of debilitating weaknesses. Major emphasis is given to studies of isolated objects whose provenience and temporal placement have had to be deduced on epigraphic and stylistic grounds rather than determined from stratigraphic sequences in controlled excavations. Considerations of context, basic in other fields, accordingly are distinguished in this case primarily by their absence. Documented associations of buildings with the inventory of artifacts used and abandoned within them are rare. Attention is devoted almost exclusively to objects of aesthetic merit, so that quantitative characterizations of the variable range of actual productions seldom are possible. The same principle extends to the lavish illustration and description of certain material categories, such as glazed wares, at the expense of other, often much larger categories which may be at least as sensitive and reliable as indices of change. On the whole, then, assignments of dates are correspondingly broad and impressionistic, and hence are subject to persisting, unresolved controversies.¹

An intensive program of archaeological reconnaissance in central Iraq, sponsored jointly by the Oriental Institute and the American Schools of Oriental Research and centering during 1968–69 on the area around the ancient Sumerian city of Nippur, provided an opportunity for a small-scale sounding directed toward several of these defects. Its principal aim was to increase the precision with which ceramic surface collections in the area could be dated, in order to permit recognition of sequent patterns of irrigation and settlement. Available funds and time permitted only a limited exposure, precluding an attempt to associate recovered artifacts with extensive architectural remains. The objective instead was to conduct a quantitative study of the full ceramic inventory of a representative small mound that was occupied from Sassanian times until the post-Sâmarrân period.

Tell Abū Sarīfa was selected for this purpose. Located in 'Afak Qadha of Dîwaniya Liwa, it is about seventeen kilometers north-northwest of Nippur and 4.5 kilometers east-southeast of Zibliyât. Nippur (Arabic Niffar), one of the foremost centers of early Mesopotamia, remained an important town and the seat of a Christian bishopric into the 'Abbasid period. Zibliyât is still unexcavated and unidentified, but it contains the remains of major Sassanian buildings and exceeds even the size of Nippur.

Abū Sarīfa, by contrast, is a small and in no way remarkable mound. As illustrated in figure 1, it is partly obscured by dunes, but the elevated portion of the site

is unlikely to exceed 3 hectares in area. Very numerous Sassanian and Early Islamic sites lie all around it, for the former period in particular reached a peak of settlement intensity for this area that has not been approached before or since. By the post-Samarran period, however, it had become one of the last surviving communities in a district that was being progressively abandoned. This persistence, coupled with logistic considerations imposed by the need for daily travel by desert track from the Oriental Institute expedition base at Nippur, led to the choice of the site for excavation. Unnamed by local inhabitants prior to excavation, it subsequently became known as Abu Sarifia through association with the temporary reed-mat huts that were constructed at its foot to house the labor force and equipment employed in the sounding. Excavations were carried out for 31 working days in January and February 1969, with a crew averaging about 30 workmen.2

The main trench was laid out on the summit of the mound, and by the end of operations had penetrated to virgin soil over a portion of its length. It consisted of two 10 x 5 meter soundings, separated at their ends by a one-meter balk and forming a north-south line. Five major building phases were distinguished within an aggregate depth of 4.8 meters. A still earlier phase, identified as level I, contained sparse Parthian sherd but no traces of architecture or debris indicating a genuine occupation in the immediate area. Since Parthian mounds occur about 200 meters east and a somewhat greater distance to the west, it is likely that these sherd are only accidental discards along an ancient canal levee that can be seen in figure 1 approaching the present mound from the west and presumably continuing under and beyond it. In any case, cultural material thins out imperceptibly with greater depth. By the depth at which the level of the surrounding plain is reached, 1.6 meters below the floor of level II, the deposit is entirely sterile. A section drawing of the west face of this trench is given in figure 2a, while architectural plans of the successive levels are given in figure 3.

Of the major occupation, levels II and III may be assigned to the Sassanian period on the basis of their ceramic inventory. Mud-brick walls are up to 70 cm. in thickness and are carefully aligned and bonded. The buildings they compose are obviously large and uniformly oriented although, within the limits of constricted soundings, there is no clear evidence that any of them

---

2 In addition to the author as director, the staff responsible for the sounding included Douglas Kennedy, epigraphist and numismatist; Charles L. Redman, archaeologist; Ruth S. Adams, photographer; Roberta T. Ellis, laboratory curator; Sayyid Riath al-Qaisi, Representative of the Iraq Directorate General of Antiquities; and Beth Skinner, archaeological assistant. During a brief visit Monique Geschier Brinkman began, and subsequently completed, a provisional typology of the glass objects. I owe a warm personal debt of gratitude to these participants. Grateful acknowledgement also is made of the assistance of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in making possible the collaboration of Douglas Kennedy, and of the Ford Foundation in supporting the work of Charles Redman through its Archaeological Field Training Fellowship Program. Finally, we are deeply indebted to Dr. Isa Salman, Director General of Antiquities, and other authorities in Iraq for the unstinting support given to this undertaking.
served a non-domiciliary function. Levels IV–VI comprise the Islamic occupation, individually not as thick but together representing about the same duration and depth of accumulation as the two Sassanian levels. As the plans of successive levels show, there is a continuing decline in architectural scale and quality during the Islamic period; rooms become smaller and no longer are uniformly oriented, and walls are more thinly and irregularly constructed. Refuse pits, present throughout the sequence, tend to be larger and more numerous in the uppermost levels. Together with curving segments of minor, widely scattered walls, these pits suggest a village that had become less well-ordered, compact and prosperous as population declined. After the inception of level II and until the lengthy seven or eight-century occupational span of the settlement drew to its final close, however, there are no weathering horizons in the sections or marked discontinuities in the seriation curves to suggest intervening periods of abandonment.

Also on the summit of the mound, five meters west of the main trench, an additional 10 x 5 meter trench was laid out toward the end of the excavation period. Here the objective was to amplify the sherd sample for the Islamic sub-periods, particularly with reference to the glazed pottery which constituted an unexpectedly small proportion of the collection. It was carried to the full depth of level IV in the main trench, subdivided into units of the same depth as the succession of Islamic phases in the latter. Severe pitting, combined with the limited scale and time available for the operation, made it impossible to recover meaningful architectural remains in this area.

Another operation that was carried to the full depth of the mound lay 15 meters north of the main trench. This was dug as a step-trench, in three 5 x 1.5 meter sections without intervening balks, whose west faces continued the west face section in the main trench down the steep north slope of the mound. Completed quickly during the early stages of work at Abu Sarifa, the primary purpose of the step-trench was to provide a small initial sampling of the entire sequence in order to facilitate drawing up suitable typological categories.

As the section of the step-trench given in figure 2b shows, the outcome diverged from this expectation in two respects. On the one hand, ceramic form and ware proportions characteristic of level VI, the latest level on top of the mound, fail to appear in any of the sherd lots from the step-trench. This suggests that the occupied area of the site shrank considerably before the outset of its terminal phase. In the Sassanian levels of the step-trench, on the other hand, very dense sherd accumulations were encountered, approximately equalling in number the sherds that were encountered in the much larger contemporary levels of the main trench. For later levels, by contrast, the volume of sherds from the step-trench in each case remained less than thirty percent of the total number collected.

Throughout the entire occupation, it may be noted that the area of the step-trench lay to the north of the built-up part of the mound. Only one drain and a single section of wall are to be observed in the entire west face section, and no other architectural features were observed on its many superimposed floors. Numerous shallow pits and lenses of charcoal and other debris all suggest instead that this portion of the
mound served mainly as a refuse midden. Given the apparent continuity in the uses to which this area was put, the reason for the recovery of a disproportionately greater volume of Sassanian pottery hence remains obscure.

A final, smaller operation was placed on the west flank of the mound near its foot. Surface inspection suggested that Sassanian pottery predominated in this area, and two 5 x 1.5 meter stratitests, in an east-west line and separated by a one-meter balk, were dug to obtain a further sample of the presumably earlier part of the occupation. A section drawing of the south face is given in figure 4, but here the outcome in general was disappointing. Sherds were extremely sparse, recognizable occupational debris was confined to the uppermost levels (and there was somewhat disturbed by shallow pits), and natural stratigraphic horizons proved very difficult to detect and follow. The slope of deposits near the westernmost, lower end of the trench and the presence of some coarse sand and silt with shell inclusions suggest that the levee of the canal shown in figure 1 must have passed not far to the west of this trench. Again, no built-up settlement seems to have been present in the adjacent area. Some mixing was evident in the sherd collections from this operation, and in any case they were too small for counts to be meaningful. Hence they are not included in the tabulations by level that are given subsequently.

The procedure followed in the analysis of sherd collections took the following form. First, a gross separation was made between body sherds, lacking surface decoration as well as features diagnostic as to vessel form, and all other categories. The former were separately recorded on the basis of paste or preparation criteria, herein termed “wares,” and then discarded. In the early stages of work most of the form and surface decoration categories that were later adopted had not yet been established. Hence, after culling fragments seemingly too small to be subject to later classification, all the remaining sherds were sacked and retained pending completion of the typological framework. Some discrepancies may have arisen through the culling of small sherds that later could have been assigned to a discrete form category. In particular, the Islamic category of thin, vertical jar collars may have been disproportionately reduced since their fragility led to a prevailing pattern of recovery only in very small pieces. However, the discarded portion of the collections was always kept small to minimize this possibility. In addition, the west trench was not undertaken until the Islamic typology had been fully worked out, and the proportions of various rim forms there provide at least a partial confirmation of earlier practice in that they are not significantly different. The typological framework with respect to vessel form that was appropriate for the Sassanian ceramics already began to be apparent from later examples in the upper levels and was quickly completed after level III first was reached in the step-trench. Hence significant divergences from actual proportions seem extremely unlikely for levels II and III also.

Surface finish and decoration categories were relatively small in all levels and hence were completely retained and fully recorded after the final typology had been established. In particular, all glazed sherds were counted regardless of size. Hence the proportion of the total ceramic
inventory that was glazed, already surprisingly small in the tabulations given below, actually was even slightly smaller.

Within the excavations, stress was placed at all times on procedures that would recover contemporaneous sherd groups. The trenches were dug in 5 x 5 (or in the case of the step-trench, 5 x 1.5) meter area units with individual loci for collection assigned on the basis of successive floors or similar features at increasing depths generally on the order of twenty to forty centimeters. Subsequent aggregation of these collection units into levels was initially posited on the basis of architectural phases, but with the assignment of individual units in each case finally determined on the basis of typological seriation.

The widespread presence of refuse pits led to difficulties in the formation of contemporaneous collection units that were especially severe in the Islamic levels. Floors at the base of all excavation units were regularly scraped in order to detect discoloration due to pits, so that the latter could be cleared as part of the level from which they were dug. With increasing compaction of the soil, and skill of the workmen, greater success was achieved in locating pits in the earlier levels. On the whole, large, deep pits that might have led to serious stratigraphic inversions were detected fairly readily, but not a few smaller pits must have escaped notice completely. Hence it is fortunate that sherds generally were less numerous in pit refuse than in other deposits.

The effect of pits upon ceramic seriation was two-fold. On the one hand, some sherds undoubtedly found their way as refuse into a deeper level than that from which they came. There are, for example, five sherds of Islamic glazed wares in the presumably pre-Islamic level III of the main trench. All came from in or near a pit that was observed only subsequently in the face of the trench to have been cut into this level from above, at the east end of the balk. Hence it is plausible to suppose that these sherds more properly should be assigned only to level IV. On the other hand, the example of a fragmentary glazed plate (fig. 11v) is illustrative of the upward scattering effect that pits also produced. Again, the bulk of the recovered pieces of the plate occurred in the area of a very large pit, in this case near the north end of level IV and adjoining its west face. Detected only subsequent to their finding, this pit was not traced during the scraping of level V and hence is somewhat more likely to have been dug during the terminal, upper phases of level IV rather than at a later time. On the other hand, three additional fragments of the plate were found in separate loci in level V, a minimum of 1.25 meters above the findspot of the main body of fragments. Perhaps the most reasonable reconstruction is that most of the plate, presumably discarded in a pit after breakage, thus found its way to a somewhat greater depth than its level of origin. But then some of its pieces subsequently were removed to a higher level by still later, smaller pits. The numerous pits at Abū Sarifa, in short, have had the effect of somewhat extending the span of particular ceramic types and features both backwards and forwards in time beyond the original limits of their popularity. Herein lay the importance of clearing them with the level from which they were sunk whenever they could be detected.

Another aspect of the stress placed on securing sherd collection units that were as
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Ware</th>
<th>Profile</th>
<th>Decoration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Plain</td>
<td>Branched</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>Stemmed</td>
<td>Double</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>Rimmed</td>
<td>Incised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.—Enumeration of ware, profile, and surface decoration features of unglazed pottery by levels.
Table 2.—Enumeration of glazed wares and profiles by levels.
contemporaneous as possible involved the practice that was followed in the removal of mud-brick walls. After the latter had been mapped, they were left in place until a particular level had been entirely finished. Then they were broken up and removed separately, and sherd inclusions within them were not retained as part of the collection unit. Such inclusions—which in any case were never numerous—might have come from whatever the parent material was from which the mud-bricks in the walls were constructed, and almost certainly would have been earlier than the debris in the buildings formed by the walls.

The separation between level I and succeeding levels is a fundamental one, corresponding to the onset of the genuine occupation of the site after an indefinite prior interval of sparse, secondary deposits. Hence the following discussion, concerned with quantitative presentation of a continuous, adequately represented sequence, deals only with levels II through VI. Findings in level I are briefly presented subsequently in a separate section, although its sherd counts are given in tabular form together with those of the other levels.

Ceramics

All features of the ceramic collections at Abu Sarīfa that were found to be diagnostic of quantitative change through time are recorded in Tables 1 and 2, listing the numbers of examples that occurred in each level. Descriptions of these features, references to illustrations of them, and accounts of qualitative changes not included in the tables are given below. It will be noted that ware, form, and surface decoration features often coincide, in the sense that they define a number of specific types of vessel whose examples are quite uniform in appearance by all criteria. But while these types form the basis for many of the most sensitive and critical indices of change recorded in the tables, for purposes of analysis it is more useful, at least as an initial step, to describe ware, form and surface decoration criteria as independent categories.

Unglazed Wares

Except for a very small minority of sherds, the pottery in all levels could be classified into four categories. Plain ware uniformly constituted the overwhelming bulk, approaching or even exceeding ninety percent of the total. Core and surface coloration typically was grey buff, but the range of variation also commonly included reddish and greenish hues. Surface texture was uniformly sandy, and slip, burnishing, and similar surface treatments were rare or absent. Tempering material also was absent, save for fine sand or coarse silt which may have been a natural inclusion. Just as the high proportion of this ware remained constant, similarly no cumulative difference was macroscopically observable which would allow body sherds from the early and late parts of the sequence to be distinguished from one another. On the other hand, vessel forms and surface decorations varied widely, both within and between levels or periods. These aspects are discussed subsequently in separate sections.

Thin ware in part may constitute only an arbitrary sub-category of plain ware. Characteristics of the majority of sherds grouped under this heading were identical with those of the latter, save that all or part of sherds classified as thin ware were less than four millimeters in thickness. This is particularly true for the Sassanian period,
during which the ratio of thin ware to plain ware was only about one-third of the four to six percent it later became. Under the thin ware rubric, Islamic levels also include a distinctively different group of sherds, light buff in color, of well-levigated clay, and apparently lacking sand or any other tempering material. All of these seem to be associated with a particular vessel form that appears only in the Islamic period, small vertical-collared jars. Apart from these minor distinctive features, the indices of change through time pertaining to thin ware, as to plain ware, involve vessel form and surface decoration rather than fabric. Plain and thin ware categories were not kept separate at the time surface collections were made in the areas later excavated hence it will be noted that only a combined total is given for them under the “Surface” rubric in the table.

Grit ware and chaff ware, sharply distinguishable in later Islamic levels, were progressively more difficult to separate in lower levels. Hence the categories are combined for the Sassanian period, although chaff was clearly the predominant tempering material. Then as later, chaff-tempered clay probably was used primarily for large vessels that were at best semiportable (fig. 5 g–h), although the low, handmade, flat-bottomed, flaring sided basins of Islamic times (cf. fig. 5 b–d) apparently were not present. Chaff and grit tempered vessel construction on the whole became cruder and thicker in later levels, with soft, friable fabric and blackened sherd cores indicating inadequate firing. Frequently the interior surface of these later basins had been hardened by burnishing and blackened with use, possibly as receptacles for charcoal fires. Grit ware, after it had emerged as a clearly separable category in the Early Islamic period, was used in the main for very crude, handmade jars and stoppers (fig. 5 e–f). Notched, appliqued ridges form an occasional decoration on these jars, the horseshoe-shape of some of them recalling painted symbols on contemporary plain ware jars. Horizontal jug handles, pierced or unpierced, are very common. Tempering material classified as “grit” is, in fact, extremely variable, frequently including fragments of glazed sherds as well as dark, irregularly shaped volcanic particles up to three millimeters in diameter.

Attention may be called to an apparent implication of the stratigraphic distribution of grit ware. From the point of its unequivocal introduction at the beginning of the Islamic period, the popularity of this crude, locally made, strictly utilitarian pottery climbs steadily. As late as level VI, to be sure, only 3.2 percent of the total number of unglazed body sherds fall into this category. In the complete surface collection made over the main trench on top of the mound, however, the percentage jumps to eleven. This would seem to argue that the surface pottery represents in part a somewhat later phase than the terminal level of the mound itself, a phase whose architectural and other stratified vestiges presumably have eroded away during the ensuing eight centuries of abandonment. The same conclusion is supported by other discontinuities between the sherd collection from level VI and that from the overlying surface. In particular, these include marked increases in the frequency of grey lead glaze and violet glaze, as well as a sharp drop in the overall proportion of glazed wares (cf. Table 2). It is more problematical, however, whether a contemporaneous drop in
the proportion of chaff ware, from ten percent to two percent, must necessarily be viewed as a related development. Much of the chaff ware was fired at so low a temperature that it may not have resisted erosion when long exposed on the surface.

In addition to the above major categories, three other wares may be mentioned that appeared in very small quantities. Dark-faced orange ware seemingly was particularly in vogue during the Early Islamic period. This is a hard, thin, somewhat brittle ware, with exterior and interior surfaces almost black although the core is characteristically a bright orange. Dark, sparse grains of sand form the tempering material. Although the small number of sherds makes generalization hazardous, the principal shape associated with this ware appears to be a strap-handled jar, the handles (and sometimes the body sherds) being characterized by thickened ridges that give the effect of fluting. One hole-mouth, club rim jar sherd of this ware bears an oblique chevron decoration applied with a rocker-stamp technique (fig. 5 i), recalling similar examples from Sāmarra. While uncommon at Abu Sarifa, it may be noted that this ware is conspicuously more frequent at contemporary sites in the vicinity that are larger and more important. Presumably it is a luxury or special purpose ware that has been imported from a considerable distance.

A second minor ware, dark-faced, brown in color, and tempered with white grit, probably is limited to the late Sasanian period. Seemingly it was used only for large globular jars with low, gracefully profiled collars (fig. 5 o–s), and it is much rarer at Abu Sarifa and other sites in the vicinity than on the Diyala plains east of Baghdad. Finally, a few fragments of imported black stone vessels may be mentioned (fig. 5 n). All of these come from flat-bottomed, vertical-sided bowls or basins, sometimes equipped with horizontal lugs. They are carved from a relatively soft stone, and the exterior commonly shows minute horizontal or diagonal tooth marks in narrow vertical panels, as if the vessel were slightly turned at intervals while being finished with a file. Interiors of these fragments generally are badly worn, indicating that the vessels probably served a utilitarian purpose in spite of the considerable distance from which they must have been imported.

Plain and Thin Ware Vessel Forms

Whole or reconstructable vessel shapes were recovered only in small numbers from the limited soundings at Abu Sarifa. These forms are illustrated in figures 6 and 7. Because they are so limited in number, complete profiles provide only a highly insecure and probably misleading indication of the duration of use of particular shapes, of the range of variation within each type, or of their relative popularity in different periods. For such information, which will help us ultimately to establish more sensitive and accurate indices of change and chronology, we must turn to a tabulation of incomplete portions of vessels. Of course,

---

3 Friedrich Sarre, Die Keramik von Samarra, Berlin, 1925, Abb.65; Government of Iraq, Department of Antiquities, Excavations at Samarra 1936–1939, Baghdad, 1940, part 2, pl. 38.


5 Government of Iraq, op. cit., pl. 129.
recognition of trends affecting these fragments also facilitates the dating of surface collections, in which whole vessels appear only rarely. For purposes of convenience, they may be grouped into the broad but easily recognizable categories of bases, handles and rims.

Vessel bases entirely lack individualized features and in general received little stylistic attention during either the Sassanian or the Islamic periods. More than four-fifths of them in both periods are flat or slightly concave, these two profiles intergrading with one another rather than being distributed bimodally. Other alternatives not only are limited in number but are not subject to wide, rapid fluctuation in frequency. The number of low ring bases, for example, varies between about two and five percent of the total number of bases during Sassanian, Early Islamic and Samarran times and then rises to fourteen percent in level VI. High ring bases with finger indentations at the join seemingly emerge as a Sassanian characteristic, but even during levels II and III the type was so modest in popularity that only seven (out of a total of eight for all levels) examples were found. Other types change even less. Blunt-pointed or "torpedo" bases of large storage jars, often coated on the interior with bitumen, may drop slightly, from 3.4 percent to about two percent of the total, after the Sassanian period. Stub bases, a category intermediate in diameter between torpedo bases and flat bases, drop from 7.7 percent in Sassanian times to about half that figure in the final two Islamic levels. Button bases (cf. fig. 6by) occasionally are found on small pitchers and similar vessels throughout the sequence. Reconstructable vessel profiles (figures 7, 16j,k) make clear that a variety of rounded bases also occurs, sometimes in considerable numbers, but when sherds of these are found alone they are almost inevitably classified only as body sherds.

Handles, in the overwhelming majority of cases, were as routinely treated by the potter as bases. Generally they consist of a simple coil, circular or flattened in section, joining jar collars at or just below the rim and extending to the widened, globular body at the shoulder. Light, small-orifice vessels may have only one (fig. 6an, au, by). Some of these may be identified as pitchers from the presence of slightly everted pouring spouts, but the latter are rare; it may be significant that all of the examples recovered came from levels II and III and hence were of Sassanian date. Others may have served instead as drinking cups. Two opposed handles was probably a more common arrangement, since it occurs on vessels of intermediate size as well as small ones. Large, globular storage jars characteristically had three evenly-spaced handles. Handle size (i.e., cross-sectional area) seemingly was directly related to the size and weight of the vessel to which the handle was attached, rather than an independent variable suggesting stylistic considerations. This strictly utilitarian approach also is indicated by the consistency with which handle fragments of all sizes may be assigned to a single typological category.

The relatively high number of handles recorded in all levels argues that a large majority of jars was equipped with them during the entire span of Abū Sarifa’s oc-

---

7 Cf. Government of Iraq, op. cit., pls. 20, 29.
ocupation. Some increase in popularity is apparent in the changing proportion of handles to bases, which is about 6:7 in levels II and III and about 3:2 in the succeeding Islamic levels. Since the latter category includes a not inconsiderable proportion of bowls that never had handles, however, it is perhaps more meaningful at this point to stress the frequency of handles throughout the sequence rather than the contrast between successive periods.

Generalizations as to lack of individuality and stylistic de-emphasis fail to apply to one small class of handles. This class, never numbering more than ten percent of the handles in any level, is marked by a variety of adorned and unadorned protuberances that rise vertically near the junction of the handle with the neck of the vessel. Simple, unadorned protuberances or knobs are considerably more numerous and apparently represent the antecedent style. Two examples were found in the late Sassanian level III, and there is even a single example found in level I whose aberrant, slightly pointed form suggests that it may belong in Parthian context and not be intrusive. Representative examples of these knobs are illustrated in figure 8.

Decorated or embellished knobs commonly are termed turbans, and indeed they sometimes suggest headwear of this kind. However, they are never associated with recognizable facial or cranial features, and the absence of well-defined stylistic groupings also lends little support to the prevailing interpretation. Some turbans might better be described as phallic objects, and it is not unlikely that most of them had no material referent but instead were mere abstractions. In any case, what is most striking is the variability of this small group of embellishments. Although a few large, three-handled storage jars indicate uniformity for a particular vessel (fig. 7c), virtually every application to different vessels must have been at least slightly different. All recovered examples of turbans were found in levels IV–VI, and hence are of Islamic date. Although the numbers are perhaps too small to be meaningful, there is some evidence that the proportion of both simple knobs and turbans to other handle fragments gradually increases during the Islamic levels.

As indicated by the three-handed storage vessels just referred to, turban handles sometimes are associated with rows of stamp impressions applied to the lower body. Perhaps this association was the prevailing pattern, for stamp impressions, as will be shown in the next section, share the feature of extreme variability from vessel to vessel. Moreover, turbans generally are applied to handles of fairly large size, suitable for storage jars. Some turbans have decorated upper surfaces that also recall stamp impressions. In short, turbans clearly represent a focus of unusual cultural innovation. Although not numerous enough yet to provide evidence of stylistic groupings, it is not unlikely that such groupings ultimately will become apparent—and that they will serve not only as chronological indicators but as evidence of ownership, place of manufacture, or similar cultural patterns. Hence the entire corpus of turbans recovered from Abū Sarīfa is illustrated in figure 8.

Rim forms fall into a number of broad but distinctive categories, generally defined not on the basis of the lip or orifice alone but of varying portions of the upper vessel profile. The following numbered descriptions and comments on dating are keyed to
the tabulations given by level in Table 1 and to the seriation chart (fig. 13).

Type A. Large ledge rim plain ware bowls. Three sub-types may be distinguished: A-1, a primarily Sassanian form (fig. 6bg–bj). Some of these bowls have a light interior coating of bitumen, and there are occasional daubs of bitumen also on rims and exteriors. The sharply profiled Sassanian prototypes tend to be rounded and de-emphasized in examples from Islamic levels, so that some of the latter (fig. 6o) are barely distinguishable from ordinary plain ware bowls (type D). A-2, same as above but with an appliqued ridge on exterior below rim (fig. 6av, aw, bz). Excisions from this ridge give a scalloped effect. Never as popular as type A-1, the frequency of this profile for plain ware vessels drops even more sharply at the beginning of the Islamic period. On the other hand, at that time it becomes fairly common for chaff ware flat-bottomed basins (fig. 5c). A-3, an Islamic variant. The ledge rim is reduced to an external thickening or bolster, on the (usually) bevelled outer edge of which is an incised multiple-meander, broad-groove meander, or groove-and-meander design (fig. 6m; cf. discussion of incised surface decorations below).

Type B. Double-grooved ledge rim bowls. Large rounded or flaring bowls with pronounced flaring rims, on the upper surface of which are two deep, wide, concentric grooves. Again primarily a Sassanian form, with the ledges on the sparser Islamic examples being reduced in size and less sharply profiled. Two sub-types may be distinguished: B-1, as above. B-2, with excisions from the upper lip and/or rounded ridge rising between the grooves (fig. 6ax). On Islamic examples the uniform, carefully spaced Sassanian excisions become merely a slash decoration and the grooves are vestigial or even absent (fig. 6ag).

Type C. Carinated or grooved plain ware bowls. Generally large, rounded, and with thickened rims, these bowls have pronounced horizontal grooves or ridges, sometimes scalloped, on the exterior. Mainly a late Sassanian type (fig. 6bk–bn). Slightly everted rims on a few examples form rudimentary pouring spouts.

Type D. Plain ware bowls. A category including a wide range of forms but no distinctive sub-types. Sassanian variants generally are rounded and with simple rims (fig. 6bc, br). Islamic variants are much more numerous and for the most part have flaring sides. Rims include simple, bolstered, tapered and tapered-out-curling forms, essentially the same range of profiles as was in use contemporaneously for glazed dishes (fig. 6j–l, n).

Type E. Rounded or flaring thin ware bowls. A category peaking sharply in the late Sassanian period (level III) and thereafter much reduced in frequency. Two sub-types may be distinguished: E-1, without incisions, not uncommonly used for Hebrew or Aramaic incantations (figs. 6bu, 17). At least the rounded form was equally common in contemporary levels of Kish. E-2, with incised interior multiple-meander patterns (fig. 10al, an; cf. discussion of incised surface decorations below).

Type F. Small stoppers and bowls with everted upper sides. Primarily a Sassanian category, although flat grit ware stoppers also occur in Islamic levels. A few examples

8 D. B. Harden, Excavations at Kish and Barghuthiat 1933, section II, pottery, Iraq, 1933, vol. 1, p. 124 and fig. 1, nos. 1, 4.
have pull-knobs in the base, but this does not appear to have been a regular feature (fig. 6bv, cc).

Type G. Very large, elongated storage jars with club rims, often coated with bitumen on the interior. The bases of these jars have a blunt projecting torpedo-fuse point, separately noted above and separately tabulated. A long-lived type, possibly present already at the outset of the Sassanian period. Frequency appears to diminish somewhat in Early Islamic times and to decline more sharply during the final occupational level at Abū Sarīfā. About ten percent of the Sassanian rims have a notched, appliquéd ridge applied just below the rim on the exterior, a feature that disappears after level III (fig. 6ce). Sassanian examples also tend to be more elongated and cylindrical, while at least some Islamic examples have wider body diameters and tend to be more globular.

Type H. Vertical plain or thin ware jar collars with thickened rims, multiple external horizontal grooves, and handles. Probably three or more handles commonly were placed on each vessel (fig. 6bp). The most intensive use of this type seems to have occurred in late Sassanian and Early Islamic times.

Type J. Plain ware jars. A residual category, with considerable variation that may be observed in illustrated examples. Significant clusterings that would define sub-types on the basis of profile were not apparent. However, two sub-types may be distinguished on the basis of surface features: J-1, without decoration (fig. 6c, g, b, w, af, ao, ap, ar, at, ay, ba, bb, bt, bw, cb; 7a, b, f). J-2, with incised groove-and-meander patterns on vertical collars (figs. 7c, e, 10b, j; cf. discussion of incised surface decorations below).

Type K. Thin ware jar rims, of light buff, finely levigated clay. Generally vertical or slightly outflaring, usually with external horizontal grooves and/or carinations, often with incised decorations. An exclusively Islamic category (fig. 6a, b, q–t, ac–ae, ai–am).

Type L. Small diameter bottle or flask rims, often with sharply carinated necks (fig. 6p, bx, by). A long-lived type, possibly declining in frequency after the Sassanian period.

Plain and Thin Ware Surface Decoration

As with vessel forms, a number of categories of surface decoration can be recognized. With one exception, all are associated exclusively with jar profiles rather than bowls. They vary considerably in appearance and frequency, but in general can be grouped under the rubrics of stamp impressions, textural modifications, and incised designs. They also vary in their sensitivity as indices of chronological position, although as a group they are at least as useful and reliable in this respect as categories of vessel form. As indicated already in descriptions of some form categories, there are several specific combinations of form
and surface decoration that normally appear together for fairly restricted time periods. These are particularly important for purposes of temporal placement, in some cases apparently rising and declining in popularity even more rapidly than the types of glazed ceramics on which exclusive reliance for dating usually has been placed.

Stamp impressions are the most widely recognized category. All recovered examples, apart from meaninglessly small fragments and duplicates where noted, are illustrated in figure 9. In both the Sassanian and Islamic levels they seem to occur almost uniformly on body sherds of large plain ware although one impression (fig. 9, quadruped in rectangular field; found in level IV, but almost certainly of Sassanian derivation) occurs on a chaffware horizontal handle. In all other cases they seem to be arranged in one or more horizontal bands around the middle of the vessel, as exemplified by two complete vessels (fig. 7b, c). No example is known of the co-occurrence of two or more different patterns on the same sherd or vessel. Hence it is quite possible that the impressions were partly intended to serve as convenient indications of the ownership, contents, or maker of the vessel in question. On the other hand, the very wide variety of stamps and the paucity of duplicates also may argue that a not inconsiderable part of their function was purely stylistic.

Stamp impressions were relatively few in the early levels at Abu Sarifa, and it was noted independently that they were strikingly more rare on Sassanian sites visited during the Survey of the Nippur area than on corresponding sites in the Diyala region east of Baghdad. Characteristically, Sassanian stamps consist of curvilinear symbols or representational motifs within a non-circular field. Two examples of a unique appliqued design, found in different loci of level III (fig. 6ae, ak), apparently belong in a similar genre. One “pushout” stamp (fig. 9, level III, left, applied to the raised knob created by finger indentations on the interior of the still-plastic vessel side) also found in this level is of a type prevalent in the Achaemenian to Parthian periods and probably was introduced as a stray from a nearby site.

With only one exception from level IV that probably is out of context, stamps from the Islamic levels consist of geometric motifs in a circular field. One possible subtype, a “bull’s eye” of concentric rings, has been separately tabulated on the grounds that it appears to have been the first variety introduced (one example, whether in context or not, having been the only impression in level II) and to have been on the decline in the uppermost levels. When considered in proportion to the gross number of sherds recovered, the count of stamped sherds in successive levels suggests that they continued to rise in popularity throughout the Islamic occupation at Abu Sarifa. An examination of the illustrations for successive levels also may suggest a gradual increase in the complexity of design motifs.

Closely associated with stamp impressions is a small group of painted symbols or designs. Also illustrated in figure 9, they occur on the shoulders of large Islamic storage vessels (cf. fig. 16k). Like stamp impressions they were applied by the potter before firing, for the black pigment is accompanied by slight indentations in the fabric. Moreover, in at least five of the six cases (the sixth is uncertain, since only a
single sherd bearing this design was found) the painted symbols occur on vessels which also bore stamp impressions. Unlike stamp impressions, on the other hand, in three of the five cases differing combinations of symbols are found. Assuming that both stamps and symbols had at least some functional significance, the combination of the two thus could attain a fairly complex level of cultural meaning.

Under the rubric of textural modifications reference may be made to three techniques that were primarily in vogue during the Sassanian period. The most common gives a streaked or cellular “honeycomb” appearance to body sherds of large plain ware storage jars (figs. 10aa–ac, ag–aj; 16j, l). No fully reconstructable examples were found, but many fragments associating the technique with one torpedo-base and two round-bottomed jars (fig. 16j) were observed in level III. Usually it was applied only to the lower portions of vessels so that an association with rim profiles is difficult to establish, but one example was found in which it is combined with a typical storage jar rim (fig. 10ab). The technique used is unclear, but must consist of fingertip or other impressions made into a thick, wet slip. As the illustrations show, the streaked and cellular varieties frequently occur together; in general, however, elongated or streaked patterns seem to occupy larger proportions of the vessel surface and hence are more commonly encountered on sherds.

Some sherds with “honeycomb” surface treatment were found in level II, and it may be noted that in general the earlier examples seem to have been more geometric in arrangement and more carefully executed (figs. 10aj, 16j; the latter is from the earliest phase of level III) than the great abundance of this fabric that appears only in level III. Its disappearance in level IV and later levels is even more abrupt. Hence it seems to serve in general as a useful indicator of the later Sassanian period.9

The other two forms of textural modification are relatively much less frequent. One, for which the analogy with flowing water suggests the term “riffling,” produces very slight modifications of surface contour that nonetheless create pleasing and subtle shadow patterns (fig. 10r, w, am). It may have been formed either with a lightly applied roulette or by lightly striking the still plastic surface of the unfired vessel with a comb or serrated tool. A comparable technique, described as rouletting, is known from late Sassanian levels at Kish. The second, “pattern impressing,” has deeper and generally more regular depressions but creates an overall effect that is not dissimilar (fig. 10p, q, u, v). Again there may be parallels at Kish, not illustrated but described as “a kind of rusticated design composed of groups of imprints stabbed with a blunt tool.”10 Like honeycomb treatment, both were apparently most common in level III and quickly disappeared after the onset of the Islamic period. Since they occur exclusively on plain ware body sherds, they cannot be associated with specific vessel profiles.

Incised decoration is rare at the outset of the occupational sequence, in level II, but then quickly becomes common and remains so until Abū Sarīfa was abandoned. There are substantial discontinuities, how-


10 Harden, op. cit., p. 124 and fig. 1, no. 10.
ever, not only in style but also in technique. One of the earliest forms to appear (in fact, already present in small quantities in level II) is a pattern of fine, multiple wavy lines or meanders that is applied horizontally to the interior of rounded, flat-bottomed thin ware bowls (Type E-2). Probably these lines are incised by oscillating the teeth of a comb against the surface of the bowl during manufacture, and bands of them frequently are set off by horizontal bands of parallel incisions or grooves. The center of the base is always undecorated (fig. 104a, an). This type reaches a sharp peak of popularity in level III and then apparently drops from use as rapidly as it was introduced, giving it considerable importance as a chronological indicator of the later Sassanian period.\(^\text{11}\)

The same multiple-wavy-line motif is applied less frequently to the shoulders of plain ware jars, again usually set off by horizontal bands (fig. 102, ak, am). It also appears on vertical neck sherds of a few jar profiles described above as type I (fig. 10 af). The motif persists well into the Islamic period in this latter application, for it occurs also below thin buff ware jar rims (type K) as late as level VI. However, the examples from levels V and VI may be distinguished from earlier ones not only by the more finely levigated fabric but also by finer, closer spaced incisions and a less careful technique that results in considerable irregularity of wave-length.

Another Sassanian style that persists into the Islamic period may be described as groove-and-slash. Bands of lines or grooves were first incised horizontally on plain ware globular jar shoulders, and then cut across by somewhat wider and deeper, carefully spaced, vertical incisions (fig. 105, y). This style was considerably more common in surface collections from the Diyala region than in those from the Nippur Survey and from the Abū Sarīfa excavations. The very few recorded examples may point to a principal focus of popularity in late Sassanian and Early Islamic times.

The simple incised meander was a motif that was present throughout the sequence. A tabulation of its occurrences indicates, however, that it became much more common in Islamic levels. This is consistent with the increasing utilization of the meander as the basis for more complex decorative patterns, one of the important characteristics of techniques of incised decoration in later levels. Perhaps the most common and readily distinguished of these involves a groove-and-meander style that perhaps descends from earlier groove-and-slash patterns. Found at Abū Sarīfa only in Islamic levels (for a possible Sassanian prototype, cf. fig. 103 x), this consists of a single broadline meander that is incised over a horizontal bank of generally finer, parallel grooves. Frequently the groove-and-meander combination occurs on vertical jar collars, and this conjunction of form and decoration has been separately tabulated under profile J-2 (figs. 7c, e, 10b, j). But it also occurs on plain ware jar shoulders (fig. 10e, f, i), and as an embellishment on the bolstered rims of large bowls (fig. 6m) and chaff ware basins. On some of these examples the meander is attenuated to a single,
usually slightly curving stroke, in this abbreviated form sometimes resembling the Sassanian groove-and-slash technique. But it may be differentiated from the latter by the diagonal direction of slope, by the greater width and depth of the single meander-stroke incisions relative to the underlying horizontal grooves, by the wider and less regular spacing of the meander-stroke incisions, and by generally less painstaking finish.

Two other styles of incised decoration are present mainly or exclusively in the Islamic levels. One is a simple crosshatch pattern, with either single or multiple line incisions (fig. 10k, n, o, t). Generally it occurs on light buff thin ware jars of type K, although a possible antecedent is found on a few Sassanian jar handles (fig. 10ad). The other, tabulated under the rubric of "plant motif," is more decorative but also more heterogeneous. Representations of plants are at best faintly suggestive, and most designs perhaps might be described more accurately as consisting of panels that combine straight and curvilinear elements into alternating series of abstract forms (fig. 10a–d, g, h). Decorations of this type, limited to levels IV–VI, occur both on plain ware and thin ware. The former often is more deeply and carelessly incised, so that individual lines run together and extrusions left by their incision are not removed. Close parallels to both of these styles have been found at Hira, where they are dated to the eighth and ninth centuries, and also are known at Samaara.13

One further style of Islamic incised decoration consists of a panel of wide vertical channels or grooves, often somewhat irregularly spaced, that is placed around the body of small thin ware jars. Jars of this type apparently bear no other decoration, although the number of examples recovered is so small that generalization is hazardous. Parallels from Samaara surely must be roughly contemporary.14

While stamp impressions, textural modifications and incised patterns constitute the major modes of surface decoration throughout the sequence, mention must also be made of two additional modes. One involves the use of paint, although this is confined to only a handful of sherds. Patterns are extremely crude. Sometimes they consist of more or less regular series of daubs that are associated with underlying incised designs (fig. 10s, z), but more frequently there are only irregularly shaped splashes that seem almost to have been applied accidentally (fig. 6bx). One instance is known of a carelessly applied group of horizontal, wavy and pendant lines (fig. 6au). The paint itself is usually black and extremely fugitive. A thin bitumen coating on the interior and rims of large bowls, with occasional exterior daubs, has been noted above. Perhaps the painted treatment described here, confined to jars, is merely an extension of the same technique. Bitumen also is found on a number of jar rims, necks and interiors, and there is one instance of a small jar in which the original bitumen stopper fell inside the vessel and was replaced by another (fig. 6by). All of this suggests that the quite insignificant devel-

12 Ibid., pl. 17a.
13 D. Talbot Rice, "The Oxford Excavations at Hira," Ars Islamica, vol. 1, 1934, fig. 20; Government of Iraq, op. cit., pls. 43, 45, 46.
14 Ibid., pl. 15, no. 1, 39, no. 4; Sarre, op. cit., Abb. 6.
development of painted decoration, entirely confined to levels III and IV, is better understood as a minor extension of the more frequent employment of bitumen for sealing and waterproofing during those periods. Of course, some use of bitumen was present both before and afterwards, particularly in connection with the interior treatment of large torpedo-based storage jars.

Finally, note must be taken of one style of decoration that is distinguished by its almost total absence. Barbotine ware, identified by a profuse variety of appliqued compositions of both representational and non-representational character, is intensely developed in northern Mesopotamian sites coeval with levels IV–VI at Abū Sarîfa. It is even present in apparently significant quantities as far south as Hira. However, only two or three sherds that could be (rather questionably) assigned to this category were found in the surface reconnais-sance of several hundred Islamic sites in the Nippur region around Abū Sarîfa. And at Abū Sarîfa itself the only possible vestige of the technique consists of a plain ware handle with an appliqued meander (fig. 8, level v).

**Glazed Wares**

Having been at all times only a modest village, Abū Sarîfa provides a perspective on the ceramic industry starkly different than that usually derived from isolated pieces of museum quality and from excavations at major centers. Nowhere is this more evident than in the glazed pottery. Luxury imports from great distances, such as celadon, are entirely absent. More likely local styles, such as sgraffiato underglaze incising, are represented in all but a very few cases not by the masterpieces that are commonplace at sites such as Wāsiṭ and Sāmarrā but by inferior, poorly finished imitations. Even these imitations almost invariably were repaired many times with copper rivets and bitumen before finally being discarded. And perhaps most significant of all, the glazed component of the ceramics used on the site remained small throughout the entire history of its occupation.

This proportion is recorded by level in Table 2. In Sassanian times it will be observed to have dropped even below two percent. Judged by that standard, the five-fold increase during the succeeding Islamic levels may represent a substantial enhancement of the economic integration of the village within some larger network of commerce. On the other hand, the debased quality of much of the Islamic glaze hardly argues that this network extended very far. Even the unglazed Sassanian pottery, after all, gives every evidence of having been the product of professional potters who presumably did not reside in a village as small as this one. Hence the increasing reliance during the Islamic period on crude, handmade grit and chaff ware vessels that surely were fashioned on the site may roughly counterbalance the increasing consumption of glazed ware as an index of economic integration. And in any case, it remains striking that at no time did glazed pottery compose even as much as one tenth of the total ceramic inventory.

Before turning to the varieties of glazed finish that obviously served as the principal criteria of classification, the form categories appropriate to glazed ware can be quickly dealt with. Apart from a few

---

ROBERT McC. ADAMS

additional profiles appearing only with glazed wares, the plain and thin ware form types listed above provide an adequate framework also for the tabulation of both the Sassanian and Islamic glazed pottery. However, this generalization obscures an essential discontinuity between the styles of glazed and unglazed pottery. Some glazed wares are associated with a number of vessel forms, but more commonly production focused on a single one. Moreover, by far the greater part of glazed pottery falls into two form categories that occur only infrequently or not at all in unglazed wares. These observations would seem to suggest an essential discontinuity in the potting industries responsible for glazed and unglazed ceramics.

One of the form categories into which a major proportion of the glazed pottery falls is type D, already referred to above. This is a somewhat heterogeneous grouping of bowls, but the unglazed rim profiles cover approximately the same range of variation as the deep, flaring sided plates and bowls that, with a number of different glazed finishes, were the major article of consumption during the Islamic occupation at Abū Sarīfa. The latter differ, however, in that they are generally somewhat shallower, and usually have low ring bases rather than flat bases (fig. 11 a–d, g, k, m–p, t–v, aa). The other glazed form categories, in addition to those described earlier, are the following:

Type M. Small, flaring, flat-based cups or bowls with thin, whitish blue glaze. The fabric of this almost exclusively Sassanian type is yellowish and very soft, so that generally only very small sherds are encountered. Hence no reconstructable examples were recovered. The profile is similar in some respects to that of rounded or flaring thin ware bowls listed as type E above. Generally the latter are smoothly curving or flaring, however, while on this type there is a slight carination just below the rim and sometimes also a slight carination above the base. As at Abū Sarīfa, these bowls were extremely common on Sassanian sites in the Diyala region. They also constituted the predominant profile in late Sassanian levels at Kish, securely dated on numismatic grounds to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.16

Type N. Large, soft buff ware jars with wide strap handles and deep blue or blue-green all-over glaze. The friability of the fabric again precluded the recovery of reconstructable examples from Abū Sarīfa, but one found during reconnaissance on a nearby Early Islamic site that is completely consistent with the Abū Sarīfa sherds (fig. 11, I, r) is illustrated in fig. 7d. This is a type also found in Early Islamic–Samarra levels at Wāsit, where it is described as “a survival of the Sassanian technique,” as well as in eighth-century levels at Hīra, at Susa, and in a presumably ninth-century context at Samarrā. It occurred profusely in the Diyala region, where it served during surface reconnaissance as a major diagnostic of the Early Islamic period.17 As noted in Table 2, the type is not a particularly common one at Abū Sarīfa even in Islamic

---

16 Adams, op. cit., p. 131; Harden, op. cit., p. 124 and fig. 2b, nos. 1–4.
17 Fuad Safar, Wāsit, the sixth season’s excavations, Cairo, 1945, p. 41; Rice, op. cit., p. 70, fig. 23; Raymond Koechlin, “Les céramiques musulmanes de Suse au Musée du Louvre,” Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, 19, 1928, pp. 51–52, figs. 63–65, 67; Sarre, op. cit., Taf. 6; Government of Iraq, op. cit., pls. 52, 53, 55, 56; Adams, op. cit., p. 132.
levels, and only a single sherd that can be ascribed to it was found in a Sassanian level. Moreover, applied underglaze decorations, which are commonly associated with these vessels elsewhere, are virtually absent here.

Type O. Miniature glazed bowls and lamps. A fairly broad category involving a number of different glazes, even though the total number of recovered examples is small. Most forms are in blue (fig. 11ab) or splash glazes, and generally have flat bases, rounded sides and incurving rims. Lusterware bowls are intermediate in size between this type and type D, and have been classified with the latter. They have low ring bases and are outflaring, smaller versions of forms associated with the main body of Islamic glazed bowls and plates (fig. 11d–f).

Type P. Deep, medium-sized bowls with a high, pronounced carination and concave upper side. Glazed examples have a whitish blue all-over glaze (fig. 11x, y); a few unglazed examples also occur. Probably this profile is primarily associated with earlier periods (cf. below, p. 117), but the identical appearance of the glaze to that characteristic in Sassanian levels suggests that it continues into this period on a reduced scale.

The following are the categories into which all of the glazed wares from Abū Sarīfa may be classified. Numbers assigned to each according to level are given in Table 2.

Whitish Blue Glaze

Thin, evenly applied glaze on a soft yellow fabric, particularly associated with vessels of form type M discussed above but also appearing occasionally with types C, L, P, etc. (fig. 11, o, s–u, w–z, ab). A considerable proportion of sherds classified under this heading might more accurately be described as bluish white (fig. 11s, w, x, z), and some (fig. 11t, u) verge on an almost pure white. With fine crazing patterns present on a few of the latter, they even may be essentially indistinguishable from —although putatively earlier than—pseudoceladon. In levels II and III, a clear separation is possible between whitish blue and blue-green glaze primarily on the basis of color. In level IV, however, as Table 2 indicates, many body sherds could not be unambiguously assigned to one category or the other. The former overwhelmingly preponderates in level III; blue-green ware appears to have become the major component by level IV, and to have largely superseded it by level V.

Blue-green Glaze

Dense, uneven glaze on a soft yellow, somewhat flaky, fabric, most characteristically applied to large strap-handled jars of type N but also found occasionally with bowl forms subsumed under type D. Particularly in the case of the jars, there are low horizontal corrugations in the underlying fabric that were formed during the construction process. On the outer surface, these lead to differences in glaze thickness that may appear as alternating bands of slightly lighter and darker hue. Probably because of firing differences, glaze on interior surfaces often is much lighter in color, even approaching an uneven, dirty white or grey. Bowls being more open and hence uniformly fired, this interior-exterior contrast does not occur. On the other hand, all-over glaze is applied to the jars in
all cases while on some Islamic bowls (e.g., fig. 11m) it covers the interior but terminates just below the exterior rim. Although probably beginning in the late Sassanian period, blue-green glaze predominates over all others in all of the Islamic levels.

Splash glazes, including some with sgraffiato and other underglaze incising

A complex, important category, even though much less well represented numerically than the blue glazes. Hard, reddish, sandy fabric on the finer examples, ranging to a softer greyish buff on less well finished ones. White or yellowish slip with flecks, daubs and splashes of green, brown and/or violet under thin transparent overglaze, in imitation of T'ang patterns. Mostly on open, ring-based bowls or dishes, also miniature vessels (fig. 11a, b, g–k, p, q).

Although the numbers of sherds were far too small for a conclusive statement, there appear to be significant typological shifts over time within this category. To be sure, in the case of small sherds (and an attempt was made to classify all sherds recovered, regardless of size) assignment to one or another sub-type often was difficult and uncertain. Moreover, we are not dealing here with standardized products falling into narrow, sharply defined categories but with vessels whose design configurations always involved an individualized, creative component. And in any case, the apparent shifts do not involve the complete replacement of one sub-type by another but only changes in their respective proportions. Nevertheless, the trends summarized in Table 2 do provide an approach to the chronological placement of these widely distributed wares that deserves to be set forward tentatively for confirmation or modification on the basis of other, more adequately represented sequences.

The earlier pattern seems to involve dense, all-over color patterns, with closely grouped streaks or closely spaced splashes with long tails. The underlying slip may be orange-yellow or white, while the superimposed glazes are green, manganese (violet-) brown and orange (fig. 11a, b). The later pattern, by contrast, is one that may be described as sparse pattern mottling. Individual color overlays consist of isolated rows or small groups of brown dots, or small daubs and rare splashes of green, on a white slip. Orange slip has entirely disappeared (fig. 11b–k). These categories correspond closely to the distinction between “Überlaufglasuren” and “Überlauf-flecken,” whose temporal significance already was recognized by Sarre. While the categories overlap considerably in time, excavations near Kish have indicated that the latter continued while manufacture of the former had essentially ceased prior to the re-settlement of that site in late tenth or early eleventh century.

Underglaze incising is associated with most of these wares, and again there is evidence of a typological transition between the styles that predominate early in the Islamic sequence and those that have become more common at its termination. The earlier incised patterns are exclusively fine-line, diffuse, often only barely visible. The patterns themselves apparently are simple, including horizontal bands, isolated curves, and thin, unconnected, non-representa-

18 Government of Iraq, op. cit., pls. 161, 164, 166, 168, 172; Safar, op. cit., figs. 79, 80.
tional motifs. The splashes of color may be thought of as dominating in these cases, with the incised lines only lightly supplementing and setting off the splash patterns (fig. 11 a).²⁰

With the later patterns, emphasis shifts heavily to the incised decorations as the focus of attention. The incising becomes denser and more complex, with a variety of motifs set off by increasing variability in line width. If the early incised patterns appear to have been fluid, hurried improvisations, the later ones more characteristically are composed of elements that conform to carefully prescribed prototypes.

Among the latter, a genuine sgraffiato category is not well represented. Not more than twenty-five sherds can be so described, including fifteen from a single plate whose surface was too badly eroded for more than fragments of the pattern to be observable. All were from levels V and VI, with accompanying splash glazes of the later, sparse, pattern-mottling variety. The incisions also followed the later pattern, particularly in their reliance on variable line width, and were carefully, expertly executed (fig. 11 i, j).²¹

Related to sgraffiato is a decorative border technique consisting of small, intersecting arcs of circles. Five examples occur with splash glazes in level V and 16 in level VI, the latter tending to be wider, flatter, and less suggestive of writing. This same motif is elaborated into a comprehensive decorative pattern in one further example from level V and two from level VI (fig. 11 g, h). The incised patterns on the interior of a large ring-based bowl or plate with curving side and out-curling rim are framed by opposed series of concentric arcs swung from rim to rim from the vertices of a diameter. This design layout necessarily also involves opposed triangular panels along a perpendicular axis, in which broad-line incised concave triangular figures were placed. Thin-line scrolls and curvilinear motifs occur elsewhere.

A further category consists mainly of well-executed fine-line motifs, occasionally set off by an isolated broad-line border or decorative figure, in graceful, closely spaced scrolls and panels composed of curvilinear elements. This flowing arabesque style defies breakdown into component sub-categories, at least on the basis of the small number of examples available. It is almost wholly non-representational, although a few examples vaguely suggest floral motifs (fig. 11 k). One design may be faintly suggestive of a swan (fig. 11 q).²² Of the same style is a possible representation of a face, which is unique among many thousands of sherds I have examined (fig. 16 b). This was found on surface reconnaissance, not at Abū Sarīfa itself but on a small, contemporary site (NS-166) eleven kms. east-southeast. A ring base with sparse pattern-mottling and an incised underglaze design of the arabesque pattern was found in the uppermost few centimeters of level IV, the only example of these more complex incised patterns (as well as of sparse pattern-mottling) to antedate level V. Twelve sherds from level V and eight from level VI fall into the same design ca-

²⁰ Government of Iraq, op. cit., pls. 130–33.
egory, one from each level under an all-over green glaze (see below) rather than a transparent glaze with at most very sparse mottling.

Finally, there are three examples (two from level V) of a pseudospiral motif, which close inspection shows to consist of widening concentric arcs rather than a continuous line (fig. 11 p). These may be only variants of the previous category, although slight differences in fabric and in the quality of the incisions also may point to a different place of manufacture.

Deep green all-over glaze

This seems to apply to the same range of forms as the splash glazes. As with the latter, it occurs with and without underglaze incising. The examples of incising (although less numerous) fall into the same sequence of earlier and later categories. However, the more complex incised patterns associated with sparse mottling apparently are absent. The many fragments of one largely reconstructable example of the early style, with the incised pattern almost invisible in places beneath the glaze (fig. 11 v), was badly scattered over several loci but seems to date as early as level IV (cf. comments on stratigraphy above). An additional sherd probably found its way into level III through later pitting.

Imitation white celadon all-over glaze

Soft yellow fabric, open, flaring, ring-based bowls and dishes, usually with out-curving lips (fig. 11 aa). As noted earlier, sherds of this type sometimes are almost indistinguishable from some with whitish blue glaze that definitely belong in Sasanian context. Hence it is an open question whether or not sherds classified as pseudo-celadon that were found in levels II and III were intrusive as the dating would imply. At least on the basis of this sounding, it might be argued instead that pseudo-celadon was of Sassanian derivation and was not an imitation of the Chinese product at all, possibly only being slightly modified in form to resemble the import at a later stage. Such an argument has, in fact, already been anticipated on the basis of typological continuity with the pseudo-celadon ware excavated at Hira.23

Cobalt blue floral designs on white slip, under a transparent whitish lead overglaze

Fine buff fabric. Edges of design always diffuse slightly to give a mottled appearance. Extremely uncommon at Abü Sarifa and in the Nippur region; no reconstructable examples were recovered.24

Blue (occasionally dark violet) radiating splashes over white glaze

Flaring, slightly rounded bowls of buff, fairly hard fabric. Very common in the Diyala region;25 this type again is rare in the Nippur region and at Abü Sarifa. Only small examples were found in stratigraphic context, but a typical sherd found on the surface of the mound is illustrated (fig. 11 c).

Gold or olive luster ware

Mainly geometric, sometimes representational, designs painted on white or grey

23 Rice, op. cit., p. 69; Sarre, op. cit., Taf. 5–6.
24 Ibid., Taf. 18; Government of Iraq, op. cit., pl. 69; Wetzel, Schmidt and Mallwitz, op. cit., Taf. 49, no. 4.
25 Adams, op. cit., p. 132; cf. Sarre, op. cit., Abb. 142; Safar, op. cit., fig. 81.
background beneath transparent over-glaze. Rare polychrome examples (fig. 11d) may include the use of violet daubs or bands in addition to the primary olive hue. Thin, small, uniformly well-made bowls of a soft buff fabric (type D, fig. 11d–f). 26

**Dark violet glaze**

Applied to interior and upper exterior of large, soft buff ware dishes and bowls with ring bases (fig. 11n). The glaze is normally very even, but in a few cases has a somewhat curdled appearance; the latter are somewhat lighter in hue, while the former may be almost black. This is apparently a late type, proportionately more common in the surface collection than in any excavated level. 27

**Greyish-white lead glaze**

"Soapy" to the touch and frequently with a very mottled or pitted surface, this glaze appears on the interior and upper exterior of large bowls of a soft buff fabric. It is found on small numbers of sherds in the uppermost two levels only, and then increases in frequency in the surface collection.

**Turquoise blue glaze**

A rare, apparently fairly late, finish leaving a very even hard, porcelain-like surface. The five examples found on the surface and in the uppermost level all are of rounded dishes, and the glaze in confined to the interior surface.

27 Adams, op. cit., p. 133.

**Seriation**

The raw counts of sherd attributes given in Tables 1 and 2 are useful for independent assessments of significance and reliability, but they are inadequate as a basis for generalization about the changing character of the ceramic assemblage during successive levels. For this purpose, the counts given there have been converted into percentages that are plotted graphically as seriation diagrams in figures 12, 13 and 14. These diagrams summarize the main results of the Abû Sarîfâ soundings.

While the seriation graphs are much more convenient for purposes of summarization, it must be stressed that there are hazards in relying upon them without reference to the recorded numbers of sherds. To take one instance, Table 1 discloses that there was more than a seven-fold increase in the number of unglazed sherds with surface decoration between levels II and III (from 107 to 747), while the proportion of the entire unglazed category bearing such decoration almost doubled. Seen in this context, the seriation diagram dealing with surface decoration—which has been plotted on the basis of percentages of occurrence within that category—is subject to some re-interpretation. The honeycomb pattern, for example, appears to decline in popularity between levels II and III. However, if it were calculated as a proportion of the entire unglazed sherd population rather than as proportion of the decorated category it would be found instead to increase in frequency by almost 50 percent. Similarly, what appears as only a two-fold increase between levels II and III in the multiple wavy line pattern might instead be interpreted as a four-fold increase
if it were calculated as a proportion of all unglazed sherds in these levels. In general, however, the choice of an alternative reference group against which to plot a particular attribute would make considerably less difference than these examples suggest.

It will be noted in the seriation diagrams that there is little quantitative change in many categories from level to level, sometimes throughout the entire sequence. Together with the virtual absence of abrupt, disjunctive changes in major categories, this argues for the essential continuity of the sequence. On the other hand, in the case of the more numerous unglazed wares some temporally significant subtypes can be distinguished within the fairly gross categories to which seriation diagrams are applicable. These distinctions have been noted in the text.

It has also been noted that many features of ware, form and surface decoration are closely associated. These co-varying groups of attributes in most cases probably are more sensitive chronological indicators than individual features considered in isolation, and in addition they bring us closer to the categories of ceramics that were functionally significant to Abu Sarifa’s original inhabitants. Hence it is important not only to note those columns in particular diagrams that change most appreciably over time, but also to observe how changes in different diagrams relate to one another. In this way, even though we are working from predominantly sherd material with only extremely limited numbers of reconstructable profiles, a number of broad, configurational changes within the ceramic assemblage becomes apparent.

One such change that is particularly important involved the increasing role during Islamic times of the large, ring-based, flaring sided bowl or deep plate. Rims of this type, grouped under the letter “D,” will be observed in figure 14 to become overwhelmingly preponderant among the glazed wares, but a different seriation diagram (fig. 13) also indicates their steadily increasing frequency among the unglazed vessels. Still a third diagram (fig. 12) illustrates a related increase in the proportion of ring bases toward the end of the sequence, although flat bases remain numerically dominant in all levels. Inspection of these diagrams makes it clear that this unitary, well-defined profile emerged not as a direct replacement for some other, equally uniform profile but through the consolidation of several. Among glazed vessels, it replaced small, flat-based Sasanian bowls of type M that had no unglazed counterpart. In the unglazed category, its rise must be linked not only to the decline of several varieties of large, deep bowl (types A, B, and C) but also to the even more decisive disappearance of thin, rounded, flat-based bowls (type E) that in Sasanian times frequently bore an interior decoration of multiple wavy lines. This was an instance, in short, in which a single, relatively standardized product partially replaced an earlier condition of considerable variety.

Also of interest is the striking complementarity between the proportions of handles and rims in successive levels (fig. 12), with substantial changes in one being almost exactly accompanied by the inverse changes in the other. Handles, it may be noted, virtually never were placed on bowls. Hence the low proportion of handles in Sasanian levels calls attention to the great preponderance of bowls in those
levels, as attested in a different diagram showing that more than three-fourths of all rims from level III fall within types A through F (fig. 13). The substantially higher proportion of handles in Islamic levels is matched by a more nearly even balance between bowls and jars, the latter including increasing numbers of handmade grit ware vessels of local manufacture as well as types G through K that presumably were produced commercially. In the final occupation, level VI, the proportion of handles is reduced once more, although not as low as it had been in Sassanian times. This decline would appear to be related to the increasing importance not only of open, ring-based bowls but also to that of large, locally made chaff ware basins.

Comparison of the relative degrees of change reflected in the seriation diagrams suggests several conclusions. On the whole, vessel profiles do not appear to be particularly sensitive indicators of change, at least for this area and span of time. Only types D, E, and K, together with handmade basins and jars, are subject to marked shifts in proportion. To be sure, this rather modest group can be somewhat amplified by taking into account minor changes over time within other categories (e.g., types A and B), but the cumulative impression is one of considerable persistence. If a single feature were to be observed, the chronological position of unglazed wares is strikingly better reflected through their surface decoration.

In actual practice, of course, it is the coincidence of particular forms with particular styles of surface decoration that is most useful as a chronological indicator. Those that emerge most strikingly from this study are the following: certain incised patterns with thin, buff, collared Islamic jars; multiple wavy incised lines on the interior of rounded, flat-bottomed late Sassanian bowls; groove-and-meander incisions on certain Islamic jar and bowl forms; and Sassanian storage jars with honeycomb decoration.

Glazed wares also respond sensitively to temporal progression, but the generally unrecognized problem is that—outside of the major urban centers and their immediate hinterlands, at any rate—these wares form only an extremely small proportion of the total ceramic assemblage. Moreover, the great bulk of the glazed pottery falls in a limited number of highly standardized shapes, as well as being covered with only a simple blue glaze in which the differentiation of sub-categories is difficult and ambiguous. Hence quantitative manipulation of statistically significant aggregates of glazed pottery, on which a truly refined chronology ultimately would depend, remains very elusive. Probably it is not to be sought in small sites like Abū Sarīfa, but only in the major centers where glazed wares played a presumably more important role. In the latter, to be sure, refuse heaps and other undisturbed stratigraphic deposits generally are thought to be very difficult to find. On the other hand, a continuous sequence approach could be at least partly replaced by one in which large collections of contemporaneous artifacts were carefully assembled from floor refuse in particular rooms or buildings.

With all the pitfalls arising from inadequate numbers, the splash glazes appear to be the group most sensitive to change. Particularly when they are associated with underglaze incised decorations, they represent an artistic medium that is obviously
The predisposes specificatory were and I/I E I

**Glass**

Although occurring in every level, glass sherds proved to be much less useful than pottery for purposes of a study aimed primarily at typological seriation. Glass fragments exceeded the number of glazed sherds in levels III and IV, but the aggregate number of glass fragments recovered failed to reach even the very modest total of the glazed ceramics. Moreover, with very rare exceptions all of the glass was found in a heavily patinated, devitrified condition. Surfaces were flaky, discolored, and badly decomposed, and most sherds were so small and fragile as to defy a classificatory analysis of form. Only three complete vessels were found, and even fully reconstructable profiles not only were rare but were limited to a few of the smaller, more common shapes.

Equally discouraging for seriational purposes was the apparently conservative character of the glass industry in both Sassanian and Islamic levels. Luxury vessels exhibiting exotic shapes or special skill in handling were entirely absent. The range of forms was extremely simple and limited, and remained essentially the same throughout the occupation of the site. To be sure, the small size of the collection makes generalizations as to changing frequencies statistically unreliable. But it can only be said that the breakdown of profiles fully enumerated in Table 3 and illustrated with representative examples in figure 15 fails to provide evidence either of shifts affecting the relationship between broad categories of vessels or of shifting, minor variants within those categories.

Possibly of more significance are the changing gross quantities from level to level. The intensity of glass use was conspicuously the highest during Early Islamic times (level IV). This intensity is even more marked vis-à-vis the Sassanian period if it is projected as a proportion of all sherds recovered, including ceramics as well as glass, because the volume of pottery recovered in level III was so much greater than in any other level. A ready explanation of the sudden jump in level IV is not apparent. On the other hand, the more gradual decline in subsequent levels is correlated with an increasing frequency of use of glazed pottery. It will be noted in figure 14 that there was a considerable increase in the popularity of miniature glazed vessels (type O) during the final levels, more or less equivalent in size to the small, deep bowls that dominated the inventory of glass pro-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>ABCD</th>
<th>EFG</th>
<th>HIJK</th>
<th>LM</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SURF</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2/3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4/1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.—Enumeration of glass vessel profiles by levels.**
Fig. 1—Stratigraphic sections. a, west face of main trench; b, west face of step-trench.
Fig. 3.—Main trench architectural plans.

Fig. 4.—Stratigraphic section, south face, west stratitest.

Fig. 5.—Vessel profiles, chaff, grit and minor wares. Scale, 2:5 (except b–e, 1:5): a–d, chaff ware, level V; e–f grit ware, level V; g–h, mixed chaff-grit ware, level IV;  i dark-faced orange ware, level V; j–m, Parthian decorative motifs, probably out of context, levels II (m) and III; n, black stone ware, level V; o–s Sassanian white grit ware, level III and Zibliyat (o).
Fig. 6.—Vessel profiles, plain and thin wares. Scale, 2:5 (except k–o, 1:5): a–au Islamic (levels IV–VI); av–by, Sassanian (levels II–III). Level VI: a, f, i, m–o, w; Level V: b, e, g, h, j–l, p–v, y, ac, ad; Level IV: c, d, x, z, aa, ab, ae–au; Level III: av–by; Level II: bz–ce.

Fig. 7.—Vessel profiles, large storage jars. Scale, 1:5: a–c, f, plain ware, level VI; e, plain ware, level V; d, blue-green all-over glaze, profile type N, from surface, NS – 278.
Fig. 8.—Decorated or embellished handles, plain and thin ware jars, grouped by levels. Scale, 2:5.

Fig. 9.—Stamp impressions and painted symbols, plain ware jars, grouped by levels. Scale of stamps, 2:5; painted symbols reduced, not to scale (cf. fig. 16k).
Fig. 10.—Surface decoration, plain and thin wares: a–t and z, from Islamic levels, others Sassanian. Scale, 2:5. Level VI: b, d–h, j, m; Level V: a, c, i, k, l; Level IV: n–t, z; Level III: u–y, aa–ai, ak–an; Level II: aj.

Fig. 11.—Glazed wares, styles of surface treatment and vessel profiles. Scale, 2:5. Surface: c; Level VI: h, i, m, p; Level V: a–b, g, j–l, n–o, q–r; Level IV: d–f, v, aa–ab; Level III: s–u, w–z.
Fig. 12.—Unglazed ware and profile seriation diagrams.

Fig. 13.—Unglazed rim profile and surface decoration seriation diagrams.
Fig. 14.—Glazed ware seriation diagrams.

Fig. 15.—Glass vessel profiles, grouped by type and level. Scale, 2:5. Examples are numbered within each column or type, progressively in order from later to earlier levels. Surface: A-1; Level VI: A-2, C-1, D-1, E-1–3, F-1, G-1, K-1, Varia 1; Level V: A-3, C-2, D-2–4, E-4–5, F-2, G-2, H-1, K-2, L-1, Varia 2; Level IV: A-4–5, B-1, C-3, F-3, G-3–4, I-1–2, J-1, K-3; Level III: A-6, B-2, C-4, E-6, G-5, I-3, J-2, Varia 3.
Fig. 16. — Miscellaneous objects.

Fig. 17. — Sassanian incantation bowls.
files. While the shapes are not similar enough to postulate a one-for-one replacement, at least it is not unlikely that the increasing popularity of this type of glazed pottery played a considerable part in the declining use of glass.

Because of the uniform, dense patination, generally milky or grey in color, it proved impractical to tabulate color frequencies of the underlying fabric. In perhaps a majority of cases, the patination process had extended completely through metal. Green was apparently the most common original color in all levels, with brown also occurring frequently. Less common colors included plum, and possibly white and grey, although the problem of patination makes identification of the latter two somewhat uncertain.

Consistent with the general simplicity of the industry, surface treatment was extremely sparse. Shallow circular facets in a “honeycomb” pattern were present on the exterior of a few small bottles and bowls. Appliqued rope ornaments also occurred on a few vessels, in some cases executed in white glass to provide a contrast against the darker vessel surface (figs. 15 I 3, 16d, g). One example is known of a small bowl with a contrasting band of black glass or pigment along the rim over a white or grey body (fig. 15 A6). Apart from these rare departures, surface decorations were entirely absent.

Other objects

Two incantation bowls were found in situ in Sassanian levels. Both had been carefully buried upside down in antiquity and were recovered in restorable condition. The first, illustrated in figure 17a, was included in the north wall of the large room occupying the center of level II. Unfortunately, much of the ink had flaked away from this example, its former presence detectable only in faint, whitish salt deposits. The inscription on the second, illustrated in figure 17b, is much better preserved. It was found in the same area but in the subsequent level; whether it was deposited at a higher elevation in the same wall or instead was subsequently buried just below the floor of level III is not known.

Four carefully made spindle whorls were recovered, spanning both Sassanian and Islamic levels. The earliest, from level III, was of undecorated bone. Two ivory examples were found in level IV, both with fairly elaborate incised designs; the incisions on the larger one had been given further emphasis through being filled with black pigment (figs. 16a, b). A further example from level VI has been darkened through possible burning. Since the incised design in this case was filled with white pigment, it is likely that such treatment was intentionally connected with its manufacture (fig. 16c).

Metal objects were not numerous, but again occurred in both Sassanian and Islamic levels. A fragmentary iron tool or ornament was found in level III of the step-trench, while a badly corroded copper ring and an iron nail occurred at the same level in the main trench. Two curved iron daggers were found in level IV and one in V, of which only the latter was sufficiently well preserved to warrant illustration (fig. 16f). Heavily rusted iron nails and fragments of iron tools also were found in level IV, while a possible iron buckle was found in level V. Copper objects seemingly became more frequent in later levels. An adjustable ring and a small, long handled
spatula were found in level V, while a needle and a small, incomplete pair of tongs or tweezers occurred in level VI.

We were unfortunately unsuccessful in securing adequate numismatic evidence with which to confirm the dating of the Abū Sarīfa sequence. Only one legible coin was secured in stratigraphic context, an 'Abbāsid silver dirhem found in level VI and minted in Baghdad in 328 A.H./939 A.D. Three Parthian coins were found on the surface of the site, including one of Vologases III and one probably ascribable to the second century A.D. Several thin, small copper coins or tokens also were included among surface finds. Although illegible, these are of a kind fairly common at the nearby ruins of the Sassanian urban center now known as Zibliyāt, and presumably may be ascribed to that period. A probable Sassanian coin, although its dating is indeterminate, also was found in doubtful context in the west stratistest, at a depth of about forty centimeters below surface.

Finally, mention may be made of four miscellaneous objects. A broken set of dual pan pipes, made of baked clay, was found in level IV. More significant for dating is the baked clay model of a stylized horse with legs slightly outspread, bearing traces of decorative bands of red paint. Most of the head and one leg are broken away, but the saddle, with an exceptionally high cantle and pommel, is well preserved (fig. 16e). This figurine was found near the bottom of level V. At the top of the same level occurred the figurine illustrated in figure 16f. Apparently this is a mold-made represen-

tation of a girl, wearing a necklace with long, hanging pendants and possibly long earrings as well. The upper arms hang directly at her sides, but the position of the hands is uncertain since they and the lower body are broken away. Also unfortunately missing are details of the upper face and coiffure. While the position of the arms and hands is somewhat different, the dress and attitude strikingly recall figurines found in an apparent toy shop at Wāsiṭ. While reportedly of Ilkhanid date, the Wasiṭ figurines are attributed by the excavator to the Sāljuq revival of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries on stylistic grounds. Also excavated in level V was a stamp seal, pierced for carrying, that had been carved from a white, semi-translucent stone.

**Level I**

Since the earliest phase of deposits at Abū Sarīfa did not consist of a real occupation, the small number of sherds associated with that level have little importance in themselves and can be very summarily described. Tables 1–3 record the ceramics and glass found in the limited exposure made in level I, according to the vessel ware, form and glaze typologies that have been described in detail for later levels.

Obviously, there is little in this assemblage that provides a definitive date for the level. Moreover, the use of a typology worked out for much larger sherd collections from later periods tends to stress continuities and resemblances with the latter. There are, however, three categories that are distinctive. “Eggshell” ware is a soft, finely levigated, yellowish buff fabric that has been reduced by shaving to less than

---

28 I am grateful to Dr. Baqir al-Husseini, of the Iraq Directorate General of Antiquities, for this identification.

29 Safar, op. cit., p. 37 and pl. 20b.
two millimeters in thickness. Appearing in Parthian levels at Nippur and many other sites, it is generally employed, as in this case, for simple, rounded bowls. Also widely known from Parthian sites are the double-indented plain ware jar rims (listed under type J-1) present in this level. Frequently the vertical necks associated with these rims bear a decoration of groups of vertical slashes and comb-impressed punctates. Carinated bowls are an additional early category (listed under “Unclassified”), flaring-sided and with a short straight or concave neck above a high, pronounced shoulder carination. Associated with a thin, greenish-white glaze forming in beads on the lip, this profile occurs as early as the Neo-Babylonian period, but the plain ware variant continues into Parthian times and may occur sporadically even later.

Taking these distinctive criteria into account, the ceramic assemblage associated with level I clearly must be assigned to the Parthian period. Of course, there is no evidence at all that it immediately antedated the onset of the level II settlement. Indeed, it is not unlikely that the partial floor recorded between levels I and II in the section represents a stratigraphic disconformity accompanying an interval of abandonment. On the other hand, all identifiable Parthian coins found in the region of Abu Sarifa during the course of the Nifjar Survey reflect an occupation of the area only during the late first and second centuries A.D. Similarly, excavations in the great Parthian enclosure at Nippur itself point to a settlement largely or wholly limited to this interval. Hence it is only reasonable to suppose that level I also may be assigned to the late first and second centuries rather than to some earlier interval within the Parthian period.

In connection with level I mention may be made of a few sherds of apparent Parthian origin that occur in later levels. Double-indented rims appeared in levels II (two examples), III (fig. 5j) and IV. Horse figurine fragments also were found in levels II, III (three possible examples) and IV (two possible examples). Two body sherds with typical Parthian punctate or chevron incisions were found in level II (fig. 5m), four in level III (fig. 5k, l), and three in level V. Three base sherds with Parthian green glaze occurred in level IV and one in level V. One explanation of this small handful of material is that it was removed to higher levels from deposits equivalent to level I as a result of well-digging or the construction of storage pits. It is equally likely, however, that these are only strays that were carried to Abu Sarifa from the abandoned Parthian mound immediately to the east, possibly through the utilization of deposits adjoining the latter for brick-making. In view of the proximity of this Parthian settlement, it is in fact surprising that greater quantities of Parthian debris were not encountered.

**Dating**

In the absence of a considerable body of numismatic evidence, as well as of se-

---

31 Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
32 Survey findings will be discussed in a forthcoming publication. A monograph on the Parthian enclosure at Nippur is in preparation by E. J. Keall.
curely dated, comprehensively described sequences of material from other sites with which collections from Abu Sarifa might be compared, the sequence outlined above must remain a relative one in many essentials. Hopefully, on the basis of future work elsewhere it will become possible to assign fairly precise dates to all of the stratigraphic levels at this site. For the present, however, only a few points can be fixed with reasonable precision while the remainder of the sequence must be rather vaguely allotted to intervening intervals of time.

Drawing together a number of threads in the foregoing discussion, the first such fixed point occurs in level III. The maximal popularity attained in this level by rounded or flaring flat-bottomed bowls (type E), including those with interior wavy lines and the smaller number of those with Aramaic incantations, clearly suggests a dating in the late Sassanian period. The importance of honeycomb decoration and several styles of rouletting and other impressed patterns argues for the same dating, as does the dominance among the glazed wares of small, carinated, flat-bottomed bowls (type M). On the basis of parallels with Kish, it seems reasonable to assign this conspectus of features to a span of time lying primarily within the sixth century A.D. Level II then may be thought probably to antedate the sixth century, while the virtually total absence of identifiable Parthian traits suggests that this level certainly began no earlier than the third century and probably is even later. As indicated above, level I apparently is separated from it by a hiatus, and probably can be placed in the late first or second century.

The dating of the Islamic levels involves more complex considerations. To begin with, level IV sees the abrupt decline of the profiles and styles of surface decoration principally associated with the Sassanian period. Stamped decorations, incised patterns, profiles, and above all new styles of glaze that are associated with the Islamic period all make their first appearance on a modest but significant scale. As our discussion of the stratigraphic disturbances introduced by pitting makes clear, on the other hand, the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that many of the 100 glazed sherds of Islamic type found below level V may be intrusive. Tentatively this level may be ascribed to the Early Islamic period and presumably centers on the seventh and later eighth century, although both its earlier and later limits remain very difficult to establish.

The approximate equation of level V with the Samarrā period represents a second, relatively fixed point in the sequence. Quite specific styles of incised and other surface decoration, as well as detailed styles and motifs of luster glazes and more particularly imitation T’ang splash glazed pottery with and without underglaze incising, provide secure links not only with Samarrā itself but also with numismatically dated eighth and ninth century levels at Hira. To be sure, the problem of establishing cross-ties is made considerably more difficult by the character of publication than Samarrā has heretofore received. It is surely incorrect to assume, as has sometimes been done, that Samarrā was suddenly and utterly abandoned with

---

33 E.g., Government of Iraq, op. cit., part 1, p. 2.
the return of the Caliphate to Baghdad in 882 A.D. Hence the reliance on typological considerations rather than stratigraphic or chronological ones in published reports of Sāmarrān ceramics has failed to provide us with a conspectus of pottery that could be securely placed within an interval of less than half a century. Nevertheless, the bulk of the published Sāmarrān ceramics unquestionably must be assigned to the period of floruit of the city, and the numerous close correspondence in virtually every ceramic category makes clear that this coincided with at least a part of level V. While it is not unlikely that level V continued for a time after Sāmarrā’s political demise, the presence of considerable quantities of the “early” or “Überlaufglasuren” types among the splash glaze wares provides a terminus ante quem for it well before the re-settlement of Kish in the late tenth or early eleventh century. Accordingly, the female figurine in Sāljuḵ style that was found at the top of level V, which probably cannot be dated earlier than the mid-eleventh century, perhaps can be regarded as intrusive from the subsequent level.

In assigning a date to level VI we must depend on negative as well as positive criteria. As indicated above, presumably it must have begun by the mid-tenth century. The single identifiable coin found in stratigraphic context at Abū Sarīfa, minted in 939 and recovered in level VI, tends to corroborate this assumption although by itself it would not carry great weight as evidence. More impressive is the total absence at Abū Sarīfa, either in level VI or on the surface of the mound, of whole classes of glazed pottery that elsewhere become very numerous by no later than the last century or so before the Mongol conquest. As best exemplified by level IV at Waṣīt, these new wares that fail to appear at Abū Sarīfa include black linear or reserved decorations under dark green or blue lead glaze, and floral designs in blue or black beneath a white or pinkish glaze. Hence it seems clear that the occupation of Abū Sarīfa must have come to an end some time prior to 1150 or so. Moreover, it has been argued on the basis of quantitative changes in the frequency of glazed and un-glazed wares that surface remains reflect an uppermost level that now has eroded entirely away but that once represented a significant phase of occupation subsequent to level VI. Hence level VI itself probably represents an occupation that terminated well before the end of the 11th century.

In very rough and provisional terms, then, the following dates can be suggested to cover the occupation of Tell Abū Sarīfa:

(Surface now eroded) A.D. 1100–1150
Level VI 950–1100
Level V 800–950
Level IV 650–800
Level III 500–650
Level II Before 500

(Probable stratigraphic disconformity)
Level I 1st–2nd century?

34 Safar, op. cit., pp. 41–42.
ON SOME MINIATURES ATTRIBUTED TO BIHZĀD FROM LENINGRAD COLLECTIONS

BY OLYMPIADE GALERKINA *

The art of Kamāl-Ad-dīn Bihzād (1455–1535), the great miniaturist of the medieval Near East honored by his contemporaries as well as by the connoisseurs of our day, has always aroused interest in scholars. There are, however, some dark places in the history of his art which will probably never be fully cleared up. Very little is known about the artist’s life, and panegyrics by historians are fragmentary and ambiguous.

And finally, with but a few exceptions, his works have no signature partly because painting in the eastern Mediterranean world was less valued than the art of calligraphy. Things are made more complicated when one takes into account that in colophons one often finds on the last page of the manuscript some information about the scribe and the date of execution whereas in miniatures the artist’s signature, many times not written in his own hand, is usually camouflaged somewhere in the corner or on the margins.

Therefore it is of interest to search for unsigned miniatures which may be attributed to Bihzād.¹ In this paper a survey will be made of miniatures attributed to Bihzād which are found in the Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library in Leningrad.

The earliest manuscript is a Khamsa of Nizāmī, dated in 1481–82. In Dorn’s catalogue this manuscript is listed as No. 338 and contains the complete Khamsa.² It consists of 308 folios each measuring 23 cm. by 34.5 cm. In general it is in good condition. The pagination is in the lower part of the manuscript from left to right (only the tenths are marked). The binding is of stamped papier mâché with golden corners and golden medallions. Golden vegetal motifs and Chinese clouds ornament the dark-red background. The binding is framed in black leather with stamped papier mâché cartouches (dark-red vegetal motifs on golden background). On the inner side of the binding is an application in gold paper, representing a vegetal ornament, which forms medallions on the multicolored background. Cartouches appear on the red-brown leather border. The ivory colored paper, thick and polished, is of good quality. The margins are white, yellow, dull green or dull purple. The text and

* Assistant Professor, Repin Institute, Academy of Art, Leningrad.
² Dorn, Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg, St. Pétersbourg, 1852.
the miniatures were inserted by gluing, and the place where they are joined is marked by colored lines.

The text of the poem is arranged in four columns and written in straight nasta-liq, typical handwriting for Herat calligraphers. In several places, including the last folio, there is a round seal of the waqf of the Ardebil Library. In the colophon which is outlined by a triangle (p. 338) there is an inscription which reads:

By the will of God, this book is completed by the hand of the poor Darvish Muhammad Taqi, the 5th day of Dhu'l-Hijja in the year 886. (1481-82 A.D.)

The folios are divided into columns by golden stripes, and the text is framed in blue and gold lines. At the beginning of the main poems there are beautiful 'invân in typical Herat style painted throughout in blue and gold. The titles are in flourished kufic. The 44 miniatures are of the same period as the text. They each take up little more than half a page. This is reminiscent of the early Herat miniatures of 1420-40. The miniatures are in good condition, but in some cases one can notice a few insignificant additions.

It will be remembered that two miniaturists made use of different artistic methods worked at the manuscripts, but we are concerned here only with the painter who executed the main miniatures, for example, the illustrations to "Khusraw and Shirin" and "Laila and Majmun." These miniatures can be categorized as follows: Treasury of Mysteries—2; Khusraw and Shirin—14; Laila and Majmun—9; Seven Portraits—12 (parts of which are by a different artist); and Iskandarnama—7 (parts of which are by a different artist).

The style of Khamsa miniatures is characteristic of the Herat School that flourished in the period of the Rule of Sultan Husayn Bayqara. Miniatures of this period follow the text very closely. There are a limited number of personages in them and a modest scenery which serves only as a background.

In manuscript No. 338, the sky is always golden; the grass and trees are dark or light; and here and there one sees mal-low flowers. The trees, with the exception of plane trees and elm trees, are often painted in the shape of crooked tuberous trunks that develop into a crown, consisting of some three or more light-green parts which give forth foliage. The color of the cliffs is conventional and tender; strong whitish tones prevail: blue, pistachio, lilac, pink and terracotta. The outlines of the hills are gentle. In some miniatures, forms and shapes of cliffs resemble those of people and animals. Details of the landscape and of architecture often go beyond the border of the picture and are carried out

3 The Ardebil Library was located near the holy tomb of Shaykh Safi. The Safavids used to donate the best manuscripts to this library. The fact that Bihzad's manuscript was available in the library may be explained in either of two ways: the manuscript had been brought by Bihzad from Herat to the Court of the Safavids or the Safavids had seized it in 1510.

4 E.g. folios 141, 260, 262—the sky; folios 122, 134, 171, 176, 178—hair, beards, moustachas and faces (in part).

5 This manner of painting was wide-spread in the 16th century, and it is presumably accounted for by the pantheistic outlook of Sufism on personified nature.
ON SOME MINIATURES ATTRIBUTED TO BIHZĀD

onto the margins. Thus one can see that the settings in manuscript No. 338 are given in traditional style. In portraying man, however, the painter displays greater originality.

Artists of the Herāt School usually depict the spiritual life of their heroes in a very standard and conventional way. The miniature does not give the development of character in time. The countenances are static and expressionless even when the characters are supposed to display the utmost feelings of tension: in the scenes where there is death or a battle is waged; and in those where one sees lovers or people awaiting an execution. The miniaturist of the manuscript No. 338 is probably the only exception to this general tendency up to the beginning of the 1480s. The artist is remarkable for his passion for tragic plots and his ability to expressively show human feelings, a feature fully displayed only in Bihzād's paintings of the 1490s.

In our miniatures there are no signatures, and we cannot therefore claim that they are done by Bihzād. They may have been done by an elder contemporary or by his master. But there are reasons to believe that a distinguished master might have signed at least one of the miniatures of the manuscript.

Taking into account the following circumstances one can hardly resist the temptation to attribute the miniatures in the manuscript No. 338 to the young Bihzād who, at the age of 25, began his career at the court of Sulṭān Ḥusayn and ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī.

In his flourishing years, Bihzād enriched the art of miniature making in the field of portrait and genre-painting and also used themes connected with the life of the common people. However, by the very nature of his talent, he was lured mostly by lyrical and dramatic motives where delicate, exalted and complicated feelings were to be dealt with.

The Khamsa of Nizāmī (No. 338) begins with a series of illustrations by Bihzād for romantic poems. The artist is concerned mostly with themes from “Khusraw and Shirin” and “Lailā and Majnūn,” which later on he will take up again and treat more profoundly in manuscripts 394, 395 and Or. 6810. In the miniatures of manuscript No. 338, there are also personages and whole compositions that were later transferred by Bihzād into the manuscripts of the 1490s.

Illustrations for “Khusraw and Shirin” produce a very strong impression. One of them is the scene “Mourning for Khusraw” (fig. 1). A guard has fallen asleep by the door of the prison. He sits embracing his knees; his arms are put aside. Diffused light falls on the dead body of Khusraw. The head of the dead man is on the pillow; blood is streaming from the wound in his chest.

6 For instance, pp. 11, 36, 65 of the manuscript and elsewhere.
7 Basil Gray, when mentioning the manuscript (see Persian Painting, Geneva, 1961, p. 124), believes that the miniatures were made by some pupil of Bihzād. But in those years Bihzād himself was only a beginner, and therefore he may not have reached the point of ascribing his signature to his own pictures.

8 See manuscripts Nos. 394 and 395 in the Leningrad Public Library and the edition of F. R. Martin and Sir Thomas Arnold (The Nizāmī Manuscript in the British Museum [Or. 6810], Vienna, 1926), pls. NN 11, 12, 14, 15 and 16.
So much blood did run from the shah's body
That Shîrîn awoke from her sleep.
In her former days of luck and happiness
She would wake up with the sounds of music.
...She lifted the cover from the shah's bed and uttered a cry of anguish.
Her wings fluttered like those of a wounded bird.
She saw the shah without his crown,
The lamp from where the oil was poured out.
The treasure box was open,
And the treasure was taken away.
The troops remained but the commander is gone!

Women flock to mourn Khusraw. Shîrîn, in despair, tears her dress. A maid servant raises her arms; the other one, her hair flowing loose, claws her cheeks. The emotions are conveyed not only through gestures, as was the case in Herât of the 15th century, but are also emphasized by facial expressions.

Bihzâd's miniature from manuscript Or. 6810 (1494–95), "Khusraw's murder by his son Shiruye," recalls in many ways the scene of "Khusraw bemoaned." The general scheme and details of composition are the same: to the left the sleeping guard by the door; to the right the prostrate dead body of Khusraw; the tiled floor; the ceramic panels on the walls (the middle one is taller); the candlesticks; a censer; and bronze jars on a rest.

It is natural that the characters should be somewhat different: in the London scene we see an act of murder whereas here the dead man is bemoaned. Shîrîn is standing by Khusraw; there are no women mourners.

In another miniature from Or. 6810, "The sorrow over the death of Laila's husband," Bihzâd resorts to a mirrored image of a woman, with her hair flowing loose, who is clawing her cheeks. Instead of Shîrîn, there is a figure of a man, also mirrored, who tears the collar of his shirt.

Bihzâd's early work "Mourning for Khusraw" is to be regarded as the better one: the action is more concentrated; the characters are more impressive and dynamic; and the background is in delicate harmony with what is going on in the scene.

In the illustration "Khusraw's murder by his son Shiruye" (Or. 6810) the artist and probably his assistant who did the gilding (mudhabhib) were so involved in working out the architectural design, the gay colored paintings of the ligatures of the epigraphic frieze and the intricate combinations of the starlike glazed tiles, that the composition qualities divert our attention from the main characters.

The complicated architectural background (in its color somewhat unusual for Bihzâd) and an undisturbed figure of Shîrîn seem to contradict the artist's method of dynamic and emotional expression. This made Stchoukine think the miniature had not been painted by Bihzâd. One must not, however, fail to take into account that the background might have been done by the mudhabhib. The sleeping Shîrîn could have been painted in a way suggested by

9 Martin and Arnold, op.cit., pl. 12.

10 Ibid., pl. 15.
the text which tells us that Khusraw, though bleeding profusely, did not wake up his wife.

No less tragic is the scene where Shirin, who has just stabbed herself with a dagger, embraces the dead Khusraw (fig. 2). The artist is remarkable for his deep psychological insight which enables him to surpass the stereotype canons of the medieval miniature and endow Nizami’s heroes and heroines with rich spiritual and emotional life.

The romantic poem “Laila and Majnun” has been illustrated in our manuscript with an exceptional feeling of psychological understanding of the theme and a varied approach to it. The main character is portrayed not in the traditional style, i.e. as a haggard hermit with matted hair, but as a charming youth who is to go through all the sad events of his brief life-span. The artist here is particularly good in gestures and facial expressions and in developing the character of Qays-Majnun. In folio 108 he is a handsome boy, sitting over his books in school (fig. 3). He half-turns to Laila, with his arms towards her, as if wanting to say something to her. In folio 110, Majnun sits by Laila’s tent; plunged in thought, he is stroking a gazelle (fig. 4). The light rose and blue tone in the color of the ground introduces a warm atmosphere of spring into the composition. The characters are so carried away by their feelings that they cannot possibly anticipate the imminent crisis. The spreading date-palms make up the central axis of the miniature and its side scenes. In the left scene there is a black man-servant lighting a fire under a kazan. This character will be seen again later in Bihzad’s miniatures of manuscripts No. 395 and 489 (figs. 14 and 10). (Majnun in No. 395 very closely resembles Majnun from folio 110.)

Majnun put into irons is portrayed very pathetically in folio 114 (fig. 5). He is sitting on a cliff. His face, round like the face of a child, is turned up to the sky with a prayer. His arms are spread. Some tribesmen, sad and bewildered, are watching his father trying to persuade Majnun to return to his native oasis.

In the miniature “Majnun and beggar-woman by Laila’s tent” in folio 121 (fig. 6), date palms also divide the scene as in the illustration to folio 110 (fig. 4). The tent again is in the left part; Majnun is in the right. But in this scene a different atmosphere prevails. The startled Laila presses her hand to her cheek; the woman looking from behind the tent has bit her “finger of wonder” to suppress her surprise and anguish. The chained Majnun, haggard and shabby, is led by an old woman who is begging for alms. As if wanting to assuage his pain, Majnun presses his hand to his cheek; his arm hangs loose. The color effect in this miniature also differs from that of folio 110. The lilac-gray twilight hangs over the tent, and cold colors are symbolically suggestive of sorrow and the sad and troubled soul of Majnun.

In the illustration “Majnun meets Laila,” folio 134 (fig. 7), the lovers are in the palm grove. Majnun, tired out and exhausted, has thrown back his head, looking away from Laila. He stares mournfully and indifferently; he takes no interest in the vital and living Laila. The youth is depressed by his sufferings. The artist follows the text of Nizami very closely in presenting all the nuances of feelings that arose out of passive unfulfilled love described by the poet.
The miniature "Majnūn and Lailā unconscious," folio 141 (fig. 8), seems familiar. Bihzād transferred its main features into Or. 6810 with only slight alterations. The central group is almost the same: the prostrate bodies of the lovers and Zayd who brings them to their senses. There is a secondary scene of a lion attacking a man. The animals in the British Museum manuscript are direct copies from folio 134 of the Leningrad manuscript 338. As in the scene from "Khusraw and Shīrīn," Bihzād's later miniature abounds in details; it is richer and at the same time more complicated in composition than the simpler scene of manuscript No. 338.

The illustration in the folio 146, "Majnūn embracing Lailā's tombstone," completes the sad story of the Romeo and Juliet of the East (fig. 9). The legend says that Majnūn pressed himself to his sweetheart's grave and breathed his last breath. The animals with whom he had made friends in the desert surrounded the place, and for a year they did not let anybody come near it.

To wind up our analysis of Nizāmī's Khamsa (No. 338), we come to the conclusion that the high artistic achievement of its paintings places it above the level of Herāt miniatures of the 1480's; the display of lyrical tendencies and the immediate correspondence of some subjects and treatments with dated and signed works of Bihzād give us reason to believe that the manuscript 338 and especially the illustrations to "Khusraw and Shīrīn" and "Lailā and Majnūn" are hitherto unknown specimens of Bihzād's early works.

Additional material in the Leningrad Public Library which is pertinent to the problem of Bihzād consists first of a double miniature, folios 26–27, from Murraqqah, No.489 (figs. 10 and 11). As is well known, a Murraqqah is an album in which miniatures alternate with specimens of calligraphy, i.e. qīfʿa. In the 16th and 17th centuries, albums were quite common in palaces of rulers and powerful feudal lords. The albums were used as private picture galleries, and in some respects played the role which later would be taken by easel painting.

This particular album is believed to be one of the best. It was compiled in the 17th century at the Court of the Great Mughals in India, and it contains together with many splendid miniatures of the Mughal School, masterpieces of Iranian miniaturists, i.e. Bihzād, Sultan Muhammad, Rizā 'Abbāsī and many others.

The Murraqqah, with leaves measuring 27 cm. by 42 cm., contains 88 folios and 122 miniatures. Miniatures, calligraphic examples and specimens of ornament are placed on thick cardboard and have identical frames—blue and red with gold.

The miniatures in folios 26 and 27 must be regarded as parts of one the same composition. In the left half (16.3 cm. by 22.4 cm.), there is an interior yard of the maktab (primary ecclesiastical school) (fig. 10). A high portal of burnt brick makes a back-

12 Martin and Arnold, op. cit., pl. 16.

13 Denike describes them as a "multi-figural" scene and erroneously refers the reader to folios 28–29 (see Denike, op. cit., pp. 106–7). Martin thinks that the miniatures have different subjects ("A Noble transacting Business" and "A Teacher and Pupils," Martin, The Miniature Painting, pl. 88); the miniature in folio 26 he believes belongs to approximately 1500, but he does not give his reasons (ibid., vol. 2, p. 4). Pugachenkova believes that this is a rendez-vous scene of Lailā and Majnūn (Iskusstvo Afganistana, pp. 216–219).
ON SOME MINIATURES ATTRIBUTED TO BIHZĀD

ground for the action. The varied and complex pattern of the brickwork has been done in a very delicate and precise manner. Two youths standing in the portal draw the attention of the viewer. They are probably the main heroes. One of them wears the crown. To the right on the bank of a silvery stream there is a plane tree with a big crooked trunk. Under the plane tree two men are sitting on the thick, green grass playing chess. In the right foreground is a black cook and a black woman rocking a child to sleep. The miniature abounds in items of everyday life: a man has brought a caged bird; another has come with a goat; and on the roof boys are driving away pigeons.

In the right half of the composition (16.5 cm. by 22.2 cm.), we see another view of the schoolyard (figs. 11 and 12). There is the same stream (if the two parts [figs. 10 and 11] are joined, the end of the stream in the first part will touch the beginning of the stream in the second). Two groups of pupils (two forms), sitting on light yellow mats, are at their lessons with their teacher. Again in one group there is a pupil wearing a crown with his friend. Away from this scene, two boys are busy dyeing paper. One is dipping the sheet into a basin; the other is carrying the newly dyed one to be dried. These white, blue, and yellow sheets are attached to the string that stretches between the spreading branches of the two trees in the background.14

In both groups, we come across characters such as the two girls, a boy polishing sheets of paper, a pupil with an open book sitting in front of his teacher, and some youths talking to one another—all characters used by Bihzād in the Khamsa from the British Museum (Or. 6810).

The artist’s palette is exceptionally rich and varied: the golden sky, dark-green grass strewn with gaudy flowers, a silvery stream, the bright colored clothes of the pupils. The variety of poses, the freshness of colors, the natural ways of grouping characters create the atmosphere of a cheerful everyday scene.

In the left part of the composition (fig. 10) prominence is given to two young men sitting under the portal arch. Their predominant position is stressed by the respective proportions. The youth with a crown is listening; the other boy in a turban is reading poems to him. One is tempted to believe that the two youths might be Sulṭān Husayn and ‘Alī Shir Nawā’i, the future great wazir of Ḥusayn. As is well-known, they attended school together, and on coming to power Sulṭān Ḥusayn welcomed his former schoolmate to the court.

It is of interest to note what Bābur records in his memoirs about Sulṭān Ḥusayn:

He had a leaning to poetry and even put a dīwān together, writing in Turki with Ḥusayni for his pen-name. Many couplets in his dīwān are not bad; it is however in one and the same meter throughout. Great ruler though he was, both by the length of his reign and the breadth of his dominions, he, yet like little people, kept fighting-rams, flew pigeons and watched cock fights.15

14 Pugachenkova believes this is linen being washed (ibid. p. 217).

15 Zahiriddin Babur, Babur-Name, translated into Russian by M. Salie, Moscow, 1948, p. 205.
Taking this into account, we can better understand why in the miniature there are a man with a goat, a man with a cock or female quail, and boys with pigeons.

If our supposition as to the fact that the heroes of the diptych are Husayn Baykara and 'Ali Shīr Nawā'ī seems correct, then we can come to a conclusion that we are here dealing with new paintings, dedicated by Bihzād to his ruler and also to 'Ali Shīr Nawā'ī, his friend and patron of art. Together with the double miniature of the Teheran Museum these fragments illustrate the whole life of Sultān Ḥusayn. There are reasons to believe that Bihzād illustrated a sequence of scenes of the Sultān's childhood and adolescence, and that the composition at our disposal was done earlier than the Teheran miniatures, i.e. about 1484. The somewhat fractional and disjointed character of its composition strengthens this supposition. This analysis causes us to think that Denike's suggestion as to a date of 1495 is inaccurate.\(^6\)

The miniature on folio 27 (fig. 11) helps us to clarify one more point in Bihzād's art. In literature on art one can read about a profile portrait of a young artist drawing a picture (fig. 21).\(^7\) The inscription on this portrait attests to the fact that the portrait was painted by Bihzād. This miniature quite resembles the water-color attributed to the Italian, Gentile Bellini, who was working at the Turkish court of Mehmet II in 1480–81. (In that portrait a person who is writing, not drawing, is depicted.)\(^8\)

In scholarly literature the following question continues to be asked: Could Bihzād have copied the Bellini work which was in Constantinople? This is the reason Bihzād's authorship continues to be questioned.

However, in the upper left corner of folio 27, there is a young calligrapher whose pose, expression of concentration and finally his silhouette in a long robe with a wide, soft belt (not the style of clothing in Herāt towards the 15th century) almost entirely corresponds to the profile portrait described above (fig. 12). A question remains: Did Bihzād see the "Bellini" drawing in its original or was there an intermediary copy? It cannot be ruled out that the water-color of the "Frankish master" was sent for a short time to Herāt for inspection. It is perhaps possible that the artist was intending to visit the court of Sultān Ḥusayn. Instances of travels of Italians to the East were becoming frequent toward the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries; aside from Bellini, the painters Constanzo da Ferrara and Bertoldo Giovanni visited the Ottoman Empire. We also know of the correspondence between Leonardo da Vinci and the Turkish sultan Bayezit II regarding projected engineering works of Leonardo in Istanbul. It is also perhaps possible that Mehmet sent the drawing or its copy as a present to the enlightened Herāt ruler or to his famous Sufi sheykh, the poet Djamī. This possibility is made plausible by the fact that we know of a qiḥ'a by Djamī in honor of Mehmet II.

At any rate, the "calligrapher" of the double miniature on folio 26 confirms not only Bihzād's acquaintance with the Bellini's drawing but also the authorship of the profile portrait. In considering that

\(^6\) Denike, op. cit., p. 106.


\(^8\) Ibid., pl. 225 a.
Bellini was in Constantinople in 1480–81 and the double miniature was made in about 1484, the miniature cannot possibly be attributed to Bellini.

A further pertinent document comes in the manuscript, Majnūn and Lailā, by Amir Khusraw Dihlavī dated 1495 (Dorn’s Catalogue, No. 395). The 32 pages of this manuscript measures 16 cm. by 24.5 cm. The pagination, from right to left, is at the bottom of the manuscript (only the tenths are marked). The cherry-brown leather bindings are very good quality. Along the vertical axis there is a stamped golden medallion with two palmettes, framed in a gold stamped plait. The inner cover is light-brown morocco with a fretted golden medallion in the middle of the blue background. The fine, white paper is inserted into rose, gold-spotted margins. The border between the miniature and the mat is of red, green and gold strips. The text is written in a very small nastaliq, in four columns divided by double gold lines. The size of the text (without margins) is 8.8 cm. by 13.1 cm. On folio 1 there is waqf seal of the Ardebil Library19 and an inscription:

The book is a gift brought to the tomb of ʿAll, His Highness the Son of Ṭalib by Abbās Šafavī. To the tomb of His Highness the Shaykh Šafī, may the earth be just to him, on condition that whoever wants to may read it but not take it away, and who takes it away will shed the blood of Saint Hazrat Imām Ḥusayn. May the earth be just to him. 1022. (1613–14.)

Stylistic analysis suggests Herat as the place where the manuscript was made. The time of its execution can be deduced from the verse in the miniature in folio 16 where, on the portal of the school, there is an inscription:

The prophet said: May the earth be just to him, the son of the Allah… Completed in the month of Rajab in 900. (March–April, 1495.)

The text is preceded by a beautiful blue-green ‘unvān on folio 1. There are two miniatures in the manuscript: folio 16, “Lailā and Majnūn at school” (8.8 cm. by 13.3 cm.) which is in bad condition (fig. 13); and folio 20, “Friends bring Majnūn home” (9.8 cm. by 13.7 cm.) (fig. 14).

The school scene (fig. 13) is depicted on a rich interior background. The artist carefully draws all details of the architecture of his time: tiled yellow-green panel in the shape of stars and hexagons in the lower part of the wall; dark blue ornamental design in the upper part; and the portal (with the above-mentioned date) supported by two carved red columns.20 The columns bring into relief the central part of the composition, i.e. Majnūn and Lailā sitting over their books, which are placed on special stands. But the young lovers are so delighted to see each other that they take no interest in the books:

…Majnūn was looking at Lailā
Through his down turned eyelashes.

19 Just as in manuscript No. 338.

The master spoke to them of
learning.
But they were reading only a book
of love.

Seven figures are placed in this scene.
This illustration seems, on the whole, to be
less interesting than all the other miniatures
in manuscripts 394 and 395. This may be
explained either by the fact that beardless
young faces have less individuality than
those of the old people (sometimes they
seem to resemble a bare sketch) or by the
undue prominence given to architectural
ornamentation. But the very fact that the
date of execution was added to this page
makes one think that the miniature had
been executed by a great master, and there
are reasons to believe it was Bihzâd.

The miniature "Friends bring Majnûn
home," folio 20 (fig. 14) removes all suspi-
cions as to the identity of the painter, and
we can safely attribute it to the great mas-
ter. There are many features in the mini-
ature which are characteristic of his style: a
black servant blowing fire under the kettle,
a beautiful spreading plane tree, the slen-
der figure of a youth leaning against the
tree. The miniature is identified by a preci-
sie rhythm in composition which is typical
only of this great miniaturist.

Bihzâd illustrates the episode when
Majnûn's friends have persuaded him to
return home from the desert, and on returning
home they tried to divert him in some
way or other:

... He did not think about anyone
But his sweetheart.
Mutrib sang ghazals,
And Majnûn was crying.
Everybody would drink wine,
And for him there were only
tears of blood to drink.
When his freedom loving soul
Had reached its limit of suffering,
He left the circle of his friends
And broke his chains . . .
He walked unsteadily, without
wine
He got drunk,
Infatuated, drunk and mad
Such was he.
His friend took him by the hem
And only a piece of it
Was left in his hand,
And Majnûn went away . . .

All the characters are in touch with
Majnûn: some embrace him; others stretch
out their arms to him or invite him to sit
down on the carpet and enjoy the silence
and comfort of the oasis. Against the
golden background of the earth the colors
of the people's clothes are emphasized:
orange, emerald-green, red and blue. In
spite of the brightness of local tones the
artist achieves an exceptional harmony of
colors. Everything is well-balanced, and
things of secondary importance are sub-
ordinated to the main idea.

The illustration must be scrutinized for
a long period of time. It is a miniature in
the literal sense of the word: there are fig-
ures two centimeters tall, minute details,
vessels, outlines of waves, letters on the
booklet the youth is holding in his hands.
Over the stream there rise, slightly bent,
the small stars of the narcissus; the golden

21 In this miniature there is a personage from
the Cairo Bustân: a man inviting Majnûn to sit
down on the carpet. The man is reminiscent of
the theologian of "A Debate in the Mosque" (see Pope,
op. cit., pl. 886).
Fig. 1.—MOURNING FOR KHUSRAW. FROM THE KHAMSA OF NIZAMI (No. 338). DATED 1481-82. FOLIO 92. SALTYKOV-SCHEDRIN STATE PUBLIC LIBRARY, LENINGRAD.

Fig. 2.—SHIRIN EMBRACES THE DEAD KHUSRAW (FROM NO. 338). FOLIO 91. SALTYKOV-SCHEDRIN STATE PUBLIC LIBRARY, LENINGRAD.
Fig. 3.—Majnun Sitting Over His Books (from No. 338). Folio 108.

Fig. 4.—Majnun Stroking a Gazelle (from No. 338). Folio 110.
Fig. 5.—Majnun in iron (from No. 338). Folio 114.

Fig. 6.—Majnun and beggar-woman by Laila's tent (from No. 338). Folio 121.
Fig. 7.—Majnun meets Laila (from No. 338), Folio 134.

Fig. 8.—Majnun and Laila unconscious (from No. 338), Folio 141.
Majnūn embracing Laila's tombstone (from No. 338). Folio 146.

Fig. 11.—Interior yard of the maktab. Another view (from No. 459).

Fig. 12.—Detail of figure 11.
Fig. 13.—LAILÀ AND MAJNÛN AT SCHOOL. From Majnûn and Lailà by Amir Khusraw Dihlavî (No. 395). Dated 1495. Folio 16. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library. Leningrad.

Fig. 14.—FRIENDS BRING MAJNÛN HOME (from No. 395). Folio 20.
Fig. 15.—Binding of Majnūn and Laila by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi (No. 394). Dated 1496–98. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library. Leningrad.

Fig. 16.—Precepts for Khıdır, the son of the poet, Khusraw Dihlavi (from No. 394). Folio 5.
Fig. 17.—Laila and Majnun at school (from No. 394). Folio 9.

Fig. 18.—Majnun in the desert (from No. 394). Folio 21.
Fig. 19.—Lailà and Majnûn in the desert (from No. 394), Folio 23.

Fig. 20.—A messenger calls on Lailà (from No. 394), Folio 27.
Fig. 21.—Portrait of a painter. Late 15th century. Freer Gallery of Art.
ON SOME MINIATURES ATTRIBUTED TO BIHZÄD

rays of the sun penetrate through the thick foliage of the plane trees; and the tiny carpet is so carefully ornamented that its pattern can be easily copied and reproduced.

In the poem there is no description of the landscape. The artist creates it after his own taste and proves to be very observant and particular as to details. Many colored stones piled up along the banks of the stream (or mother-of-pearl cliffs as we see in manuscript 394, folio 23) are not merely the artist’s flight of fancy: such colors are really there in the mountain regions of Persia and Central Asia. Here as well as in manuscript No. 394 (folios 21 and 23) the landscape conveys emotions, and there is a touch of some inner concentration on its forms. This miniature must thus belong to Bihzäd’s masterpieces.

Another instance for our purposes consists of a manuscript of Majnūn and Lailâ by Amïr Khusraw Dihlavî, datable around 1496–98 (No. 394). The 34 pages of this manuscript measure 18 cm. by 25.2 cm. The general condition of the manuscript is good; in some places the text and a few miniatures protruded from the margins before the manuscript was restored. The pagination, from right to left, is at the bottom of the manuscript; only the tenths are marked.

The bindings are made of a very good quality of papier-mâché (fig. 15). The outside of the cover is of reddish-orange in the central field and is framed in dark green tones. Along the vertical axis there is a black medallion and two smaller ones: one at the top and the other at the bottom. The flower ornament of the medallion and the frame as well as the paintings on the margins of the cover, where among the trees we see animals and birds, are made in liquid gold. The inside of the cover is orange with golden sparkles. In the middle there is a black medallion ornamented with carnations. The white paper is of a very good quality. The margins are many colored: blue, red, green, yellow, sprinkled with gold. The text is written in a very small nastaliq in four columns divided from each other by double gold lines. The size of the written page is 9.5 cm. by 15.5 cm.

On folio 1 there is a seal of the waqf of the Ardebil Library with an inscription:

The book is a gift brought to the tomb of Hazrat 'Ali, His Highness the Son of Ṭālib, by 'Abbas Safavî. On condition that whoever wants to may read it but not take it away, any who takes it away will shed the blood of the Saint Hazrat Imâm Ḥusayn 1022. (1613–14.)

The nisba of the calligrapher, Sultan Muhammad al-Heravi, as well as a stylistic analysis of the miniatures suggest they were painted by Bihzäd in Herât about 1496–98 (as will be explained presently).

The text of folio 1 is preceded by a beautiful flowery 'unvân made in bluish-gold tones with an inscription: “The Book of Majnûn and Lailâ of Amïr Khusraw Dihlavî.”

These five miniatures are remarkable for the small figures of people portrayed in them and for the unusually refined style of letter writing. Their contents are as fol-

---

22 In the process of restoration the bindings have been pasted upside down.

23 The same seal as on Nos. 338 and 395.
lows: “Precepts for Khîdr, the son of the poet, Khusraw Dihlavi” 24 (12.6 cm. by 18.1 cm.), folio 5 (fig. 16); “Lailâ and Majnûn at school” (9.4 cm. by 15.4 cm.), folio 9 (fig. 17); “Majnûn in the desert” (9.5 cm. by 15.3 cm.), folio 21 (fig. 18); “Lailâ meets Majnûn in the desert” (11 cm. by 15.3 cm.), folio 23 (fig. 19); and “A messenger calls on Lailâ” (9.5 cm. by 15.4 cm.), folio 27 (fig. 20).

The miniature in folio 5 (fig. 16) has no direct bearing on the contents of the poem; it only illustrates the poet’s preface where he gives some advice to his son Khîdr. From the inscription in the miniature we learn the age of the poet’s son:

Oh, you of fourteen months of age,
You are a gold mine.

Bihzâd did not choose to follow the text of the poet; he transferred the action to the time when the boy Khîdr grows old enough to accept advice freely and reasonably.

In this miniature the artist followed the pattern of the miniature of “Iskandar and the seven sages” in the British Museum manuscript Or. 6810. 25 This resemblance favors the conclusion that miniatures of the manuscript No. 395 were painted by Bihzâd and that the manuscript in our collection was finished a little later than the Khamis of Niẓâmî in the British Museum, 1494–95. Khîdr squats in the center of a semicircle formed by figures of teachers. In the middle it is probably the poet himself sitting on a small carpet. The similarity with the London miniature does not appear only in the composition of the scene and in the reproduced ornaments of the wall paintings but in the very types of characters.

In another signed work of the artist (from Sa’dî’s Bustân, 1488), 26 the type of face on one of the characters closely resembles that of the old man plunged in his thoughts. Though it is not unusual for Bihzâd to transfer his characters from one miniature to the other, the faces of his wise men are evidently individualized. Two figures are exceptionally well painted: the one on the right of the grey-bearded old man with a slightly bent head who is deep in thought; and the one on the left of a very stout man in a small blue turban (a sign of his high social position). The figure and the countenance of the old man are so much individualized that one can easily suppose that he sat for this portrait or that the painter was painting, from memory, a face very familiar to him.

It might be of interest here to quote from the memoirs of Bihzâd’s younger contemporary, Zain ad-dîn Vaṣîfî, who writes:

The late shâb (Sultân Ḥusayn) regarded Bihzâd as the most distinguished artist of his time. His fame and superiority were acknowledged by all masters of the art. Bihzâd was conferred the honorary title of the “Second Manî” … Bihzâd used to carry with him some wonderful drawings, and he mostly would make different portraits of Baba-Mâhmûd, who was a most worthy

24 In the literature on the subject this folio is referred to as “Majnûn is taking an examination.”
25 See the reproduction of it in Martin and Arnold, op. cit., pl. 22.
26 Martin, The Miniature Painting., pl. 70.
and honored emir of the Court and who had quite a remarkable countenance and figure.  

This extract is followed by a long story about the emir who was a stout man, dexterous and witty.

The evidence of Vaşifi about Bihzād’s practice of painting portraits of his contemporaries is very significant, for it sheds new light on certain aspects of his art: namely, it accounts for so many portrait likenesses in the characters of his miniatures.

To the right, there is a famous “Bihzādian” plane-tree, touched by the autumn crimson. The red, yellow and green leaves effectively display their colors on the background of the golden sky. Regardless of the season, the painter places on the tree a bird nest filled with eggs. This detail, though it does not correspond to the season, lends some peculiar feeling of intimacy and security to the scene.

The masterpiece is exceptional by the perfection of execution. The design of the brick-work is drawn with tiny hairbreadth lines; the straws of the mat are portrayed in relief. It is sufficient to say that today’s painters do not dare to try to make exact copies of this and other Bihzād miniatures.

A simplified and free variant of the miniature “Precepts for Khīdr” we find in the album No. 489 from the Leningrad Public Library (folio 87). The arrangement of figures (a youth and his six masters) and the range of colors are the same: the rosy walls of the building, the green tiled panel, the brown patterns of the lattice, the silvery stream, the red fence, the many-colored clothes of the people.

The copy of the miniature differs from the original: in the former socle tiles framed by a border of tiles of the same color are somewhat smaller. As to the size, color and manner of laying tiles the socle is identical to the tiled panel in the miniature in folio 9, manuscript 394.

Compared to the original the copy presents less individualized characters: the figure of a stout man is not there; the colors are a little brighter; instead of a plane-tree there is a cypress and a tree in blossom; and some architectural details have been altered.

In spite of the items of difference the miniatures have much in common: the copy and the original were executed in the same style and by a great master. In his time the late Professor M. M. Diakonov believed that the master was Qāsim ‘Alī who used to cooperate with Bihzād (both the artists are said to have worked together in executing miniatures for the manuscript Or. 6810). One can accept this supposition because one of the miniatures signed by Qāsim ‘Alī was obviously executed under the influence of Bihzād. Qāsim ‘Alī painted the school (in the British Museum Khamsa of Nizāmī, Or. 6810), 28 and in the miniature we see the same ornamental design of the walls and the same patterns for tiled panel inlaying as the ones one can find in the copies of Album 489 and in the miniature of manuscript 394, folio 9 (fig. 17).

In figure 17 we see a mosque where lessons are going on. In comparing this with the one signed by Qāsim ‘Alī in the London

27 A. N. Boldyrev, Navoi v rasskazach sovremennikov, Sbornik A. Navoi, Moscow, 1940, pp. 151–52.

manuscript, one can see that the painter resorted to a composition that he had already seen worked out, though he simplified it a bit. The action is transferred from the yard in front of the mosque, where there was a big luxuriant plane tree and a fountain under it, to the interior of the mosque.

Here we see eight characters instead of twelve; they are copies of those in the manuscript Or. 6810. The small bent figure of Laila, a girl to the left, and a boy to the right are arranged in a similar way. The arch serves as a background for all. Once again we see the grey-bearded teacher and Majnūn sitting in front of him holding a book. We also see the two boys: one who is writing (there is an inkstand in front of him) and the other who is polishing paper.

The drawing of the scroll and the architectural ornament of the upper wall of the building have been taken over entirely from the manuscript Or. 6810.

One can therefore suppose that Qāsim Ḥalī and Bihzād, who had successfully executed miniatures of the manuscript Or. 6810, worked together over manuscript No. 395 and reproduced in it some details so much appreciated by viewers.

The third miniature of the manuscript 394 is in folio 21 (fig. 18), and it portrays Majnūn in the desert. But before we come to the analysis of this miniature let us recall the scene of the manuscript Or. 6810 "Selim visits Majnūn in the desert," by Bihzād.29

Though the miniature is executed very intricately and gracefully, it somewhat lacks integrity of composition. The painter seems to be enumerating details. The geometrical center of the composition is void. Majnūn, the main character, is given no special prominence, and one sees him with animals, Selim, and onlookers who are behind a range of hills.

However, Bihzād displayed here a remarkable ingenuity that revealed itself also in three miniatures of manuscript 394: the figure of Majnūn is transferred into folio 21 (fig. 18); the animals and a small stream running within green banks are reproduced in folio 23 (fig. 19); Selim talking with Majnūn is reproduced in folio 27 (fig. 20) where the arrangement of characters is also the same only, instead of Majnūn, there is a young girl.

Taking into account all these considerations and the perfect execution of the illustrations in manuscript 394, we have reason to believe that the manuscript 394 was executed about 1496-98, i.e. after manuscript Or. 6810.

In figure 18 the long-haired and haggard Majnūn, with his head bowed in sorrow, is telling his sad story to a lean stray dog as wretched a creature as Majnūn himself. In the foreground we see a bridge over a small stream; in the right foreground of the miniature there are trees of some whimsical shape. Similar trees appear in such authentic miniatures of Bihzād as "Darius and shepherds" (Cairo, Bustān), "Bahram Gūr’s fight with the dragon" (British Museum Or. 6810),30 "The fight of two camels" (Teheran Museum) and others. Though for the painter the tree is a beloved creature of nature, in this manuscript the tree is also a symbol of the wretched and broken life of Majnūn.

29 Ibid., pl. 14. Some scholars erroneously attribute it to Qāsim Ḥalī, though the miniature bears a signature.

30 Martin and Arnold, op. cit., pl. 19.
The manuscripts 394 and 395 illustrate the heights of Bihzād’s mastery in transforming landscape and scenery into an expression of mood. He is very careful in selecting colors: the desert is of sand and a rosy shade; the sun-lit sky is golden; the red, blue and green clothes of personages contrast with the colors of the sun and of the desert.

While looking at the dry river bed, the dead trees turned black, the dog breathing heavily with its tongue hanging loose, one feels the intense heat of the climate.

As if fire attacked the mountains,
The earth and the sky are giving out heat,
And there is no place for anyone to sleep,
There is no cloud to give water to a thirsty soul,
All the birds found shelter in the trees,
The reptiles crept into clefts,
The waterless earth cracked here and there...

In the background a horseman is riding along a ridge of the hill; the horseman is preceded by a guide. The two moving figures emphasize the sorrow-struck Majnūn. Majnūn picked up the dog in Lailā’s street:

...Once while walking Majnūn
Saw a stray dog,
Wounded, bruised, shaggy.

...Majnūn ran to the dog,
embraced it
And cried bitterly. He gave the dog
His clothes to lie on and said: You have got
A truthful heart.
Now when nobody cares for you,
You are precious to me,
And I am your dog.

It is of interest that a sketch, probably a rough drawing of the miniature, has come down to us. In the upper part of the drawing there is an inscription:

Sketch of the late master Bihzād—
God bless him—and a work of the humble Riza 'Abbāsī, Friday 5th of the second Jumādā; completed in 1035. (A.D. 1627.)

This drawing of Bihzād, completed more than a 100 years later by the painter Riza 'Abbāsī, is of great importance in proving the authenticity of Bihzād’s miniatures of the manuscript 394.

The illustration “Majnūn in the desert” is a masterpiece of miniature painting in many ways: it is graceful in execution; it fully reflects the spirit of the poem; and the complex psychological feelings of the hero are splendidly portrayed in symbolic images of nature.

The miniature is followed by folio 23, “Majnūn and Lailā in the desert” (fig. 19). As far as details are concerned, it is close to the miniature of the manuscript Or. 6810 “Selîm visits Majnūn”; but it certainly

31 This group was repeated by a Bokhara School painter in 1526 in the manuscript Mihr and Mushārī of ‘Āsār in the Freer Gallery. See Gray, op. cit., p. 149.

ranks higher in composition, and one cannot but marvel at the proportions of its parts and the harmony of its colors. Majnün and Lailà are portrayed with animals in the background of a desert. In relief against the golden sky many colored mother-of-pearl rocks are seen in the tints of blue, green and light-brown. The silvery stream with diving ducks is boarded with luxuriant grass and flowers.

Majnün is asleep.
Lailà sits on the sand.
She holds up his head with care.
She put his head in her lap
And showered his face with tears...

E. Kühnel believed that the miniature belonged to the beginning of the 16th century and to the late period of Bihzād's work. Though this conclusion is probably erroneous, we shall not comment on it for the time being but rather stress the point on which we agree with Kühnel completely: in this miniature Bihzād was quite successful in giving a spiritual significance to the scenery.

A pair of gazelles are watching shyly how the love-sick poet collapses in the lap of his beloved who has been found again. The lion casts a reproachful glance at a panther who is preparing to attack an idly-grazing camel and destroy the peaceful atmosphere of the desert, while jackals and a mountain goat are searching for their meager food unconcerned with human events.

This quotation gives a perfect idea of the impression produced by the miniature. The whole composition is one of peace and silence. Animals appear concerned with a single purpose and are beautifully painted, especially those in the foreground. The composition of the miniature is straightforward and integrated with a certain pyramidal approach in depicting mountains and arrangement of figures.

As in the preceding miniature here we also see the sand and rosy colors and gnarled, dry trees so typical of Bihzād's miniatures. The tones are a bit pale, even though there is a harmony in them, and only Lailà's orange gown draws the attention of the viewing to the central group.

The girl's figure, which is most important, is emphasized by its position in the geometrical center as well as by the distribution of colors. It is the girl whom we see first in the miniature, and only afterwards do we notice the almost incorporeal Majnün who lies unconscious and the animals whose protective coloration makes them a little indistinct in relief against the sand.

The pale colors and masterfully depicted scenery dully emphasize the silence and the intimate atmosphere of the scene. The miniature in folio 23 is most delicate and refined and stands out not only in this manuscript but in the whole of Near Eastern painting.

The last miniature of manuscript 394 is in folio 27 (fig. 20). Its subject is that of "A messenger calls on Lailà." The painter who faithfully follows the text of the poem

33 Kühnel, *Bihzad*, p. 28.
34 *Idem.*
depicts palm-trees in the garden, where the beauties used to walk:

Sometimes they used to gather around the jasmine,
Sometimes under a cluster of roses.

On learning that Majnun's friend has come Lailâ hurries to see him and asks about her lover (Lailâ is believed to be the figure wearing a crown). The messenger, anxious to make sure of her affection for Majnûn, tells Lailâ that Majnûn died. Lailâ loses consciousness. All attempts to help her recover from the shock and to make her realize the fact that the sad news was a joke and that Majnûn is actually alive are in vain. Lailâ, griefed at the news of her lover's death, is dying.

The miniature from folio 27 displays a great harmony of colors: the golden soil, the blue-lilac sky, a beautiful variety of colors of the people's clothes (red, yellow, blue and green), the clusters of flowers in full blossom and the silver stream. Female figures of this miniature are a little taller and bigger in size than in the preceding ones. This fact gives rise to arguments over whether the miniature had been actually executed by Bihzâd.

Martin believed that the miniature was executed by Aqa Mirak but does not give enough arguments to back his opinion. Denike reserved his final judgement as to the identity of the painter. On the one hand, he believed that in style the miniature does not differ from other Bihzâd's miniatures in the manuscript 394, but at the same time he was prepared to agree with Sakisian and to attribute the miniature to Qâsim 'Ali. 36

There are reasons to believe that the extended proportions of the personages are merely a deviation from his usual canons, a modification which a great master like Bihzâd could afford. This supposition will gain more ground if we take into account that it was Bihzâd's method to present elongated figures in his miniatures, e.g. the bathing girls from the manuscript Or. 6810.

As to all other features of the miniature it fully resembles Bihzâd's manner. This is evident in the selection of colors and transference of figures from previous miniatures to this one.

We may recall what was said before about how the artist resorted in this miniature to the image of Selim from manuscript Or. 6810. The prototype of a girl leaning against the blossoming tree can be found in the representation of Sultan Hu-sayn in the garden in the library of the Teheran Palace. In this composition we see some more women holding each other by the hand and ready to bathe in the stream, exactly as in folio 27 of our manuscript. All this speaks in favor of our opinion that the miniature of folio 27 was beyond doubt a work of Bihzâd.

Taking into account the mature craftsmanship displayed in manuscript 394, an amazing ingenuity in transferring into the manuscripts items of previous works, a good creation of the lyrical scenery and a special attention to portraying human feelings and passions, we can date manuscript 394 around 1496–98, i.e. later than the British Museum Or. 6810 and the Leningrad 395.

Thus in the Leningrad Public Library the following works can be attributed to the Herât period of Bihzâd:

1. MS. 338, *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, dated 1481–82; the miniatures “Khusraw and Shīrīn” and “Lailā and Majnūn” can be regarded as early paintings of Bihzād.

2. The double scene in Album 489, folios 26–27, from the Chronicle of Sulṭān Ḫusayn Bāyqarā, around 1484.


4. MS. 394, *Majnūn* and *Laila* by Khusraw Dihlavī, with 5 miniatures, one of which may have been executed by Qāsim ʿAlī, in the period of 1496–98.
THE "ELEPHANT WALL" OF THE RUVANVELI DĀGOBA IN ANURĀDHAPURA

BY DIRAN KAVORK DOHANIAN

The Ruvanveli Dāgoba at Anurādhapura (fig. 1) is the most important religious monument on the island of Ceylon. Its history, which goes back to its foundation in the early part of the first century B.C., occupies a substantial portion of the Mahāvamsa, the Great Chronicle of that land. Though not the most ancient cetiya in Ceylon, it owes its special fame to its association with King Dutthagāmanī (101–77 B.C.), who first built it, and its primacy among venerable shrines to the belief that it contains one-eighth of the bodily relics of Buddha, predestined by the Victor for the kingdom of Lanka. It was given the epithet Mahāthūpa at its foundation, and since that time, the kings and princes of Lanka considered the veneration of it indispensable to the security of their reigns. Faithful Buddhists today still regard this stūpa as an object of profound adoration.

One of the most striking features of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba is the decoration of the retaining wall of the large square terrace on which the stūpa stands. This takes the form of a series of elephants, modeled in brick and stucco, which project from the wall, each facing outward, so that together they appear to support both platform and stūpa on their backs (fig. 2). The large portion of this wall had been destroyed by time and it was almost completely rebuilt, about 25 years ago, as part of the continuing refurbishment of the Mahāthūpa (figs. 3 and 4).

A small segment of the original wall (fig. 5) has been conserved, however, and that, together with the rich description of it given in Smither’s account of the remains of Anurādhapura, will enable us to piece together its earlier shape and character. Smither, after having visited the site in the 1880s, noted:

The platform is entirely surrounded by a very substantial brick retaining-wall ornamented on the outer face with figures of elephants, modelled in brickwork, and forming part of the wall itself: these are three hundred and forty-four in number. The elephants, which were originally about 9 feet in height, stand about 1 foot 10 inches apart (or about 5 feet 3 inches from centre to centre) upon a ledge, or offset, 10 inches high above the level of the ground, and projecting 1 foot 9 inches from the face of the wall. This consists of a continuous course

---

The history of the building of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba is given in the Mahāvamsa in chapters 28 through 32 (see W. Geiger, tr., The Mahāvamsa, Colombo, 1950 and W. Geiger and C. M. Rickmers, trs., Cilavamsa, Colombo, 1953, pts. I and II). For the special history of the relics, see Mahāvamsa 31.

2 J. G. Smither, Architectural Remains of Anurādhapura, London, 1894, pp. 23–44. The dimensions of the large square terrace are given as 475 feet (north to south) by 473 feet (east to west). The diameter of the anda at the level of the terrace is 252 feet 8 inches.
of dressed stone 5 inches high above the ground, and over it a course of brickwork; the latter set back between the elephants, thus forming a separate standing place for each animal. The extreme projection of the elephants from the face of the wall is 2 feet 9 inches, therefore, only their heads and fore-legs appear. The wall between them is quite plain to the height of about 3 feet above the platform of the dâgaba, at which level two brick oversailing courses have been discovered, but only in one spot on its northern face.

The upper part of the wall has been completely destroyed, but at the level of the platform it measures 3 feet 3 inches in thickness, including three 8-inch courses of wrought-stone ashlarimg, about 10 inches thick.

The whole of the existing brickwork is in a state of extreme dilapidation, and the elephants are all more or less mutilated. Portions of the original surface, however, yet remain in protected places, and upon these the ancient plastering is still to be seen. The vertical face of the wall has been covered with a plain coating of plaster, partly concealed by the widely-spreading ears of the elephants, the flaps of which lie on the surface of the wall, and very nearly touch one-another. The animals, also, have been coated with plaster, and have, moreover, been adorned with richly ornamented trappings in relief, which display, in pleasing variety, much ingenuity and taste in their embellishment, no two patterns of those which remain being precisely similar. Large holes remain in the jaws of the elephants for the insertion of tusks, which are said to have been of real ivory; and although no traces of colour have been discovered upon any part of the wall, there is little doubt that it was rendered still further attractive by painting.3

The elephant motif is a familiar one to students of Indian art and appears in various manifestations in conjunction with religious and political monuments all over the Indian world. It certainly comes as no surprise to find the elephant associated with a shrine which is considered to be the “Body of the Universal Lord.” What is unusual, however, is the representation, in connection with a Buddhist stûpa, of a herd of elephants raising up and supporting the immense structure on their backs.

None of the stûpas, known to us, in India has a corresponding architectural feature, and no other structural stûpa in Ceylon retains this embellishment,—if, indeed, any other originally had it! Certain Siamese stûpas, however, are built on platforms supported by caryatid elephants and strongly resemble the Ruvanveli Dâgoba in this respect (fig. 6).4 Also, a number of

3 Ibid., p. 40.
votive stūpas in Ceylon and Thailand repeat this formula.5

The Siamese examples are relatively easy to explain. There was intensive religious intercourse between Ceylon and Siam from the 13th to the 15th centuries, when, after the Siamese had been converted to Theravāda Buddhism, both scriptures and relics were sent from Ceylon, and the Siamese began to build shrines for relics.6 It is almost certain that the Buddhists of Siam copied the feature of the wall of caryatid elephants from the Mahāthūpa of Anurādhapura.

It has always been supposed that this feature was an innovation of the Sinhalese and an invention of rather ancient origin. This supposition is based, first of all, on the appearance, early in the text of the chronicle, of a term which may be translated as “elephant wall” or “wall decorated with elephants.” And it is supported by the idea that the civilization of ancient Ceylon was in all respects ultra-conservative and ultra-traditional.

According to the Mahāvamsa, among the meritorious deeds of King Saddhatissa (77–59 B.C.), the younger brother and successor to the renowned Dutthagāmanī, was the construction of a hatthipākāra (literally, “elephant wall”) for the Ruvanveli Dāgoba.7 This component of the stūpa complex is referred to again in later chapters of the chronicle.8 The term hatthipākāra has been understood by most scholars as the name for the retaining wall of the broad square terrace on which the stūpa stands. Both Geiger and Paranavitana explain that the hatthipākāra of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba takes its name from the row of elephants in relief with which it is ornamented.9

The Mahāvamsa also mentions an architectural component of the stūpa which is given the name hatthivedi,10 which Paranavitana translates as “elephant rail”11 and which Geiger considers as a variant of hatthipākāra.12 The hatthi-vedi, according to Paranavitana, refers not to the retaining wall, but to the elephant heads in limestone which are spaced around the outer edge of the topmost basal ledge of the stūpa.13 And what Paranavitana has identified as the hatthivedi, Parker considers as Saddhatissa’s hatthipākāra.14 The real meaning of these terms in connection with specific parts of the stūpa complex is far from clear. The very most they can tell us is that one or two of the components of early

5 On the platform of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba stands a stone votive stūpa, the base of which is carved with the foreparts of elephants. At each of the four corners is the figure of a lion. A small bronze stūpa of this type was in the collection of Reginald LeMay. Cf. R. LeMay, A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam, Cambridge [Eng.], 1938, fig. 151.
7 Mv. 33:6.
8 In connection with the kings Mittasena and Mogallāna I, ibid. 38:10, 39:30.
10 Mv. 41:95.
12 Geiger, op. cit., p. 61, n. 4.
13 Paranavitana distinguishes vedi from pākāra on the grounds that retaining walls were always referred to in the chronicle as pākāra. Cf. Paranavitana, Stūpa, p. 18, n. 3.
stūpa design in Ceylon were, for some reason or other, associated in name with the elephant. Still, their use in the chronicle in connection with the early stūpas, especially with the Ruvanveli Dagoba, has been accepted by all scholars as evidence that the retaining wall decorated in relief with the foreparts of elephants was an original and ancient feature of stūpa design in Ceylon. In one way or another, they all seem to echo the initial assertion by Smither that “this wonderful wall formed part of the original general design.”

In a cultural milieu as traditional as that of ancient Ceylon, it would be hardly surprising to discover that a particular architectural or sculptural formula had been exactly repeated for centuries. However, to assume that this is inevitably the case—when the only evidence one can adduce is the occasional use in the Mahāvamsa record of a not too clearly understood term—is not justifiable. Such an assumption is especially untenable in the light of evidence to the contrary.

The Mahāvamsa also records the existence of batthipākāras at the other two great stūpas at Anuradhapura. Yet, the retaining walls of the platforms of these structures do not show, in their present state, the figures of elephants. Paranavitana’s explanation that earlier elephant figures at these stūpas were replaced by plain retaining walls would appear to be too hopeful an hypothesis.

In 1945 and 1946, the restoration of the Elephant Wall of the Ruvanveli Dagoba was undertaken and in the process of dismantling the dilapidated structure, an earlier retaining wall was exposed to view—one which was “classical in its simple dignity” and “chastely moulded” and completely unornamented with figures of elephants. If the Elephant Wall truly did repeat an earlier model, it must have been one prior to the plain wall then brought to light. It is more likely that the earlier batthipākāras at all three stūpas in Anuradhapura were not decorated in relief with the foreparts of elephants... and that the name had some significance other than suggesting the nature of the ornamentation.

The Mahāvamsa, recording the story of King Moggallāna I (A.D. 496–513), tells how the triumphant leader entered the Mahāvihāra to pay homage to the community which was there assembled. Of particular interest to us is the passage which tells that “he made his great army turn back at the ‘elephant wall’.”

Smither describes the great outer court of the stūpa complex at the Ruvanveli Dagoba as “a wide space supposed to have been intended for waiting elephants and for processional purposes.”

15 Smither, op. cit., p. 40.
16 Mv. 38:10, i.e., the great stūpas of the Abhāyagiri and Jetavana monasteries.
17 Paranavitana, Stūpa, p. 67.

19 Mv. 39:30. The passage does not place the batthipākāra mentioned in the precinct of the Mahāthūpa. The only place cited is the Mahāmeghavana, the great park in which the Mahāvihāra is situated.
20 Smither, op. cit., p. 41. We do not know whether this processional avenue is the same as the “sand-court boundary” mentioned in Mv. 33:31 and 34:70. But such a feature must have been part of the stūpa complex when, in the time of Parākramabāhu I, processions of elephants and horses—caparisoned in lamps—were brought to venerate the Mahāthūpa. Cf. Mv. 76:112.
Fig. 1.—The Ruvanveli Dagoba. A General View. Photograph, D. K. Dohanian.

Fig. 2.—The Ruvanveli Dagoba with the Elephant Wall. Photograph, D. K. Dohanian.
Fig. 3.—A Portion of the Elephant Wall Before Rebuilding. Photograph, Archaeological Department, Government of Ceylon.

Fig. 4.—A Portion of the Elephant Wall after Rebuilding. Photograph, D. K. Dohanian.
Fig. 5.—A Conserved segment of the Elephant Wall. Photograph, D. K. Dohanian.

Fig. 6.—Small Bronze Stupa, Sukhodaya (?). Photograph, R. Le May, *A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam.*
Fig. 7.—A Miniature Stone Stupa on the Platform of the Ruvanveli Dagoba. Photograph from negative of A.K. Coomaraswamy now in the Rubel Asiatic Research Bureau, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

Fig. 8.—Plinth Showing Elephants, Kailasa Temple, Ellora, 8th Century. Photograph, Asian Art Archives, University of Michigan.
Although it is difficult to say with any degree of certainty, especially on the basis of such frail evidence, it would seem that the hatthipākāra, noted in the Mahāvamsa, was originally some sort of elephant barrier that may have served as well to mark the separation between the holy place proper of the stūpa and the grand pros ec tional avenue around it. At the very least, we may assume that its name, hatthipākāra, derived from its practical function and not from its outward appearance.

That this term later assumed another meaning is certainly not beyond the realm of probability. And it is not too fanciful to suppose that the final form of the hatthipākāra, at the Ruvanveli Dāgoba, was the result of the perpetuation of a "label" the superficial interpretation of which was admirably suited to a new concept with which the form must necessarily be associated.

The Elephant Wall, which is the subject of this study, was built of bricks laid throughout in lime mortar. This mode of construction was adopted, in Ceylon, only at the very end of the Anurādhapura period and was common in Polonnaruva times. The bricks used in the figures were of varying sizes and may be dated, according to Parker, sometime between the ninth and twelfth centuries. The structure itself, therefore, has been dated accordingly—sometimes being given a date early within this time period and at others, toward the very end of it. Still other evidence will help us to narrow this range considerably.

The excavations of the foundations of this wall, undertaken during its restora-

tion, exposed a number of ancient objects, the most important of which (for our present problem) is a copper casket containing, among other things, a part of a necklace made from nine gold coins with legends in Arabic. The coins have been identified as issues of the reign of the Abbasid Caliph al-Muti of Baghdad by his vassal Ishak Ibn Ibrahim, the ruler of South Arabia, and can be dated in accordance with the years 954 and 960. The construction of the Elephant Wall, then, cannot date earlier than the last quarter of the 10th century. And it must have been completed by the reign of Nissāṁka Malla (1187-96), one of whose lithic inscriptions records the donation of a stone dāgoba at the Mahātha pa in Anurādhapura as a worship place for the gods.

It is tempting to believe that the stone dāgoba donated by Nissāṁka Malla is the same as the miniature stone stūpa that stands now on the platform of the Ruvanvelisaya (fig. 7). This small stūpa shows a series of caryatid elephants on the four faces of its platform and is clearly a replica of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba with the Elephant Wall. Since miniature stūpas of this kind normally reproduced the major features of the model at the time of the donation, if we accept the identification of this votive stūpa with Nissāṁka Malla's stone dāgoba, then we must conclude that the Elephant Wall of the Ruvanveli Dāgoba had been completed by the time of Nissāṁka Malla's reign.

Paranavitana's claim that the Elephant Wall must have been built before the end

21 Parker, op. cit., p. 284.
22 Cf. Paranavitana, Stūpa, p. 67; Parker, loc. cit.
23 ASC, AR for 1946, p. 6.
24 The so-called "Galpota" slab inscription. Epigraphia Zeylanica, vol. 2, pp. 98-123.
25 Supra, n. 5.
of the 10th century, when Anuradhapura was sacked by the invading Chola armies, is particularly subject to question. The last kings of Anuradhapura were a pitiful lot, incapable of government and of maintaining social order. Sena V (972–981) was a teenage alcoholic who was forced from the capital by a general of the armies. His successor, Mahinda V (981–1029) fled from the palace when the soldiers, whom he could not pay, rose up against him. The machinery of government broke down, anarchy prevailed and the kingdom was defenseless. The armies of Chola Rajaraja I invaded Anuradhapura, annexed the northern part of Lanka as a province of the Chola empire, and ultimately conquered the whole of Ceylon. In 1017, Mahinda V and the crown jewels were carried off, and the king lived as a prisoner of the Cholas until his death in 1029.

The conditions for vast public works were simply not present in Ceylon during the last decades of the 10th century. Nor were they likely to be, through years of anarchy, warfare and the devastating occupation by a foreign power, until the accession to the throne of Parākramabāhu I (1153–86), when relative peace and prosperity were restored to the kingdom.

The construction of the Elephant Wall, a major refurbishment of the most important stūpa in Anuradhapura, was most certainly part of the restoration of that ancient, war-ravaged city carried out by Parākramabāhu I in the early years of his reign.

The conception of the Ruvanveli Dagoba as a great mountain supported on the backs of caryatid elephants—although it has no Indian precedent among Buddhist monuments—finds an amazingly close parallel in the Hindu rock-cut temple of Kailāsanātha at Ellora where herds of elephants, carved in bold relief, carry the mountainous forms of the temple on their backs (fig. 8). The similarity is so striking that it seems reasonable to understand the Ruvanveli Dagoba, in its 12th-century manifestation, in terms of the Kailāsa symbolism of the rock-cut temple at Ellora. And indeed, the Mahāvamsa bears witness to the fact that, in the reign of Parākramabāhu I, the Ruvanveli stūpa was thought of specifically in terms of Kailāsa, the holy mountain in The Himalayas.

The passages in the chronicle which record the magnificent festivals celebrating the restoration of the Mahāthūpa at Anuradhapura include one which describes the splendor of the golden-pinnacled relic-mound as the “beauty of the Kelāsa mountain with the sun on its summit.” And the Mahāthūpa of Polonnaruva, built by Parākramabāhu I in emulation of the illustrious tope at Anuradhapura, is referred to in the chronicle as a “second Kēlāsa.”

Although it is easy to see how these great relic mounds, dazzling in the brilliant white of a plaster coating, would recall the summit of the sacred mountain wrapped in the eternal snow, it may be argued that it was probably a literary convention to refer

26 ASC, AR for 1946, p. 6.
27 Mv. 54:62–63.
29 Mv. 55:13–33.
30 Mv. 76:104 ff.
32 Mv. 76:118.
33 Mv. 78:78.
to any white, mound-like arrangement as "Kailāsa glittering in the sun."\(^{34}\) Still it is curiously significant that, in the whole of the chronicle of Ceylon, it is only in the section relating to the reign of Parākramabāhu I that stūpas are so characterized and that, in all but one instance, the topes so referred to are the Ruvanveli Dagoba in Anurādhapura and its counterpart in Polonnaruva.

When the chronicler characterized the Ruvanveli Dagoba as Kailāsa, it was because the monument had acquired, in the 12th century, a new and special meaning. The principal iconographic carrier of that meaning is the herd of elephants, sculptured into the retaining wall of the square terrace and appearing to hold aloft the entire mass of the shrine. The testimony of the Mahāvamsa, then, seems to support the thesis that the Elephant Wall of the Ruvanveli Dagoba was an invention, or adaptation, of the era of Parākramabāhu I.

The conception, in 12th-century Ceylon, of the foremost stūpa in the kingdom as a replica of sacred Kailāsa—though superficially exotic—finds a precedent, out of Ceylon's own history, in the palace and citadel constructed at Sigiriya by the patricide king, Kassapa I (478-496). Paranavitana has ingeniously interpreted this palace complex as an exacting replica of Kailāsa as the abode of the Lord of Riches.\(^ {35}\) Sigiriya was conceived as a second Kailāsa where Kassapa I installed himself as a god-king.

The idea was current, at different times, all over the Indian world, that a ruler could add to his dignity and power by making himself the incarnation of a particular god. This was done most often by the identification of the king with a holy mountain on which that god was thought to reside.\(^ {36}\) The mountain symbolism of the stūpa is of ancient origins; the transfer of symbol from cosmic Meru to sacred Kailāsa is easily made.

Still, we cannot say whether Parākramabāhu I intended to be identified with any one of the gods associated with Kailāsa; but we do know that he installed himself at Parākramapura as a cakravartin\(^ {37}\) and that Niśāṇka Malla, after him, held to the belief that impartial kings were like buddhas and that, though they appeared as humans, they were to be regarded as gods.\(^ {38}\)

Perhaps the choice of Kailāsa, as a transfiguring theme, grew out of the revival of Brahmanism and Sanskritic studies at the Polonnaruva court.\(^ {39}\) Or it may have been a simple function of Pa-

\(^ {34}\) Cf. Mv. 89:45 where heaps of rice are likened to Kailāsa.


\(^ {36}\) Perhaps the most notable examples of this were the "Śailendra" kings of Java, and Jayavarman II of Cambodia.

\(^ {37}\) Cf. ASC, AR for 1952, p. 20. At least two excavated sites which can be associated with Parākramabāhu I can be identified as cakravālakotī: the circular "temple" at Pandus-Nuvara and the Sutighara-ctiya at Dedigama, which marks the site of Parākrama's birth. It is also interesting to note here that the Mahāvamsa likens Parākramabāhu's palace at Polonnaruva to the sacred mound Kailāsa. Cf. Mv. 76:62.


rākrama's clan history. Whatever the reason, we can easily see how the confluence of ideas—centering on the sacred mountain and the relics of the Buddha—in association with the person of the king, acquired for him, in the eyes of his people, the special qualities of divine power.

In addition, the Kailasa theme, imposed upon the Ruvanveli Dagoba alone, distinguished that shrine as pre-eminent among the great and magnificent stupas of Lanka.

As for the retaining wall decorated with the figures of elephants, the evidence of the Kailasa symbolism further shores up the claim that this sculptured wall was an innovation or, perhaps one might better say, an adaptation of the middle of the 12th century and suggests something of the reasons for its invention.

40 Parākramabāhu I was descended from a Pāṇḍya princely clan through his father, Mānābharana, and from a Kalinga princely clan through his mother who was the daughter of Vijayabāhu I by his Kalinga mabesi. Through his paternal grandmother, the sister of Vijayabāhu I, Parākrama was related to the Sinhalese royal house.

41 In the historical mythology of Ceylon, Parākramabāhu's greatest kingly act was to bring about the reconciliation of the kingdom's Buddhist sectaries and the restoration of the Mahāvihāra to ecclesiastical supremacy. The setting apart of the Mahaṭṭupa of Anurādhapura is in complete harmony with this idea.
A number of images of Mahiśāsuramardini of the Kuśāṇa period from Mathurā, as well as three icons of the Devī of a later period, all show her holding or stretching an object over her head. She is in every case multi-armed, and she holds the object with her two upper or rear-most hands. So far it has been identified, usually tentatively, in a number of totally different ways. This is chiefly because, with one exception, the stone of the images is so worn that only the vague outline of the object can be discerned. What is more, it does not suggest, particularly considering the way in which it is held, any of the emblems or symbols generally associated with Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. Moreover, in the single case where the mysterious object can be clearly seen, and in considerable detail as well, not only is it plainly not one of the standard emblems of Indian iconography, but there is considerable doubt even as to what it is.

Exactly how many Kuśāṇa images of Mahiśāsuramardini there are in the Mathurā Museum with this feature is not clear. Odette Viennot has published the best preserved image (MM 875) of a group of eight which she considers to be of the same type; but the mysterious object does not appear in all of them. In addition to those men-

* Keeper, Department of Eastern Art, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

† Odette Viennot, “The Goddess Mahiśāsuramardini in Kuśāṇa Art,” Artibus Asiae, vol. 19, no. 3–4 (1956), pp. 368–373. The other images in the group are MM 881, 887, 993, 2037, 2787, U51, U97. No. 881 is only a four-armed image and does not appear to have the feature in question.

tioned by Mme. Viennot, MM 889, a six-armed figure, appears to have this feature. There is a similar image in the Ashmolean Museum (O. S. 37) (fig. 1), another in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 8622) and one in a private collection which will be mentioned later. There are almost certainly more in existence. They all bear the indisputable marks of the Kuśāṇa style at Mathurā, and most are carved out of the characteristic mottled red sandstone. All are stelae, and none more than 10 inches high. Their iconography is invariable, making them the first Hindu images, of which it can be said with certainty, that belong to a firmly established iconographic type. The goddess, six-armed, stands, with her legs apart and a pronounced débâncement, behind the buffalo. The latter is rearing up with his head to the proper left of the goddess, whose lower right hand with the arm stretched out presses stiffly down on the animal’s haunch. She is obviously placing considerable weight upon it showing both her mastery over the buffalo and at the same time containing any possible movement on his part. The two


3 Not all are: The images from the Palikhera well no. 2, which may include most of Mme. Viennot’s group, are in buff sandstone. There is at least one example in the form of a terracotta plaque (V. S. Agrawala, “Terracotta Figurines from Ahichchhatrā,” Ancient India, p. 134 and pl. XLVII B.
rear or uppermost hands, raised above the goddess’s head, hold the unidentified object. It is rarely possible to distinguish the positions of the hands or what emblems they are holding in the case of more than one or two of the remaining four hands. The goddess of MM 875 holds the buffalo around the throat with her middle left hand, whereas the middle right probably holds a shield. In the Ashmolean figure, one of the goddess’s left arms, probably the middle one, is laid across her chest, with the hand grasping her upper right arm. It should be remembered that there are four-armed versions of this image, at least one of Sunga date, but none of them have the arms raised to hold an object over the head.

The object above the goddess’s head has been identified, in the case of MM 875, by Mme. Viennot as a sword and by V. S. Agrawala as a bowl. In MM 889 it has been called a crown by the same authority, and it has been reported that the mysterious object in the Calcutta Museum image is “a serpentlike object, probably an iguana.” Yet it seems reasonable to assume that the same object is depicted in every case. In many-armed images, there is usually a certain latitude as to the objects held in the various hands, but here the fact that the mysterious object is held in an exceptional way, very rarely seen in Indian images and moreover probably dictated in part by the nature of the object, makes it virtually certain that we are dealing with the same object in every case. The poor condition of the stone, the small size of these stelae and the fact that it is placed on the edge at the very top of the sculpture and thus particularly susceptible to wear or damage surely accounts for the different ways in which the object has been identified.

There is a considerably larger (ht.: 2′ 9″) image of Mahiṣaśuramardini in the Mathurā Museum, OOD 12 (fig. 2) whose age is uncertain but almost certainly not very far removed from the periods of the images being considered. The goddess holds up the buffalo by its tail in a vertical position on her left side. She has eight arms, and the two uppermost ones on either side hold one of the objects which are the subject of this inquiry. V. S. Agrawala described the object as a basket. Vogel thought that it was possibly a snake, and Diskalkar thought that it was “the skin taken out from the body of the buffalo.”

8 R. C. Agrawala, op. cit., p. 124.
11 Diskalkar, op. cit., p. 55.
R. C. Agrawala may have this image in mind when he speaks of the object held between the hands of a Kuśāna Mahiṣāsura-
mardini as an iguana.\textsuperscript{12} I have examined the image and, while it is impossible to say with any assurance what the object is intended to be, it is, on the other hand, quite possible to say what it is not. It is definitely not a bowl or a basket or a crown of any known type since the ends (or at least the unbroken end, for the right hand is missing) are definitely seized by the goddess’s hands and, what is more, project beyond them. The volume of the portion on the outside is almost as great as that between the hands. It might be a serpent (although it appears too thick), a garland, or even an animal or a portion of one stretched out; but it is impossible to make a definite identification.

A word should be said about the position of the two rear hands raised above the head and holding an object between them. It is rare although it does occur in a number of well-known dancing Siva images, where the object held above the head is a serpent.\textsuperscript{13} To the best of my knowledge, it occurs only in images with six arms or more, with two notable exceptions. One is the unique four-armed standing lingam figure from Mathura illustrated by Coomaraswamy, who assigned it to the Kuśāna period.\textsuperscript{14} Here the object is almost certainly a garland. Instead of being stretched tight, however, it is loosely held so that the middle portion can rest on what appears to be a small flat diadem. The other is a Pallava Durgā now in the National Museum, New Delhi (fig. 3).\textsuperscript{15} Iconographically this image is quite different from the other Mahiṣāsura-mardinī considered here. The goddess has only two arms; and it is not clear whether she is simply grasping the ends of the topmost locks of her jatā in her two upraised hands or whether she is seizing the ends of a wreath or garland resting on the top of her jatā. But one senses, in the triumphant gesture, the same victorious might as in the earlier Devī figures, with their many arms and weapons.

The fine although much damaged relief of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī at the entrance to Cave 6 (Cunningham’s Cave No. 4) at Udayagiri (Vidiśa) has long been known (fig. 4). There does not seem to be, moreover, much question about its date thanks to an almost adjacent inscription dated in the last years of Candragupta II’s reign. Cunningham describes the goddess as twelve-armed, “armed with sword and shield, bow and arrows, club, discus and thunderbolt”.\textsuperscript{16} His description is noteworthy not only because it is the fullest

\textsuperscript{12} R. C. Agrawala, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 123. The reference which Agrawala gives in Diskalkar, \textit{op. cit.}, is indeed to this image, but Agrawala’s description does not appear to refer to it.

\textsuperscript{13} In the Rāmeśvara (Cave 21), Ellora; outside Cave 1, Badami; on the outer wall of the \textit{mandapa}, Mukhalingēśvara, Mukhalingam; from Ujjain, in Gwalior Museum 21/14; etc. A Pāla stele of a dancing Siva in the British Museum (1872 7–1 73) shows the god holding a pair of snakes over his head in this fashion.

\textsuperscript{14} A. K. Coomaraswamy, \textit{History of Indian and Indonesian Art}, New York, 1927 fig. 68 (formerly in possession of Mr. Leonce Rosenberg).


\textsuperscript{16} A. Cunningham, \textit{Archaeological Survey Reports}, vol. 10, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{17} Subsequent writers have unaccountably failed to note some of the goddess’s weapons,
but also because the relief may well have been in better condition when Cunningham first visited Udayagiri. Although oddly omitting the śūla, Mahiṣāsuramardini’s essential weapon, he is the only scholar to list correctly the sword and shield, the arrow (although it is a single one) and the vājra. All these may be plainly seen today. A portion of the bow may also be discerned in the upper left portion of the relief, and a small cylindrical up-cropping of rock, at the level of the goddess’s feet, may be a portion of the club where it rested on the ground. There is nothing to show which hand held the discus mentioned by Cunningham: his pairing of symbols or the order in which he lists them does not seem to indicate necessarily in which hand they were held.

Cunningham lists seven objects held in the hands of the goddess. To this must be added the śūla for a total of eight. It is almost certain that another of the goddess’s hands holds the buffalo by one of its hind legs. The three remaining hands include, of course, the two hands holding the mysterious object over the goddess’s head. That Cunningham should not have mentioned it, the largest and best preserved of all the goddess’s attributes, probably reflects the same bafflement as that experienced by weapons which were mentioned by Cunningham and are still plainly visible.

The possibility of damage or deterioration in the past hundred years must seriously be taken into account when assessing the work of older writers. The large club, for instance, held by the Narasimha in Cave 3 at Badami has disappeared since being shown in earlier photographs.

D. R. Patil, The Monuments of the Udayagiri Hill, Gwalior, 1948, p. 35, states this categorically. Due to the extensive damage, however, this cannot actually be seen.

later scholars at being confronted with an object quite outside the general run of symbols found in Indian iconography. There is another and very similar relief of Mahiṣāsuramardini on a nearby cave, but it is badly worn and the object above her head is quite unidentifiable.

The object thus held in the goddess’s hands at Udayagiri has been identified by J. N. Banerjea and, tentatively, by R. C. Agrawala as an iguana (godha). Odette Viennot has suggested that it may be “an oblong drum.” One suspects that it is by analogy with this image that R. C. Agrawala has identified the small and indistinguishable object in a Kuṣāṇa image as an iguana. There is nothing, however, to suggest a lizard in the large and apparently perfectly preserved object held above the goddess’s head although the loops (?) projecting beyond the goddess’s hands might conceivably be taken for feet. As for the drum suggested by Mme. Viennot, it would have to be an exceptionally long and narrow one. An even more serious objection to this theory is that it is grasped, perhaps even encircled, not at the ends, but before the ends, by the goddess’s hands. There would thus not be room at either end for anything but the most minute diaphragm, something the size of a coin. What then is the mysterious object?

The Devīmāhātmya of the Mārkandeyapurāṇa, in which is found the earliest detailed account of the Devī as Mahiṣāsuramardini, suggests the answer. The gods

21 O. Viennot, op. cit., p. 372.
Fig. 1.—Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. From Mathurā. Kusāna period. (Height: 9½ in.) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Photo, Ashmolean Museum.)

Fig. 2.—Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. From Ramghat, Mathurā. Early Medieval period(?). (Height: 2 ft. 9 in.) Mathurā Museum. (Photo, Harle.)

Fig. 3.—Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. From Kanci. Pallava period. National Museum, New Delhi. (Photo, National Museum.)

Fig. 4.—Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini. Cave 6, Udayagiri (Vidiśā). Ca. A.D. 400. (Photo, Archaeological Survey of India.)
Fig. 5.—A worshipper. From Sarai Azampur. Kuśāṇa period.
(Height: about 3 ft. 2 in.)
Mathurā Museum. (Photo, Harle.)

Fig. 6.—Durgā Mahiṣaśuramardini.
From Mathurā. Kuśāṇa period.
(Height: 7½ in.)
Author’s collection. (Photo, Harle.)

Fig. 7.—Detail of figure 6. View from above.
each bestow a weapon, a symbol or an attribute upon the goddess who is to do battle with the demon buffalo. Śiva invests her with the trident, Viṣṇu with the cakra, Agni with the śakti, Vāyu with the bow and arrows and so on. Then it is the turn of Ocean (jaladhi):

AMLANAPANKAJAM MALAM SRASYURASI CAPPARM
ADAADAJALADHISTAYAI PANHKAJAM CATISOBHANAM

The Ocean gave her a garland of unadorned lotuses for her head, another for her breast as well as a beautiful lotus for her hand.3

Now there are several things to be borne in mind concerning this passage. One is that all the emblems here bestowed on the goddess, not counting attributes like lustre, actually occur in figures of Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini, with the possible exception of the kumandala and the paraśū given by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Nor are any of the emblems to be seen in the image at Udayagiri, or indeed commonly associated with Durgā Mahiśāsuramardini, omitted. Another is that the mention of Ocean and his apparently inappropriate gift of garlands of lotuses is quite to be expected in the context of the Gupta period.4 Finally, it should be re-emphasised that it is garlands (māla) of lotuses which are offered to the deity and iconographical terminology makes a clear distinction between them and single lotuses, as indeed does the śloka quoted above.

If, indeed, it is this “lotus garland on the head” (pankajam malaṁ śirasi) which is depicted in the relief at Udayagiri, two questions arise. If the garland was meant to be on the head, or at the head, why is it held above it? The answer may be that a tradition existed for thus holding a garland by the two hands above the head, as seen in the Kuṣāṇa lingam incorporating a figure of Śiva mentioned above. The other question is whether or not the object actually looks like a lotus garland. Since the resemblance is patently not of the most obvious kind, this means, in effect, whether or not it resembles lotus garlands depicted in other Indian sculptures.

The answer is not an unqualified affirmative although, in the absence of any comprehensive study of flower garlands in Indian art, it is possible that important evidence has been ignored. Flower garlands are depicted in Indian sculpture either as wreaths, sometimes of considerable length, forming a closed circle or else as segments with a large flower at one or both ends. In each case, they appear to be generally round in cross section and of approximately uniform thickness throughout their length. The object above the god-


4 Ocean, as well as being the abode of nāgas, harbors lotuses. Further on in the Devī-māhātmyam (5–49), Ocean makes another gift of a lotus garland. The great Varāha relief at Udayagiri included a figure amidst the waters which may represent Ocean. On the two side panels, the waters of Gauḍa and Yamunā merge into the waters of the ocean where a similar figure is standing. There are numerous references to Ocean in the Rāghuvamśa, particularly in Book 15.
dess’s head at Udayagiri does not conform to either of these prescriptions; most noticeably, it is thickest in the middle, tapering to less than half the maximum diameter at either end. Many flower garlands worn by figures in Indian sculpture, the long *vanamāla* frequently worn by Viṣṇu, for example, are unmistakably floral, their entire surface consisting of floral motifs. No such motifs can be seen at Udayagiri, with one possible exception which will be mentioned later.

The texture of garlands, however, if the whole of Indian sculpture is considered, is more frequently depicted by means of dots, cross hatchings and other simple geometric patterns, as in the “garland” held above the head of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī at Udayagiri. In fact, doubt arises, in many cases, whether they represent flower garlands at all. Could they be made of fabric, patterned or embroidered or studded with pearls, beads or other ornaments? Examples of garlands with their surface indicated in this way do, however, exist and are unquestionably flower garlands, and lotus garlands at that. They are very commonly seen in the hands of worshippers in Kuśāṇa sculpture from Mathurā. *Figure 5* shows such a garland, consisting of a lotus flower and what looks like a long tail. While it is not possible to say what this tail, with its dots and lines and cross hatchings, consisted of in real life (flowers, leaves, plaited stems or an attempt to portray a fabric covering), it can unquestionably be called a lotus garland (*pankajā mālā*). Nor is this type of garland limited to Kuśāṇa period sculpture at Mathurā. Although I have not yet found a Gupta or post-Gupta example, a stela of the Yaksī Sulocana now in the British Museum (1872 7-1 65) and assigned to the 9th–10th centuries has attendant figures holding garlands of the same type except that there is a lotus at each end and a lotiform medallion in the middle. These garlands, which are held up more or less horizontally, are considerably thicker in the middle.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that there are no lotuses at either end of the object held above the Udayagiri goddess’s head (the three flowers or rosettes, with pearl festoons issuing from their centers, are almost certainly part of the goddess’s diadem; at any rate, they are not lotuses). We are left with the possible indication of a lotus in rosette form on top of the mysterious object and the loops at either end. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that this is indeed a lotus garland of the Mathurā Kuśāṇa type, with the “tail” folded into a collapsed Z-form, the loops being the exposed central cord of the garland. An alternative explanation is that what is seen is in effect a kind of soft basket or a piece of matting used to carry the garland. The texture shown on the relief could indeed indicate basketwork or woven matting and the loops could be part of such a carrier. Even if such an explanation were correct, however, a hitherto unknown image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī proves beyond doubt that such a basket or carrier could not be the primary iconographic object, i.e. that

---


26 It will be remembered that the basket was suggested by one authority in regard to one of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī images considered earliest.
it could only serve to hold another object, most probably a lotus garland.

A small hitherto unpublished Mahisa-suramardini, of the six-armed Mathura Kuśāṇa type (fig. 6)\(^\text{27}\) permits one to reject out of hand nearly all the previous identifications, including the basket, of the mysterious object above the goddesses' head at Udayagiri. The Kuśāṇa image measures \(1\frac{1}{2}\) inches and is carved in the characteristic spotted red sandstone of Mathura sculpture, badly water-worn as so often occurs. The lower right arm, as usual in images of this type, is pressing stiffly down on the buffalo's back; the middle right hand holds a missing object, probably the same as in the Ashmolean image; the lower left clasps the buffalo around the throat; and the middle left holds an unidentifiable object. The one variation, and a most significant one, is that her two rear or topmost hands, instead of being raised in order to hold an object above her head, are actually placed on the top of her head, the left hand forward of the right (fig. 7). The figure may be slightly later in date than the Kuśāṇa pieces previously noted: the face does not appear to be quite as broad, nor the anklets as large; and the pose seems a trifle more graceful. However, the latest date to which it can belong is the transitional phase at Mathura between the Kuśāṇa period and the Gupta, for its iconography and general type are of an unquestionable Kuśāṇa type.

There is no question of the goddess, in this image, holding a sword, a bowl or a drum above her head. Either she is simply placing her hands on the top of her head, possibly arranging the dressing of her hair, or she is holding something on or pressing it to the top of her head. Neither gesture is a common one in Indian iconography. If indeed she is pressing something to her head, it must be soft and malleable to be so little apparent and yet fairly large to require the application of both hands. The only thing that can be seen is a large oval protuberance over and above the centre of the goddesses' forehead. It would appear to be too large and too prominent to represent simply the pom-pom of hair almost universally worn by female figures in the Kuśāṇa period. It could quite possibly be the front portion of a garland which the goddess is holding on top of her head. Considering its undistinguishable shape it could conceivably be a portion of a snake or a lizard or a soft portion of any animal. Apart from their outlandishness, none of these are mentioned in the Devimahātmyam, and since there is, moreover, no instance of these being pressed on the top of the head, the protuberance is far more likely to be the lotus garland referred to in the Devimahātmyam.

\(^{27}\) Author's collection.
CHRONOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHÂLUKYA CAVE TEMPLES

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the Early Western Châluksya rock-cut temples can hardly be overestimated. Not only are they among the best known and most often cited examples of Indian art, but they are among the key surviving examples of the Hindu Temple from the period in which that form was evolving out of dependence on Gupta Buddhist forms. Understood in their correct chronological sequence, the Châluksya temples are valuable examples of Indian architectural and sculptural form in development. Seen from a broader perspective, however, as a coherent unit in the architectural development of the Northern Deccan, these works are a useful guide to the understanding of related works in Mahârâshtra and the Konkan. Basic similarities exist between the forms of the Châluksya monuments and those of the Kalachuris at Ellora. When these are taken with the similar relationship that both sets of monuments bear to the earlier Buddhist rock-cut shrines at Ajanṭâ, there is a strong argument in support of the shortened chronology recently advanced for the Ajanṭâ temples and also for the early dates attached to the subsequent Hindu temples at Elephanta and Jogeśwari.²

Nine Châluksya rock-cut temples exist at two sites, Badāmi and Aihole. At Aihole the caves are in two locations. To the north of the site, outside of the village walls, is the well-known Râvana Phadi and another small Śiva Cave. Around the Meguti Hill in the center of the site are spaced three Jaina monuments: a fully developed temple comparable to the Râvana Phadi in both scope and decoration, a two-storied cave with a structural façade and a small shrine that consists of a single, hollowed-out boulder. At Badāmi there are three Hindu caves and one Jaina cave, all in the wall of the south fort.

The rock-cut shrines of the Châluksyas form a distinct stylistic unit. This is not to deny their significant place within the more elaborate and extensive development of the Châluksya temple as a whole, since they are also an important and integral part of that development. Still, they do represent a subset within the larger set and are distinguished both by their unique mode of creation and by stylistic details and organizations from their structural counterparts. Within the development of Indian architecture they fall without question into the development of Châluksyan architecture, bearing equally intimate ties with no other monuments. Within the Châluksya devel-

* Assistant Professor of Art History, University of Massachusetts.

¹ My work on this problem began with a visit to the sites and subsequent seminars under J. LeRoy Davidson, at the University of California at Los Angeles, in 1963 and 1964. This article is in part adapted from my doctoral dissertation, Architecture of the Early Western Chalukyas, U.C.L.A., 1969.

² See Walter Spink, Ajanta to Ellora, Bombay, 1967.
opment, however, they form a related and coherent unit of their own. Because of this unity of conception that is shared among the caves, it is convenient to treat them separately.

In discussing the caves it must be remembered that they are excavations, cut out of the living rock of the sites they occupy. They are not built as their structural counterparts but are created by a technique of subtraction; that is, for all their use of an architectural grammar of forms and their semi-architectural function, they are basically sculptural. If one looks for any extended length of time at both structural and excavated temples, it becomes apparent that, although the excavations mimic the forms of their structural counterparts and were certainly developed as more permanent versions of them, they are different in more than technique alone. Many aspects of the Hindu cave-temple, and this is particularly clear among the Chalukya examples, have no equivalent among the structural temples otherwise closely related to them. The layouts of the caves under consideration have only general resemblances to those of the structural temples of the same period, while several similar pillar types are found in both. In any case, since the caves are excavated on architectural models and serve architectural functions, they are best discussed in those terms.

Though the cave-temples at Badami and Aihole have been known to Western scholarship for nearly a century, there has been no critical discussion of their historical significance since James Burgess’s pioneering works of the 1870’s and 80’s. In his original Report, after visiting the site, Burgess found the caves relatively similar in style and dated them all to the sixth century. In his section on the Hindu caves in The Cave Temples of India, six years later, Burgess found the relative development of Badami to run in the order that the temples rise along the path leading from the village below: I, II, and then III, Cave IV following within a century. He then placed the Aihole Siva cave in the half-century just before all of these: about A.D. 500-550. As time went on however, he changed his mind and after 30 years, in his edition of Fergusson’s History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Burgess reversed himself, placing the dated Cave III (A.D. 578) first and the smaller caves later. He still feels Cave IV to be the latest, and he places it within twenty years of A.D. 650. It is this last view that has predominated in the literature since that time. One exception to this has been the study of Badami by R.D. Banerji, the second major scholar to have studied this site. In his monumental survey of the iconography of the caves, he places Cave III later than Caves I and II. This same view has been

5 James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Revised Edition (Edited by James Burgess), London, 1910, vol. 1, p. 121. There is some confusion about the Jaina cave, which is dated ca. A.D. 600 (vol. 2, p. 73) and within 20 years of A.D. 650 (vol. 2, p. 18).
7 R.D. Banerji, “Basreliefs of Badami,” Ar-
CHRONOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHÂLUKYA CAVE TEMPLES

proposed by Walter Spink in his work on the monuments of Maharāṣṭra and the Konkan. However, neither of these scholars has elaborated on the issue.

After extended and intimate study of these cave-temples in the context of the Châlukya temple tradition, and also in the context of cave-temples in the Deccan and beyond, I have found Burgess's original hypothesis most reasonable. It is clear from a detailed study of the relative chronological development of the Châlukya cave-temples that the style begins with the excavations at Aiho, in the middle of the sixth century, and that it develops to its culmination in Cave III at Bädâmi, which is finished in A.D. 578. Taking the four Bädâmi caves together, there is both a basic homogeneity and a distinct division into two pairs. Caves I and II stand together exhibiting features and stylistic preferences that separate them from the equally close relationships shared by Caves III and IV. The Aiho caves begin earlier and then continue on into the period of work at Bädâmi. In formulating this position today, we have the advantage of a great body of historical and art historical material that was unavailable to Burgess, and therefore we can be more definite about our conclusions.

BÄDÄMI

The four caves at Bädâmi are ranged along a path that climbs from the level of the village slowly higher along the face of the boulders that compose the "fort" south of the village. They are numbered from I, the lowest and closest to the village, to IV. There is a natural grotto between Caves II and III which contains a defaced Buddhist sculpture and a small Gaṇapatī. Both of these sculptures are cut into the grotto with no consideration of architectural embellishment. Calling this the third cave, R. D. Banerji has called the larger Vaishnava cave number IV, but he was inconsistent in this and all others have counted the Vaishnava cave as III and the last cave, the Jaina Cave, as IV. Each of the caves is sunk into a discrete outcropping of stone, just as each of the structural temples of the site's north fort stands on a separate boulder.

In its formal arrangements, the Bädâmi cave-temple stands between the Buddhist vihāra of Ajanta and the Brahmanical temples of Ellora. All four of the Bädâmi caves are similar in having some sort of courtyard before them, on the side of the cliff. And in each, the temple proper is divided into veranda (mukhā mandapa), pillared hall (mahā mandapa) and sanctuary (garbha-gṛhā)—the last, sunk into the back wall, without an ambulatory (figs. 3–6). Reminiscent of the Buddhist tradition, as opposed to the Brahmanical tradition of Ellora, is the stressed division between the veranda and the hall proper. This is effected by retaining a blind bay of stone between the pillars closest to the wall, in the second rank of columns, and the wall itself. This not only sets off the veranda area from the hall proper but has the same effect, on a lesser scale, as closing off the whole front of a vihāra by a wall; it limits the amount of the light that is allowed to penetrate to the shrine of the

9 Banerji, op. cit., pp. 29 ff.
temple. Another feature common to all four caves is the slightly wider displacement of the central pair of columns in each rank: a feature common to Hindu temples since the period of the Guptas,\(^\text{10}\) which introduces a longitudinal orientation into the temple's interior.

Caves III and IV, the great Vaishnava cave and the Jaina cave, carry this conscious deviation from simple regularity of spacing a step further than Caves I and II. In III and IV the transverse aisle of the veranda is larger than the succeeding ones and exactly the width of the central longitudinal aisle. As the wider central axis emphasizes the location of the garbhagriha to which it leads, so the equally wide veranda indicates the location of the major sculptural panels that occupy its walls at either end.\(^\text{11}\)

Cave II, the small Vaishnava cave (fig. 4), can be taken as the purest statement of the Bâdâmi layout, as it displays the basic form from which the others seem to deviate. Like Cave I, it has a façade of five bays opening into the veranda. The veranda, through the device of the blind bays at either end of the second rank, reduces to three the number of bays opening into the mandapa. The mandapa is filled with pillars in two ranks of four each that echo the façade. The garbhagriha is raised above the level of the mandapa by stairs and sunk in a wall which is decor-

\(^{10}\) The Temples of Udayagiri (Vidiśā), Eran, etc.

\(^{11}\) A similar distinctively marked arrangement of pillars can be seen in the Das Avatâr Temple at Ellora. And this is one of the devices that marks the plan of the Dhumar Leṇâ at Ellora as more consistently worked out and established than the Elephanta Cave, the plan of which it was adapting.

In Cave I, the Śiva cave (fig. 3), the overall symmetry of the façade is broken by the addition of a large shrine niche and a sculptural panel outside the cave on the west, at a right angle to the façade. There is no major deviation from symmetry in the façade of II except for a single gana (dwarf), the only four-armed one of the series, who is turned out at a right angle on the west in sympathy, however mild, with Cave I (figs. 8 and 34).

Cave III is certainly the most significant monument of the group. Burgess called it “by far the finest of the series, and one of the most interesting Brahmanical temples in India.”\(^\text{12}\) It not only is the largest and the most ornate of the set but contains the one dated inscription that helps us place the entire series chronologically. This inscription, marking the completion of Cave III in the five hundredth year following the coronation of the Śaka king (A.D. 578),\(^\text{13}\) acts as an anchor that firmly holds in place the otherwise relative chronology of the caves. That only other secure date that we have is the terminus post-quem of A.D. 543 for the initial Châlukya occupation of the site.\(^\text{14}\)

Cave III is not only greater in size but in the number of its parts. Its veranda (fig. 5) spans 70 feet compared to 36 feet for Cave I and only 28 feet for Cave II. Its

\(^{12}\) Fergusson and Burgess, Cave Temples, p. 406.

\(^{13}\) James F. Fleet (translator and editor), Indian Antiquary, vol. 6 (1877), p. 364.

front consists of six pillars and two pilasters, which means that its veranda is open to the outside through seven bays. The opening of the manḍapa is reduced to five bays by the blind bays at the back of the veranda. Proportionately, Cave III is shallower in depth than either I or II.

As in Cave I, there is a slight L-shape to the porch of Cave III outside the façade pillars. In this case, however, the unbalancing feature is not a separate shrine but an extended sculpture panel on the porch’s west (fig. 26) much greater in size than the one facing it (fig. 28). It would have to be agreed that the overall unity of the façade was in this case preserved, as it was not in Cave I, by the manner in which the cave has been set back from the overhang so as to allow the horizontality of the façade to dominate the irregularity of the porch panels. This subordination of its parts to the overall design of the façade can be best seen from outside the temples (figs. 7 and 9).

Though the wall of the rock cliff actually curves outward above the panel, the artists have still found it necessary to angle the façade deeper into the cliff in order to create the space necessary for this panel (figs. 5 and 9). If they had wanted to keep the façade more regular, the architects could have done so by cutting it 10 feet to the east and by keeping it parallel to the face of the cliff, as they did in Caves I, II and IV. Here, as in the other two Hindu caves, there has been the conscious will to keep the façade alive by avoiding too precise a symmetry.

The other major difference between Cave III and the other two Brahmanical caves, aside from the shallowness of depth, is the unique organization of pillars, within the maha manḍapa, into a double colonnade. Percy Brown suggests that this is an adaptation from the system of pillars found in the Lad Khan, which he believed to be one of the earliest types of structural temple at Aihole. The Lad Khan’s ground plan indicates an interior supported by sixteen pillars, set in two concentric squares—four pillars on the inner and twelve pillars on the outer square. But this will hardly explain the differences between Cave III and the other two caves as, in fact, they approach the displacement within the Lad Khan even closer than does Cave III. It must be realized that the lines indicated on the floor plan of the Lad Khan represent no more than ridges, raised a few inches from the floor as a running base for the pillars. These ridges orient the person who enters the manḍapa, by acting as thresholds; and furthermore they give, to a slight degree, an indication of the transverse nature of one situation as opposed to the longitudinal nature of another. But they do not alter the equidistant spacing of the interior pillars with the slightly wider central aisle that can be found in nearly all temples. Caves I and II are then the same square hall—of equally spaced pillars with a slightly wider axis down the central aisle—as the Lad Khan, with the additional complexity of the blind bays that divide the manḍapa into mukha and maha manḍapa. The differing organizations of the ridges connecting the pillars at floor level here are of little consequence.

Cave III is unique in having a large open space before the entrance to its garbhagṛha. This has been compared to the open area within a vihāra. In reference to

15 Brown, op. cit., p. 52.
16 Ibid., pl. XLIV.
Ellora, it can be seen that a less pronounced variation on this *vahāra* plan is carried out in the Rāvaṇa Ka Khai, Cave 14. The Rāvaṇa Ka Khai differs from its neighbors, precisely as does Bādāmi's Cave III from I and II, in having before its sanctum not a forest of more or less equally spaced pillars but rather a large open space enclosed by systems of pillars. Unlike the arrangement in Cave III, however, the open space in the Rāvaṇa Ka Khai is separated from the *garbhagṛha* by the last rank of pillars before the chamber. This isolates the open space as that in the *vihāra* and makes it distinct from the chamber. In Cave III the open area is before the entrance to the *garbhagṛha* and so works to unify the space and stress the central focus on the *garbhagṛha*.

It is from the *garbhagṛha*, looking out, that this arrangement makes its most dramatic sense. From the half-light of the interior the view across the open area defines and organizes the ranks of the colonnades distinctly so that their spatial interrelationships are clearly understood. The outer rows of pillars paralleling the sides within the *mabā maṇḍapa* amplify this rich effect of being surrounded by colonnades. It is by this placing of the sanctum at the center of radiating systems of pillars that an exceptional visual and spatial clarity is achieved and that the great Vaishnava cave at Bādāmi reaches a distinction nowhere else approached. Standing at the sanctum in the great cave at Elephanta, or in the multipillared halls of Ellora, or more aptly in Caves I and II at Bādāmi, one is surrounded by a forest of pillars that grow in generally equidistant spacing right up to the entrance to the *garbhagṛha*. These then lack the visual ceasa provided at Bādāmi III by the absence of the four pillars that permits the individual to comprehend the organization of the space which he occupies. They lack Bādāmi III’s comprehensible interior clarity of organization and, for the most part, they are comprehended in the far less sophisticated terms of equal but undifferentiated massing in ranks and files.

The Jaina cave has a plan directly based on those of the three Brahmanical caves, with one significant difference (fig. 6). The Jaina cave has no *mabā maṇḍapa* at all but rather a pair of *mukha maṇḍapas* one behind the other, the second opening directly into the sanctum. In the manner of Caves I and II, the Jaina cave has a façade of four free-standing pillars and two pilasters, and, like the others, it has the outside pillars of the second rank attached to the side wall by blind bays.

Compared to the three Brahmanical caves, the Jaina cave most resembles Cave III in its relative shallowness, the greatest of the site, and in the spacing of its pillars. As in Cave III, but unlike Caves I and II, the width of the aisle on the central axis of the cave is not only larger than the flanking aisles but exactly equal to the width of the transverse aisle of the veranda.

If we look at the façades of the caves (figs. 7–10) the same (kinds of) relations are apparent. Each of the façades is divided into three parts: basement, colonnade and entablature.

In Caves I and II the basements feature unbroken panels of *ganas* running their full width, framed by simple moldings and capped by a simple quarter-round cornice (*kapota*). The dado panels of gamboling dwarfs, that represent the unseen cate-
CHRONOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHALUKYA CAVE TEMPLES

Categories of existence that underlie and support the temple, are a major hallmark of the earliest style. In both caves the motif is used not only as a base for the temple as a whole but as a dado for each of the major sculptural panels as well (figs. 11, 21 and 25). In Cave I this conceptualization reaches its peak in the attached shrine niche of the façade. Here, above the gana dado panel that supports the temple, a second panel is used as a dado for the shrine, and a third panel is used as a base for the sculptures of the interior (fig. 22).

In Cave III the gana dado motif is subordinated to the architecture of the façade and to some extent superseded and discarded; in Cave IV it is discarded altogether. In Cave III the ganas are placed within an architectural framework of pilasters that break up and subordinate the ganas to the façade design (fig. 9). Now there are pairs of dwarfs occupying niches in a basement tied coherently together by pilasters that are coordinated with kūdus (miniature, round window ornaments) in the basement kapota. In this way the basement as a whole is shown as a fully elaborated microcosm, i.e., it has its own basement, colonnade (created in the pilasters and inhabited by ganas) and entablature (in the kūdus-kapota) which is now pseudo-structurally linked to the basement below by the pilasters. The kūdus-kapota is further decorated by geese (hamsa) that alternate with the kūdus along its full extent. This animal-kūdus-kapota is the basic form found in most of the developed Chalukya temples from this time on. A version of it can be seen in the narrative friezes around the attic of Cave I's veranda (fig. 3). Otherwise, in Caves I and II kapotas without kūdus or animals are the usual rule (figs. 7, 11 and 25), these devices being treated as a special decoration rather than taken for granted as an integral part of the kapota. Inside Cave III only two of the six major sculptural panels make use of gana dados for sculpture basements (the Śeṣāsana Vishṇu and the Varāha in the veranda's east end), and one of these, the Śeṣāsana (fig. 29), reduces the otherwise standard proportion by half. The remainder of Cave III's sculptures stand flush or nearly flush with the floor of the temple (fig. 27). In Cave IV the unfinished nature of the façade makes its intended state unknowable, but within the cave there is again consonance with the direction seen in III. The major sculptures of the cave all stand flush or nearly flush with the temple's floor (fig. 31). There is no hint of the Cave I/II style dado panel.

In the Cave I/II style, the entablature is a broad lintel overhanging the colonnade. In Cave III this lintel was never finished, but it is clear, from the preliminary blocking out which was begun in the east, that it was going to be an architecturally conceived, fully articulated entablature of three levels to reiterate its basement. A more fully worked-out version can be seen

18 It cannot be doubted that their function here reflects the function of Yaksas in similar locations on earlier Buddhist temples.

19 This basement is structural and added to the façade of the cave. It could be argued that it was added after the original conception of the temple, but it is most likely that it was not. Its presence is required by the design.

20 Over the kapotas of all of these three façades there were inscriptions done more or less on the raw rock. Only fragments of these remain, and these have not been published or noticed to my knowledge.
in the façade of the Rameśvara at Ellora which is contemporary. Cave IV is unfinished in its façade, as shown by the large ridges of stone still adhering to its basement.

The simplest, and standard, pillar to be seen among the caves is a square shafted, bracket capitaled pillar of the Cave I façade (figs. 7 and 13). This pillar is used throughout the mandapas of all three Hindu caves and, with the addition of a simple and relatively slight Vyāla bracket, serves as the façade pillar of Cave II (fig. 14). The decoration of the pillar's shaft is an early form of a motif that continues throughout the Chalukya style. Eventually the roundel in the cube above the necking is reduced to a half round, and the necking itself is reduced to a more subtly integrated octagon. The box below, with its horizontal band and pendant droops of pearl swags coming from the mouths of kārtimukhas, remains constant (fig. 26).

A second type of pillar found in all three Hindu caves carries a "cushion" capital between its shaft and its roll bracket. In Cave I this form occurs in the rank of two pillars and two pilasters that separate the veranda from the hall (fig. 11). These are round cushion capitals in some ways analogous to those found among the Kallachuri monuments around Bombay, and in several of the temples at Ellora of the mid-to-later sixth century. The division between the veranda and the hall of Cave II also is marked by pillars with cushion capitals (fig. 15); in this case they are square. Square cushion capitals are also used in the attached shrine niche of Cave I. Cave III uses very elaborate versions of these cushion capitaled pillars, both the round and the square version, to separate its veranda and hall (fig. 12). In this case the cushion is multiplied into a more complex cushion and a half. This complex and more elaborate version was known to the builders of the Cave I/II style but used only in minor decorative details and less distinctively. The façade of III features the most unusual capital of the Chalukya builder and one of the most admired creations of the Chalukya artist, the well-known figure-bracket capital (fig. 35). These figure-brackets again relate to the creations of the Ellora sculptors responsible for the Rameśvara. In Cave III they are attached to cushion capitals of the complex cushioned variety. In Cave IV, as in III, both the inner and outer pillars of the veranda are of the cushion-capitaled variety (figs. 10 and 33). In this aspect, as in others, IV forms a bridge between the I/II style and III: the cushion capitals are of the simple type.

In the organization of its garbhagṛha door frame, Cave I is the simplest of the series (fig. 17). As in the other three caves the door, reached by a simple stairway, is raised a few feet above the level of the mandapa and surrounded by moldings in a pseudo-architectural framework of pilasters and engaged lintels. It has a plain entablature. The only iconic sculptures related to the composition are the images of Padma and Śaṅkha Nidhi that occupy the bracket squares of the mandapa pilasters flanking the doorway.

22 Spink, op. cit., figs. 14–17.  
23 Ibid., figs. 3, 18, 19, 24.  
25 The Nidhi pair occurs on the moldings of the mandapa entrance as well.
The door to Cave II is basically the same and is flanked by an equivalent pair of Nidhis. The moldings of Cave II's doorway have small male and female figures inset at their bases. Significantly, II also adds an elaborate entablature (prastara) composed of three equal miniature shrines separated by single kūdus (fig. 18). The importance of this addition should not be overlooked, as this entablature of linked pavilions is the standard overdoor decoration in the succeeding development of the Chālukya temple. That the three miniature shrines (kūta) of the prastara are more or less equal is important for establishing this as an early attempt at the motif. Later versions are usually hierarchical and complex. They take several differing types of kūta in their organization. This is true of the miniature shrines that decorate the lintels of Caves III and IV.

In III, there is a tentative step toward what is eventually the standard overdoor type found among the structural temples (fig. 19): five kūtas are arranged symmetrically. The central one is a barrel vaulted structure seen from the side (śālā-kūta), and the flanking pairs are square pavilions with domed towers analogous to the Draupadi Ratha at Mahabalipuram (kārṇa-kūtas). The outermost of these pairs is further distinguished from the inner pair by a second elaboration of its outer profile indicating that the full prastara represents a series of linked pavilions. These miniature shrines are inhabited by Viṣṇu on Garuḍa in the central śālā-kūta, female figures in the flanking kārṇa-kūtas, and auspicious couples (maithunas) in the outer kārṇa-kūtas. This doorway further continues the elaboration or Cave II by adding figures of door guardians (dvārapālas) flanking the stairs and maithunas in boxes flanking the door base. The Nidhis here are placed as those in the other caves, and each is shown with a consort. Cave IV has an overdoor of three pavilions separated by indistinct figures, probably Nidhis (fig. 20). The outer pair carry seated Jinas; the central one is filled by a large empty kūdu. Small dvārapālas, similar to those found in III but in much lower relief, flank the door's base. Rather significantly, none of these decorations carries the Garuḍa and Nāgarāja motif so common in later temples.

The major sculptures of Caves I and II occur in contained panels at either end of their porches and at either end of their verandas. In Cave I there is a large dvārapāla on the east and the sculpture niche with its dancing Śiva on the south. Within the temple are complex iconic representations of Harihara and Śiva Ardhanārī (figs. 11 and 21). Each of these sculptures is placed securely within a frame over a dado panel. In every panel except the dvārapāla the dado panels contain frolicking ganas. The dvārapāla stands over a dado containing a buffalo and an elephant sharing a single head, a vrṣabha-kuṇḍara. In Cave II the format is the same but, as we would

26 This combination of kūtas is the form that occurs in the later, structural temples in association with the temples having Southern-styled śikhara. The prastara kūtas of Cave II (though they lack the usual āmalaka finials) are of a kind found in association with Temple towers of the Northern Style (composed of kūdus), which may indicate that at this date the difference was already recognized, and that both temple styles were being used by the Chālukyas.

27 See Banerji, op. cit., pl. II, fig. c.
expect in accordance with its overall more regular form, the dvarapālas at either end of the porch are a matched pair. In the veranda are two major icons of Vishṇu facing each other, Varāha (fig. 44) on the east and Trivikrama (fig. 25) on the west. Again the figures stand within definite architectural frames and over dado panels. In this case all of the dados contain lively ganas.

In Cave III the number and scope of the large icons were expanded. Icons in III stand not only at either end of the porch and of the veranda but also in the blind bays that are left blank in the I/II style. Only two of these icons are placed over dado panels of ganas (figs. 29 and 45); the others all stand flush or nearly flush with the floor of the cave and with the worshipper himself (figs. 26–28). Distinct frames have disappeared, and the icons stand within the architecture of the temple.

In IV it is difficult to discern the original intention, but what remains is clearly closer to III than to the other two caves. The original work of the sixth century was abandoned before the façade was finished, though not before the inner architecture was finished. The image of Mahāvīra in the shrine and those of Gomaṭeśvara and Suparśvānatha (fig. 31) on the outer veranda ends are all of the sixth century. On the other hand the large Jina panels at either end of the inner veranda and on the blind bays of the veranda appear to be additions of several centuries later. The porch is blank on the east and contains only insignificant and unintegrated sculpture that cannot be compared to the panels of the other caves on the west.

There is one more important difference between the Cave III/IV style and the I/II style. In the III/IV style figures transcend their architectural frames in several cases and by a variety of means. As I have already mentioned, most of these icons are not situated over decorative dado panels but stand flush with the viewer’s space. The clearest examples of how else they transcend the enclosing frames of the surrounding architecture can be seen in the Trivikrama panel of Cave III (figs. 26 and 27), where Vishṇu’s attendants turn a curving upper edge and move onto the ceiling of the cave itself, and where the figure of Rāhu runs around the corner of the wall and faces in toward the façade at an angle of eighty degrees. Another example can be found in the two sculptures of the veranda’s east. The Śeṣāsana Vishṇu and the Varāha on the adjoining (blind) veranda bay are linked by a naginī who sits in such a way as to be in both panels at the same time (fig. 29), obliterating the distinction between the two areas. The distinction would otherwise be implicit in the architectural column that forms a frame separating each from the other and thus isolating them from the space of the viewer. In Cave IV, also, the sculptures are placed in a manner that breaks down the separation between them and the viewer; they stand on the floor of the cave and are only incompletely caught within the surrounding architecture (fig. 31).

If we compare the Trivikrama panels that occur in both Vaishṇava caves, we can see how this device of breaking down enframement in the Cave III/IV style is only part of an overall tendency to bring the icon into closer psychological contact with the worshipper. The triple stepping Vishṇu of the Vāmana Avatāra in Cave II (fig. 25) stands within a square panel framed by the pilasters of the veranda on the sides,
a dado panel of six dancing ganas below and a decorated kapota carrying a complementary image of Śiva Nataraja above. The composition of the scene emphasizes both the square limits of the panel and the flat ground from which the relief of the figures project. The major motif of the embattled yet resplendent Trivikrama rises in a cartwheel of limbs and weapons that jostle the frame but still firmly anchor him within it. The Vāmana (Dwarf) Viṣṇu beneath his parasol lines up statically with the assorted demons of the Āsura king Bali. The relief is characterized by forms that rise from the basic flatness of the wall and return to it. The flat, contained and static qualities dominate.

The Trivikrama of Cave III (figs. 26 and 27) is quite another conception. Though it is twice the height and over four times the size of the panel in Cave II, it contains fewer figures. It is neither placed above a decorative dado panel nor caught within an enclosing architectural frame. It stands on the same floor as the worshipper and reaches out from the pilaster, that marks its connection with the porch, to overlap both the overhanging lip of the cave and the ceiling above. Perhaps its most remarkable feature is that it cannot be seen easily from any convenient location, but curving across the side wall of the porch and up into the ceiling it demands that the worshipper approach it in order to fully comprehend it.

The composition in Cave II stresses half and low relief, though several of its parts are nearly three-quarters free of the wall. In Cave III it is the three-quarters relief and the deep undercut that are stressed. Where the flat ground of the panel is stressed in II, it is the curving, rather concave movement of the figures that predominate in III. The background of the panel is not stressed but rather obscured by the curving paths of the figures raised from it. It acts more like a neutral space from which the action emerges. None of the figures in the Trivikrama panel of Cave III are full front, with the single exception of Brahma who measures the height of Viṣṇu's stride as the God's foot approaches the severed head of Rahu. The effect is overwhelming. This is analogous to the change of position that takes the Buddha from his frame on the face of the stūpa in Ajanṭā’s Cave XXVI and projects him 18 feet out and onto the floor in front of the stūpa in the Viśvakarma at Ellora. From his place remotely visualized as a removed icon, the God has been brought out palpably into the actual space of the worshipper.

This comparison is an extreme yet valid one. Cave II’s sculpture is the most conservative at the site, as the Trivikrama panel of Cave III is the site’s most dramatic and advanced. The panels of Cave I (figs. 11 and 21) are deeper cut than II’s, but their basically static and removed quality is primary. Cave IV is difficult to compare in this respect; Jaina art is of its very nature static and conservative. Yet in terms of style, the work in Cave IV is close to that found in III. Study of the nāga hooded image of the Jina Suparśvānatha (fig. 31) in Cave IV makes this clear. Both in its full blown forms and in its filling of the architectural setting with a plastic continuum of form that runs from the figures back to a concave surface without a flat background panel, the Suparśvānatha approaches the style of Cave III.

Each of the caves has a rich and varied encrustation of architectural or pseudo-
architectural decorations. The Hindu caves carry narrative panels around their veran
da lintels and a full complement of pillar and lintel decorations throughout. They also carry a series of important decorations on their veranda ceilings.

All but the central ceiling of Cave I contain motifs isolated in the center of large rectangular panels. There are lotuses in the outer pair and *Gandharva-apsara* couples flanking the central bay. The central bay is fully filled by a ceiling *Nāgarāja* with five segmented hoods. The ceilings of the second cave are filled with overall patterns in most cases. There is a wheel of fishes (*matsyacakra*) in the central bay and complex *nandyāvarita* frets of swastikas in the flanking bays. The outer ceilings have raised isolated images: a *Gandharva-apsara* pair in the east and *Vishnu* on Garuḍa (fig. 23) in the west. The *Vishnu-Garuḍa* ceiling is divided up by a painted overall design consisting of a central circle with equal circles in each of the four diagonal corners. From this we might suppose that all of the ceilings once contained overall designs in which the raised central portion was surrounded by either sculptured or painted decoration.\(^{28}\)

The seven ceilings of Cave III are divided geometrically into overall patterns with raised central panels featuring gods. This is true in each case excepting that of the western-most panel, which is blank except for traces of paint in a similar design. Of the remaining ceilings, that on the east differs from the rest in containing an unidentified god in the center of a design of nine unequal rectangles formed by four inter-

tersecting tangents of the central medallion.\(^{29}\)

The five central ceilings are organized on the basis of the *Aṣṭadikpālas*, the Eight Regents. This is another example of the more sophisticated and more complex type of planning which characterizes Cave III and which stands in contrast with the planning in the two smaller Hindu caves. The difference is not one that should be traced to the necessities of greater size or to the benefit of richer patronage. It can best be understood as the result of the architect’s more elaborate and evolved conception of this temple’s organization as compared to the simpled nature of the other Hindu caves.

The five central ceilings from west to east run:

(w) *VARUṆA BRAHMA VISHṆU ŚIVA INDRA* (e)

Indra, the guardian of the east, in the east; Varuṇa, the guardian of the west, in the west; between them the major trinity centers on *Vishnu*, the god to whom the temple is primarily dedicated. The use of this system is neither accidental nor whimsical. This *dikpāla* system is also taken to organize both the Brahma and the *Vishnu* ceilings within the veranda, and to organize the nine-square *manḍala* ceiling of the *manḍapa* (before the *garbhagṛha*) on the interior.

The Brahma ceiling is composed of a central Brahma, seated on his *Haṁsa va
hana*, surrounded by eight smaller medallions containing Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and a male figure seated on a lion, respectively on the east, south, west and north. The

\(^{28}\) There are many fragments of painting left on both the sculpture and on the decorative carvings in all of the Chālukya caves.

\(^{29}\) Banerji calls the figure *Varuṇa*, *op.cit.*, p. 56 and pl. XXVI, fig. b.
intervening medallions contain *maithunas*. Only the lion accompanied figure\(^{30}\) appearing here in place of Kubera (on the north) distinguishes this from the usual Purānic set.\(^{31}\)

The Vishnu ceiling, over the square intersection of the veranda with the main axis of the temple leading to the shrine, has the only fully enumerated series at the site (*fig. 24*). In the eight medallions surrounding the central ronдель of Vishnu is a fully worked-out set of the eight celestial regents. This again is a device to elevate the primary God of the temple and distinguish the central axis of the temple by more elaborate and ornate designs than those given to subsidiary parts. Around Vishnu are placed Indra, Yama, Varuna and the figure seated with a lion in the east, south, west and north, and in between these Agni, Vayu, Isa and Brahma define the intermediate "quarters." This is the earliest known set of the *Aṣṭadikpālas* in a dated monument, and though this is not the standard *Aṣṭadikpālas* of Purānic tradition eventually codified and regularized in the North,\(^{32}\) it is quite close.

The *mandapa* itself has a ceiling organized by the quarter guardians. It centers on Brahma and is made up of Indra, Yama, Varuna and in this case Kārttikeya (the special patron of the Chālukyas).

As these designs are on the ceilings of the temples they can only be seen by looking up, and so the following diagrams are oriented on the pattern of: south west east north

---

**Vishnu panel Cave III:**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{YAMA} & \text{ĪŚĀNA} & \text{BRAHMA} \\
\text{VARUṆA} & \text{VISHNU} & \text{INDRA} \\
\text{VĀYU} & \text{AGNI} & \text{?} \\
\end{array}
\]

**The standard *Aṣṭadikpālas*:**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{YAMA} & \text{NIRRTI} & \text{AGNI} \\
\text{VARUṆA} & \text{INDRA} & \text{?} \\
\text{VĀYU} & \text{ĪŚĀNA} & \text{KUBERA} \\
\end{array}
\]

**Mahā maṇḍapa Cave III:**

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{YAMA} & \text{VARUṆA} & \text{BRAHMA} \\
\text{INDRA} & \text{?} & \text{?} \\
\end{array}
\]

**KĀRTTIKEYA**

The Jaina cave has only a single ceiling panel, a flying *Gandharva-apsara* couple in the bay before its shrine. It also contains a sculpture, on the overhanging eave above its entrance, that relates to one in Cave III, a crouching pot-bellied figure that is certainly a wealth deity (*fig. 33*). In Cave III this position (left undecorated in both Caves I and II) is occupied by a pot-bellied figure of Garuḍa accompanied by *Gandharva-apsara* couples (*fig. 32*). Elsewhere in III this cave is used: at the west for the Rāhu that is part of the Trivikrama scene; and on the east for a number of flying celestials who are apparently witnessing the expansion of Vishnu to his full cosmic form of Virāṭa-Puruṣa.

---

30 Banerji calls this figure "Budha," *ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

On the overhanging cave in Cave III there are also located figure paintings, which are the only ones to survive intact within the Chālukya region. These exist in two bay-width sections, with a few heads next to the Garuda. In the bay west of the Garuda is a scene of a rāja being entertained by dancers and musicians. In the next bay there is a rāja seated in his court. These paintings are in the same generalized, naturalistic style as seen at Ajanta and Siṭṭanavaśal. They are undoubtedly of the same period as the cave’s creation, but beyond this they cannot be said to add significantly to our understanding of it. Fragments of decorative painting are scattered throughout the caves and the structural temples of the Chālukyas as well.

A last element of the decorative schemes that might be considered is the use of narrative panels found on the inner lintels of the verandas in the Hindu caves. In Cave I, seven of the twelve surrounding lintels are decorated. The three over the entrance to the maṇḍapa have non-narrative miniature temple prastaras, which include small images of Gaṇesha on the west, Siva on the south bay, and over the central bay-leading to the garbhagriha a simple linga. The three bays facing these carry decorative combinations of gaṇas and maithunás, and the western panel adjoining these carries a narrative panel of the marriage of Siva and Pārvatī.

In Cave II, all five of the panels facing out from the veranda’s interior side carry narrative scenes of the Churning of the Great Sea of Milk, a legend that centers mainly on the role of Vishnu. The western panel of the outer lintel, facing into the veranda, carries maithuna couples; the remaining four inward facing lintels carry narrative scenes of the Kṛṣṇa Charitra.

Only Cave III makes full use of all the lintels facing into its veranda. In this case there are fourteen lintels. The inner seven are devoted to the Churning of the Sea of Milk, the outer seven to the Kṛṣṇa Charitra. The end lintels also carry Vaishnava scenes, including on the west the birth of Brahma from a lotus emerging from Vishnu’s umbilical, a scene which occurs in Cave II as well. Cave IV has no similarly located scenes.

Before moving to a discussion of the rock-cut temples at Aihole, we can conclude that within the unity of the Badami rock-cut tradition two distinct styles can be distinguished. There is the Cave I/II style that is relatively simple in its organization and tends toward decorative ornamentation, with an emphasis on gaṇa panels used as basements for major sculptural and architectural elements. Here, sculptures are static and tightly confined to their architectural niches. The Cave III/IV style tends generally to more complex organizations that emphasize the most significant functions of the temple and include more sophisticated organizational devices such as the Aṣṭādikpāla system of Cave III. Sculpture is more dynamically and dramatically conceived and often broken from the isolation and containment of wall and frame. Greater advantage is taken of the area available for decoration, and though

32 C. Sivaramamurti, discusses these paintings at length in “Western Chālukya Paintings at Badami,” Lalit Kalā, no. 5 (1959), pp. 49–58.

33 This is the earliest version of the legend in which the lotus is seen growing distinctly from Vishnu’s umbilical.
it could not be said to be more artistically successful, in general this can be seen to be a more regular, consistent and fully developed style. This is evident in the façades and the plans as well as in the sculptural organizations. Several of the typical aspects of the I/II style are lacking in the later III/IV style, such as the use of gāṇa panel basements and, to some extent, the strict enframement for major icons. The far greater sophistication of the III/IV style and the likelihood that such a style would presuppose the simpler style found in I/II and follow rather than precede it lead me to see the III/IV style as being definitely the later one.

Other, less subjective, factors also lean to the conclusion that the third, dated cave and its Jaina cousin are later in conception and execution than Caves I and II. The inscription in Cave III states that the Chālukya prince Mangaleśa “erected a temple, an abode of Viṣṇu, surpassing everything which is celestial or human.”34 This is a typical attitude of the time. When we look at the caves and see that the third cave is not only twice as large but also far more spectacularly located (higher up in the cliff) than its two Hindu brothers, we can see the concrete manifestation of Mangaleśa’s glory (which he then made over to his brother Kirtivarman I, the reigning monarch). It would seem highly unlikely that in light of such an attitude, Mangaleśa or his successors, who were each increasingly more powerful and wealthy, would support the construction of smaller and less ambitiously placed temples than those already existing at a site. In general the movement throughout the period is from more modest toward larger and more ornate temples, ending with the Viśnupākṣa Temple at Pattadakal, the largest and richest single temple in the Deccan. To go from the spectacular and very ambitious Cave III to the far more modest and more simply organized Caves I and II seems highly unlikely.

In visiting the caves, these implications of size and siting are augmented by the relation in which the caves stand to the village. The caves run as numbered along a single path, from Cave I just above the habitation level of the village, past Cave II to the base of Cave III’s platform. Caves I and II have the most convenient locations and those which required the least preparations. They lie on the path that rises from the village to the top of the South Fort. Though no inscription to date the use of the South Fort has been found, it still seems reasonable to suppose that the path’s existence, with its strategic defensive implications, would predate the construction of the temples. The path turns south and climbs the fort, just before the base of Cave III’s platform. The platform of Cave III, which was demanded by its design, is a large stone faced earthwork that required a great deal of labor to erect. To reach Cave III one must pass by the sites of the two smaller caves. Cave IV, which can now be reached from Cave III, was originally reached by a separate path that rose up from the edge of the tank below. If the excavation of Cave III had not been undertaken after the excavation of Caves I and II, it might reasonably be expected to have had a similar path, rather than the one that links it to I and II.

When we put this together with what we know historically from the grants and

34 See note 13, above.
inscriptions we can have a fairly clear idea of the chronology of the monuments. The Chālukyas are unknown before Pulakeśin I’s Vallabēśvara inscription of A.D. 543. Kirtivarman I, the successor of Pulakeśin, is called “Vatāpyah Prathama-Vidhātā”—the first maker of Vatāpi (Badami),35 which is generally interpreted to mean that he was the first to adorn the site with temples36 as it was his father who built the first fortifications. It was probably Kirtivarman who was responsible for the first caves. But even if they were not done under his direct patronage, their closeness to the second pair makes it most likely that they immediately preceded them in time and most reasonably in the preceding decade. Cave III was dedicated in A.D. 578 and could have taken much of the 70s to be accomplished. The two smaller caves were probably of the 60s, the decade preceding Cave III. Cave IV was built mainly in the style of III and still exhibits many of the characteristics of the I/II style. To think of it as being much later than the rest, as many have done in the past, is not acceptable.37 Though some of its decorations are definitely later, most of the work in Cave IV takes rather directly the standard forms of the Cave I/II style and develops them in precisely the same way seen in Cave III, though more modestly. A comparison of their sculpture is particularly relevant. Cave IV’s sculpture is very close to that in III. As Sankalia has pointed out, the Suparsvānatha in Cave IV (fig. 37) could be by the same hand as the Vishnu Śeṣasana in Cave III (fig. 29).38 Cave IV was most likely cut out of the rock during the same time as its stylistic complement III, that is during the 70s.

AIHOLE

Aihole is 15 miles east and slightly south of Bādāmi, downstream on the banks of the Malaprabha, which flows within a mile of Bādāmi. Though Aihole is often considered to be the first capital of the Chālukyas, there is no justification for this view beyond the seemingly earlier state of its architectural remains. I say seemingly earlier remains, as my research into the chronology of the Early Western Chālukya structural temples of the site has shown that the usually attributed dates of fifth and sixth century for many of the temples are unfounded.39 The most celebrated example, the Lad Khan, is attributed by Percy Brown to the fifth century,40 and has recently been redated to the late sixth century by S.R. Balasubrahmanyam.41 In both cases the criteria is the cave-like appearance of the temple and supposed similarities that it has with cave temples in gen-

36 After extended research on these temples I have been able to find only a few structural temples to go along with the Meguti (A.D. 634/5) as earlier than the eighth century. See dissertation note 1.
37 See note 6 above.
38 Brown, op.cit., p. 52.
eral. These usually accepted early datings have to be put aside since the recent investigations of the Jambunātha or Jambulinga temple at Bādāmi show that temple, which is dated A.D. 699, to make use of precisely the pillar types and other decorations that occur in the Lād Khan.\textsuperscript{42} There is in fact no hard evidence for any structural temple at Aihole earlier than the well-known and inscribed Meguti of A.D. 634. Aside from the inscription in the Meguti, there is no other in the site of Aihole that has been securely dated before the eighth century.\textsuperscript{43}

Though the usual dating of the earliest monuments at Aihole to the fifth century is not supportable, it is still likely in the case of several of the rock-cut shrines that the earliest remaining temples of the Chālukya area are located here.

There are five important rock-cut temples at the site. The best known of these is the Rāvana Phadi, the Śiva cave which is located, along with a second, smaller Śiva shrine, about 150 yards northeast of the Durgā Temple, north of the village. The other excavations are Jainī and located in the sides of Meguti Hill, to the east and overlooking the village.

The Rāvana Phadi is located in a very low boulder,\textsuperscript{44} only a few feet above the level of the surrounding fields. It is set below a natural seam in the stone that runs horizontally across the full length of the boulder (fig. 36). In these and several other ways, the excavation bears striking if superficial resemblance to the earlier Hindu excavations at Udayagirī Vidiṣā.\textsuperscript{45} In each case the excavators were careful to choose conservative sites (only a few steps above the ground) in low boulders that rise only slightly above the caves—far less impressive than the sites chosen consistently by the Buddhists. In both instances a more finely grained and harder stone than that which attracted the Buddhists was chosen. At Vidiṣā as well, boulders were chosen in which a natural seam in the stone gave either a convenient ceiling break, or at least a psychologically safer and perhaps symbolically distinguished ceiling.

The Rāvana Phadi is smaller than any of the Bādāmi Hindu caves; it is only 13 feet wide at its entrance and only 18 feet wide in its central mandapa (fig. 1). Its façade (fig. 37) is not full temple width but is covered by sculptural decoration, a feature again closer to the earlier excavations at Vidiṣā than to those in its immediate neighborhood. The façade here is not so distinctively separate from the rock as at Bādāmi. Around its entrance there is a definite basement and an irregular if distinct elevation. But on the sides and above, the temple is blended into the rock rather than clearly separated from it. It has no cornice or veranda.\textsuperscript{46}

The façade here, unlike that at Bādāmi, contains important sculptures. On either

\textsuperscript{42} Tarr, \textit{op. cit.}, Chapter 4.

\textsuperscript{43} This is a highly controversial matter and I can only refer again to the lengthy discussion in my dissertation, Chapters III–VII.

\textsuperscript{44} This temple is also called the Ravel Phadi. For a plan of the site see Henry Cousens, \textit{Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts}, Calcutta, 1926, pl. 1.

\textsuperscript{45} I am not here trying to directly link the dates of these two sites, but merely calling attention to their shared technical and possibly psychological conception. For the Udayagirī Vidiṣā material, see R.D. Banerji, \textit{The Age of the Imperial Guptas}, Calcutta, 1931, pls. XIII–XIV.

\textsuperscript{46} The possibility that there may have been a structural façade cannot be ruled out.
side are large dwarfish representations of Śaṅkha and Padma Nidhi, the two wealth figures that occur in miniature at Bādami. These are placed within relief niche enlargements, each with a paneled basement containing a single gāna and each with a domical roof. Flanking the door stand a pair of dvārapālas partially on the façade and partially in the entrance, in three-quarter relief. Surprisingly both are in Scythian dress. The entrance itself is formed by a broad horizontal opening containing a pair of supporting pillars. The pillars are severely simple with a very narrow curving bracket above and only a simplified and austere octagonal necking to distinguish its otherwise undecorated square shaft. These pillars (fig. 37) are the simplest examples of a type not seen at Bādami. It is composed of a square shaft with an octagonal necking hedged on all four sides by half and quarter rounds. It is, however, the simplest form of the pillar type that is most common among the later structural temples here and at Mahākūta. It is used here in combination with matching pilasters in a three-bay mandapa entrance. (Only the central bay, approached by the stairs, is actually broad enough for use.) This is the most basic version of the standard mandapa entrance form, which we have already seen in the Bādami caves and which continued to be used among some later structural temples as well.

In the cave’s layout, two factors are most important: first is the basic difference from the standard Bādami layout; second is the irregularity in which it is worked out. The plan of the Rāvaṇa Phadi (fig. 1) shows it to be related to a series of Hindu monuments found in Maharāṣṭra and the Konkan in the early and middle decades of the sixth century. The type seems to develop out of the interior spaces found in the Buddhist excavations of the Vākāṭakas, where enclosed spaces lead through pilared openings to shrines, niches and cells. It appears in a primitive form at Manda-peswar and is developed toward the middle of the sixth century in the east wing of Elephanta and in the Rameśvara at Ellora. Here at Aihole it takes a rather uniquely concentric aspect with a central hall opening on all four sides through horizontal frames containing a pair of columns. The same form as the entrance, repeated in the rear of the mandapa, serves as a preliminary entrance to the shrine (fig. 39), and repetitions of it to either side serve as screens for sculpture niches (fig. 38). The second factor, the cave’s basic irregularity of form in spite of this very regular conception, can be seen easily from the ground plan. Though the cave was very carefully conceived and executed, it still contains a number of features that indicate a definite lack of assurance as to exactly what its final form should be and how its parts should be laid out. There is a lack of right angles in the mandapa itself and an attempt, apparently reconsidered, to expand the “sculpture” niche on the right into something else. Just what this might have been is hard to say. There are no parallels

47 These are the latest examples that I know in the Deccan.

49 Spink, op. cit., p. 21.
50 Ibid., p. 21.
51 Ibid., p. 22.
with which to compare, and it is only very irregularly worked.\footnote{Burgess guessed this to be later than original work, \textit{Report}, p. 38.}

Within the cave, the pillars (\textit{fig. 38}) are of the type found in the entrances to the \textit{maṇḍapas} of the Bāḍāmi caves and the sculpture niche of Cave I. They are three different types of the simple cushion capitaled pillar. All have very narrow curving or stepped brackets. Those at the rear (\textit{fig. 39}), leading to the shrine, are narrow square cushion capitaled pillars. Those to either side are sixteen-sided pillars with slightly concave faces that spring from square bases and carry cubical shapes just below their neckings (\textit{fig. 38}). In several ways these are reminiscent of the forms seen at the entrance to the \textit{maṇḍapa} of Cave I at Bāḍāmi (\textit{fig. 11}). One striking similarity can be seen in the decoration of the shaft cube on the pillars fronting the niche containing the Nāṭārāja and Māṭrīkā panels (\textit{fig. 16}). Here is the simplest form of the \textit{kīrtimukhas} and swag motif that is a standard form of pillar decoration in the Bāḍāmi caves and throughout the early Western Chāḷukya period. In short, what we see in the details of the Ṛavaṇa Phadi is a collection of motifs that are to become standard in later Chāḷukya temples. They are seen here in their simplest and possibly their earliest usages.

Another significant aspect of the cave’s design, and one that has not previously been noticed, is the use within the cave of structural forms. Burgess’s plan indicates a large \textit{garbhagṛha} containing a \textit{Vedi} and \textit{Līṅga} at the back of a compartment fronted by the broad entrance just mentioned and containing two large sculptural panels. The original \textit{garbhagṛha} was not so unorthodoxly finished. Originally the sanc- tum was screened from the \textit{maṇḍapa} by a structural wall that contained only the usual, single doorway. This was preceded by an \textit{antarāla} (forechamber) containing the two icons of Varāha and Mahiśāsura that have no place in the shrine proper. The proportions of this \textit{antarāla} are marked above by three medallions in the ceiling (a lotus, Viṣṇu on Garuda, and Indra mounted on Airāvata and surrounded by his host) and a ridge for the walls’ setting. Below, in line with the short extensions on the inner sides of the icon panels (\textit{fig. 39}), is the half lotus threshold that stood before the doorway.

Though this wall is no longer standing, its richly decorated left jamb (\textit{fig. 41}) and its lintel (\textit{fig. 40}) can still be found lying in the \textit{garbhagṛha} (\textit{fig. 39}). The bases that supported the jambs are now lying in the temple’s unused south shrine. Measurements show that these bases and the jamb added to the lintel would have filled the height of the rear shrine and the space left by the short extensions at the end of the \textit{antarāla}, leaving an entrance space the width of the lotus threshold (\textit{fig. 39}). This use of structurally added parts in a rock-cut temple is another link with the tradition seen at Udayagiri, Vidiśā.\footnote{This can be seen both in Temple I and in the temple at the north of the site.}

This shrine door was simpler than any at Bāḍāmi. It was composed of simple moldings, with a small framed \textit{dvārapāla} at each base and a single vertical row of male figures joined by a row of flying garland bearers focusing on the center of the lintel, where two ascetics worship the \textit{līṅga}. 
The lack of architectural detail, not only of entablature but of supporting pilasters as well, is quite conservative. The inner decorative band of rosettes linked by ribbed bands and the forms in the other courses are all derived from forms that can be seen earlier at Ajanṭā and Ellora. This first motif, though common in Maharashtra, does not occur elsewhere among the temples of the Chālukyas.

The sculptural decorations of the temple are placed at the corners of the mandapa, in the sculpture shrine (figs. 38 and 42) and in the antarāla (fig. 46). The sculpture shrine here bears close ties with several other monuments whose form it shares. It contains images of Śiva as Naṭarāja with Parvati, Gaṇesa, Kārttikeya and Bhṛṅgī, surrounded by the Saptamatraṇas: Brāhmaṇī, Maheśvari and Kaumārī on the side wall (fig. 42), Vaiśeṣavī on the back wall to the God’s right, and Vāraṇī, Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā on the side wall to the God’s left. The style here is closest to Bādami’s Cave I/II style. The figures are isolated from the worshipper and lined up in simplified relief, silhouetted against the wall. Spatial complexities are not approached, as the artist confines himself to superb linear stylizations of the dance. In the frozen grace of their poses and in the patterned textures of their costumes these figures approach the style of the Kārttikeya (fig. 22) in the sculpture niche outside of Bādami’s Cave I.

A comparison of the Varāha panel within the Rāvaṇa Phadi to other examples in the Chālukya tradition (figs. 44–47) should make the situation of the cave’s sculpture clear. The Varāhas in Caves II and III at Bādami show the same basic differences seen in the Trivikrama panels of the two caves. The Varāha in Cave II (fig. 44) stands enframed on the verandah wall. Its controlled relief has caught, within a simplified silhouette, the two-dimensional outlines predominating over the projection of the forms. The boar, in the pratyaliḍha (archer’s) pose, faces one side with his left leg raised on to a lotus that rests on the coiling Nagaraja representing the seas below. The Earth, Prthivi, stands on another lotus held in the God’s natural left hand and leans against his snout. The God’s natural right hand rests on His hip. His second right hand holds the cakra (wheel) and his second left hand holds the śankha (conch), besides passing behind and supporting the body of Prthivi. Each element is clearly shown in profile or full front.

The Varāha in Cave III’s veranda (fig. 45), though it is the most conservative panel in the cave, makes a complex use of space. Its frame is the architecture of the cave (except for the dado panel of ganas), and it is linked to the Śeṣasana panel by a figure that leans across from one panel to the next (fig. 29). It is not so consistently a work of silhouette as the work in Cave II but is conceived in terms of a swelling mass that undulates particularly across the bottom of the panel where the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu is caught in the flowing wash of the Nāgarajas and garlands. The pose of the Varāha is close to that in Cave II, with the exception of the left arms. Here the natural arm curves visibly behind the Goddess to hold the conch shell more explicitly than in the Cave II panel. The second left arm is not shown at all, but rather it is indicated by the hand that appears out of the

---

54 In all of the temples that use this layout the predominant subject matter is the same, though the arrangement is different in each case.
neutral space of the panel to support the Goddess’s lotus pedestal. The foreshortening implied here and the plastic use of space are both typical of the great sophistication seen in the Cave III style.

In the Varāha panel of the Rāvana Phadi (fig. 46) we can see the motif in a simpler state. The image is framed within a rectangular panel set into the antarāła wall, a foot above the floor. Filling the frame and in no way relating to the architecture around it, the Aihole Varāha is closest to the version seen in Cave II. It is an essay in silhouetted forms and simplified volumes. In an unorthodox manner it stands on the floor of its frame while the Nāgarāja and his consort are pushed into the lower corner. There is also a problem here, which we have already recognized in the Bāđami panels, of how the artist is to show the left arms that must simultaneously support the Earth Goddess and the conch. Here, as in Cave II, one arm extends parallel to the panel to support the Goddess’s feet. Here, with far less satisfying effect, the natural arm is bent back at the elbow giving the Goddess a perch to sit on but leaving no support for the conch shell which floats in the panel’s upper corner. Of the three panels this is certainly the most timid and the least impressive. A look ahead in time to the Varāha on the Airi-keśvara Temple at Mahākūṭa (fig. 47) shows the problem as Chāḷukya artists of nearly two hundred years later were to solve it.55

In general, the decorations of the temple are close to the Bāđami I/II style. There are no instances of kūḍu-kapotas in the temple; all of the kapotas are left plain. There is a consistent use throughout the maṇḍapa of gaṇa dado panels. And though there is an elaborate wealth of ceiling decoration (fig. 38), Asṭādikpāla organization is lacking. Though the sculptures within the maṇḍapa lack architectural enframement, they are raised away from the viewer by means of these dado panels. There are no narrative panels. Finally, the conception of sculpture within a pillar screened niche is seen only in Cave I at Bāđami, here, and in the Aihole Jain cave. Therefore, if we are to place the Rāvana Phadi in relation to the monuments at Bāđami, we must see it as separated from the Cave III/IV style by the I/II style that it most closely approaches.

The Rāvana Phadi is probably the earliest fully developed temple of the series, and it is probably the oldest surviving major temple of both the Chāḷukya dynasty and of the Chāḷukya region. A date of the 550’s seems most suitable. Certainly with the dynasty establishing itself in about A.D. 543 it could not be much earlier than 550.56 No surviving monuments have been convincingly attributed to the Kadambas who preceded the Chāḷukyas, and no important political force is known to have occupied the Chāḷukya heartland before their time.57 The work is securely datable to the middle of the sixth century, and no power other than the Chāḷukyas could have been responsible for its creation, in this location.

The smaller Śiva shrine next to the Rāvana Phadi is the simplest rock-cut temple


56 See note 14, above.

57 For the Kāḍambas, see George Moreas, Kadamba Kula, Bombay, 1931.
in the area and one of the simplest in India (fig. 43). It is an undecorated cell, about a yard and a half square and a yard tall, cut into the same low boulder as the Ravaṇa Phadi. Its form, though simple, is pertinent. It, too, is cut into the rock near ground level, at a place where a seam in the rock forms a natural ceiling break. It has a linga and yoni that are not rock-cut but added. The linga reaches to within a few inches of the ceiling. Both the local stone it was cut from and the simplicity of its form would seem to indicate that it is original and of the Early Chālukya period. It seems reasonable, though not certain, that this was a preliminary to the larger and extremely ornate Ravaṇa Phadi.

It has been suggested, largely on the basis of the tall crowns worn by many of its figures, that the Ravaṇa Phadi was the work of the Pallavas who conquered Bādāmi in A.D. 642. This idea, however, carries with it many implicit misconceptions of the basic nature of both the monuments and the kinds of political institutions with which we are dealing. To begin with, there is the assumption of a Pallava occupation of Bādāmi; this is based on the Pallava's known conquest of the site and the subsequent lack of a certain Chālukya monarch for the following thirteen years (642–654/5 A.D.). The earliest version of this hypothesis (that the Pallava presence was more than a punitive raid) was advanced by J. F. Fleet, in 1880, to explain the existence of an early Tamil inscription at Bādāmi. At a time when only a few of the relevant records were known, Fleet proposed that Bādāmi had been originally occupied by the Pallavas who were then succeeded by the Chālukyas, when they rose to power in the early sixth century. This was accepted as late as 1926 by Henry Cousens in his Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanaraese Districts. Today, however, and since the discovery of the Vallabesvara inscription of A.D. 543 that proclaims the beginning of Chālukya history and the history of the Bādāmi area, this Pallava inscription is taken as a record of Naraśimhavarman I, who conquered Bādāmi in A.D. 642. It is a short and now much erased record on the side of a boulder at the northeast corner of the Bādāmi tank. Little more of it can be read than the phrase that refers to the "Pallavas, the foremost of kings." When this hypothesis is then updated, and the single record is considered to indicate a major and extended occupation of the entire area, after the Pallava conquest and probable pillaging of Bādāmi in 642, the basic military and economic nature of these times is misunderstood. That Naraśimhavarman's raid was a punitive one should be quite clear. He was more likely seeking to protect his own interests in Tamilnad from the Chālukyas (and to acquire a large amount of booty in the bargain) than attempting any territorial acquisition. An exchange of raids and reprisals between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas continued throughout the seventh and eighth centuries. At least one time after 642, the Pallavas claimed a victory at Bādāmi, while

58 Herman Goetz, India, Five Thousand Years of Indian Art, Baden-Baden, 1960, p. 125.


60 Cousens, op. cit., p. 53.

61 See note 14, above.

62 See note 59, above.

the Chāluṣkjya for their part claimed several conquests of the Pallava capital at Kañchi. These raids were climaxed in the reign of the Chāluṣkjya Emperor Vījaya-
ditya who claimed to have conquered Kañchi three times. Yet nowhere, in the many records of these triumphs on both sides, is there any suggestion of territorial acquisition, occupation or extended rule. These were, after all, not monarchs of modern centralized states but highly successful military leaders in a feudal world to which imperialism had quite a different meaning than it might to a 19th-century Englishman.

Other than the single opaque reference to the Pallavas in this fragmentary inscription, no definite trace of the Pallavas is to be found anywhere in Chāluṣkjya region. I see no reason, then, to suppose that the Pallavas remained in the area long enough to have created any monuments of this scope. The fact that Vīkramāditya I (who re-established the Chāluṣkjya dynasty after the defeat at Bādāmi) was never credited in the records of the dynasty with a reconquest of the dynasty’s heartland from the Pallavas must show that such a conquest was unnecessary. Furthermore, when the temple itself is studied, the only reference to the art of the Pallavas that can be found is seen in the tall peaked crowns worn by several of the figures. These crowns have only their height to relate them to the Pallava style and nothing to relate them to the Pallavas.

The cave certainly bears no relation to Pallava rock-cut architecture in either its plan, its architectural details or its sculpture. These all seem to relate easily to sixth-century works in Western India and Mahārāṣtra, specifically to the Hindu caves at Elephanta, Dhoke and Ellora. There is no Pallava tradition of rock-cut cave temples before the reign of Mahendravarman I (ca. A.D. 580–630), and the style of the works of his era in no way relates to the work found at Aihole. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose an existing Pallava style in stone that could influence or create monuments in the Deccan at this time. To suppose the temple to be later, of the middle seventh century, would thus divorce the temple from its apparent architectural context. On the contrary, so many of the Rāvaṇa Phadi’s features relate it securely to the developing tradition of Chāluṣkjya monuments that to suppose it to be a foreign work is out of the question. To say that any parts of the temples’ sculptural decoration are of a later period is to miss the thorough integration of the sculpture and its setting.

Both the Varāha (fig. 46) and the Ma-hisāsuramardini Durgā are distinctly Chāluṣkjya types. The dancing Mātrikās (fig. 42) and the Nātarāja of the sculpture niche and other figures with the tall “Pallava” crowns are not of a style that is clearly Pallava or sufficient to put aside the fact of their connection to a distinctly Western Indian Deccan temple plan. Their

64 Pillar Inscription from the Virūpākṣa Temple at Pattadakal, James F. Fleet (translator and editor), in James Burgess, Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. 3 (1878), p. 125.

65 See above in text and notes 48–51.


67 It might be added that the tall hats well-known to Pallava sculptors are not used by them before the reign of Rājasimha, which is to say not before the eighth century.

forms are cut in a strong relief that projects plastically from the wall in a way common in Chalukya art, but not seen among the temples at Mahabalipuram. The figures are all frontal, and there are none of the usual Pallava tableau devices of corner figures standing in profile or figures seen from behind. The Pallava artist’s tendency toward softly inflated forms is not present either. Rather, one is struck by the robust almost folk quality of the strongly projecting forms and their angular rhythms.

This question of Pallava alteration of Chalukya monuments has also been brought up in connection with the caves at Badami. In these discussions it has been assumed that major portions of Cave III were altered by the Pallavas in an attempt to demonstrate their triumph over the Chalukyas, in A.D. 642. This proposition, too, seems to assume an extended occupation of the area by the Pallavas. Further more it assumes that the Pallavas would have produced carved images insulting to the Chalukyas and that the Chalukyas would have allowed these images to remain in their own capital. Finally, it ignores the very opposite implication of the Chalukya sovereign Vijayaditya’s inscription in the Rājasimhesvara (now the Kailasanātha) temple in the Pallava capital of Kāñchī. There he states that the beauty of the temple was so wonderful that he had returned to it the spoils he had taken.  


The idea that the ruler of one Indian dynasty would have had the temple of another ruler re-cut in order to insult him is without precedent. The implicit correlative of this idea, that the insulted dynasty would allow the pictorial insult to stand in the center of its capital, seems on the face of it improbable.

The recutting hypothesis attempts to explain the Cave III sculpture style by attributing the figures, that stand flush with the cave’s floor, to the Pallavas. Thus the Vishnu Sesasana and the Varaha are left to the Chalukyas, while the Trivikrama, the Vīraṭa Puruṣa, the Harihara, and the Narasimha are given to the Pallavas. The full standing Narasimha (supposed in the recutting hypothesis to stand for Narasimhavarman the triumphant Pallava king) is of a type unknown to Pallava sculpture, though it is seen several times in the Chalukya area. The Trivikrama and the Vīraṭa Puruṣa are apparently the two most important forms of Vishnu to the Early Western Chalukyas and occur in specially stressed locations on the Virūpākṣa at Pattadakal, the great eighth-century monument of the dynasty. In fact, the Vīraṭa Puruṣa of Cave III (fig. 28) occurs in the most important position of any Vaishnava sculpture on the Virūpākṣa (fig. 30). To say, then, that this eight-armed Vishnu is an Aṣṭabhujaswami (Eight-Armed Lord) belonging peculiarly to the Pallavas  seems out of the question.

The other major cave at Aihole is the less well-known Jaina cave on the southeast of Meguti Hill. Though this is not so

Fig. 1.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Plan (from James Burgess, “Report on the First Season’s Operations in the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts.” *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vol. 1, pl. XLVIII).

Fig. 2.—Aihole. Jaina Cave. Plan (from Burgess, as above, pl. XLVIII).
Fig. 3.—Bâdâmi. Cave I. Plan (Burgess, pl. XVIII).

Fig. 4.—Bâdâmi. Cave II. Plan (Burgess, pl. XXII).
Fig. 5.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Plan (Burgess, pl. XXV).
Fig. 6.—Bādāmi. Cave IV. Plan (Burgess, pl. XXXVI).

Fig. 7.—Bādāmi. Cave I. Façade (photo, Tarr CS).
Fig. 8.—Bādāmī. Cave II. Façade (Tarr I 13, 18).

Fig. 9.—Bādāmī. Cave III. Façade (Tarr 186, 15).

Fig. 10.—Bādāmī. Cave IV. Façade (Tarr 101, 37).
Fig. 11.—Badami. Cave I. Veranda, interior (Tarr 39, 28).

Fig. 12.—Badami. Cave III. Veranda, interior (Tarr 115, 14).
Fig. 13.—Bādāmi. Cave I. Pillar (Tarr I 13, 29).

Fig. 14.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Pillar (Tarr I 12, 12).

Fig. 15.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Pillar (Tarr 44, 29).

Fig. 16.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Pillar (Tarr 54, 19).
Fig. 17.—Bādāmi. Cave I. Garbhagṛha doorway (Tarr 37, 31).

Fig. 18.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Garbhagṛha doorway (Tarr 44, 17).

Fig. 19.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Garbhagṛha doorway (Tarr 45, 6).

Fig. 20.—Bādāmi. Cave IV. Garbhagṛha doorway (Tarr I 14, 15).
Fig. 21.—Badāmi. Cave I. Siva Ardhanāri (Tarr 38, 25).

Fig. 22.—Badāmi. Cave I. Kārttikeya, from attached shrine (Tarr 94, 13).

Fig. 23.—Badāmi. Cave II. Vishnu ceiling at veranda west (Tarr 96, 24).

Fig. 24.—Badāmi. Cave III. Vishnu ceiling in veranda center (Tarr 102, 2).
Fig. 25.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Viṣṇu Trivikrama (Tarr 185, 32).

Fig. 26.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Viṣṇu Trivikrama (Tarr I 15, 8).

Fig. 27.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Viṣṇu Trivikrama (Tarr I 14, 6).
Fig. 28.—Bādāmi. Cave III.
Vishṇu Virāṭa Puruṣa
Archaeological Survey of India.

Fig. 29.—Bādāmi. Cave III.
Vishnu Śeśāna (Tarr 99, 22).

Fig. 30.—Pattadakal. Virūpākṣa Temple.
Vishṇu Virāṭa Puruṣa (Tarr 83, 25).

Fig. 31.—Bādāmi. Cave IV.
Suparśvānatha (Tarr 97, 9).
Fig. 32.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Garuḍa from overhanging eave of façade (Tarr 100, 36).

Fig. 34.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Four-armed gana of façade (Tarr 95, 28).

Fig. 36.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Full Rāvana Phadi complex (Tarr CS).
Fig. 33.—Bādāmi. Cave IV. Wealth figure overhanging eave of façade (Tarr 44, 23).

Fig. 35.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Śiva Ardhanārī bracket capital (Tarr 100, 34).

Fig. 37.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Façade (Tarr 130, 25).
Fig. 38.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Interior, toward Naṭarāja shrine (Tarr 130, 2).

Fig. 39.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Interior, toward garbhrā (Tarr 129, 20).
Fig. 40.—Aihole. Rāvaṇa Phadi Cave. Lintel from original garbhagṛha door frame (Tarr 130, 1).

Fig. 41.—Aihole. Rāvaṇa Phadi Cave. Jamb from original garbhagṛha door frame (Tarr 129, 36).

Fig. 42.—Aihole. Rāvaṇa Phadi Cave. Brāhma, Maheśvari, Kaumāri, Bhringi and Vaiṣṇavi, from the Naṭarāja shrine (Tarr 129, 26).

Fig. 43.—Aihole. Small Cave in Rāvaṇa Phadi Boulder (Tarr 130, 28).
Fig. 44.—Bādāmi. Cave II. Vishnu Varāha (Tarr 95, 31).

Fig. 45.—Bādāmi. Cave III. Vishnu Varāha (Tarr 99, 25).

Fig. 46.—Aihole. Rāvana Phadi Cave. Vishnu Varāha of antarāla (Tarr 53, 30).

Fig. 47.—Mahākūta. Airikēśvara Temple. Vishnu Varāha (Tarr 53, 30).
Fig. 48.—Aihole. Jaina Cave. Façade (Tarr 171, 11).

Fig. 49.—Aihole. Jaina Cave. Veranda (Tarr 171, 17).

Fig. 50.—Aihole. Jaina Cave, Interior toward garbhagṛha (Tarr 172, 4).
Fig. 51.—Aihole. Jaina Cave. Figures attendant on Mahāvīra in sculpture shrine (Tarr 172, 28).

Fig. 52.—Aihole. Two-storied Jaina Cave. Inner door frame of lower story (Tarr 170, 31).

Fig. 53.—Aihole. Two-storied Jaina Cave. Outer door frame of lower story (Tarr 170, 20).
Fig. 54.—Aihole. Two-storied Jaina Cave. Plan (courtesy, Archaeological Survey of India).

Fig. 55.—Aihole. Two-storied Jaina Cave. Door frame of upper story (Tarr 55, 26).

Fig. 56.—Aihole. Two-storied Jaina Cave. Façade (Tarr 55, 15).
Fig. 57.—Aihole. Single Boulder Jaina Cave (Tarr, CS).

Fig. 58.—Aihole. Single Boulder Jaina Cave. Interior door frame (Tarr 56, 25)

Fig. 59.—Aihole. Single Boulder Jaina Cave. Interior (Tarr 56, 27).
exciting a temple as the Rāvana Phadi or any of the Hindu caves at Bāḍāmī, it is finely wrought and represents a connection between the Aihole form seen in the Rāvana Phadi and the later Bāḍāmī form. In date it probably begins just before in the period of Bāḍāmī I/II, the features of which it combines with those of the Aihole Siva cave.

In its plan (fig. 2) the fullest extent of this combining of forms can be seen. The Aihole Jaina cave is basically the Aihole form of a central mandapa with broad pillar screened openings in each of its sides (fig. 1), now fronted with a veranda and a colonnade in the Bāḍāmī manner (fig. 3). The façade (fig. 48) of the cave is today fully closed off by a wall of dressed but undecorated stones. Originally, as can be seen on the inside of the veranda (fig. 49), it was composed of five bays separated by simple, undecorated square pillars bearing narrow curving brackets much like those seen in the Rāvana Phadi. There was apparently neither basement nor cornice, and there was no façade sculpture. The veranda has an icon at either end as at Bāḍāmī, with Suparśvanatha on the right (fig. 49) and Gomateśvara on the left (the opposite placement of that seen in the Bāḍāmī Jaina cave). As in the antarālā ceiling of the Rāvana Phadi but unlike those at Bāḍāmī, the bays of the ceiling are distinguished, but not separated, by very elegant decorative reliefs. The interior wall of the veranda is blank and undivided, providing only the small three bay entrance equivalent to that in the Rāvana Phadi, opposite the veranda entrance.

The mandapa of the Jaina cave is quite similar to the Rāvana Phadi’s. This is seen in both the basic architectural form and in such details as the decoration of the ceiling. As in the Siva cave, only the left sculpture niche is filled, and the design runs around all three walls of the niche. These reliefs show royal or celestial figures including Indra in attendance on the Jina, Mahāvīra (fig. 51). The layout overall is far more accurate and regular than that of the Siva cave. The shrine at the rear (fig. 50) is quite small and screened only by the pair of pillars (the Jina not requiring the secrecy of his Hindu counterparts). The seated representation here too is Mahāvīra. Outside the shrine, flanking its entrance on each side, are standing lotus-carrying guardians. Each occupies a large frame and with an attendant dwarf. All the sculptures within the cave are raised off the ground, but there are no gaṇas or other sculptured dado panels.

This cave is far less-known than the Rāvana Phadi; only its ground plan and a detail from the ceiling have been published. It is, however, the monument that comes closest to the Pallava traditions that have unfruitfully been sought elsewhere. This closeness is apparent in the guardians of the rear wall (fig. 50). That this most “Pallava” looking of all Chālukya designs has not been mentioned elsewhere is an indication of the limited familiarity with the site that has hampered previous studies.

73 Mahāvīra, here as is common at the site, wears a robe.
74 Besides Burgess, it has been mentioned by Kramrisch, note 72, above, and by S.K. Saraswati in the section on Architecture in The Classical Age, vol. 3 of the History and Culture of the Indian People, Bombay, 1962, p. 498.
75 This is, of course, the focal problem with all approaches that have been made up to this
The cave is not, however, any more likely to be closely related to the Pallavas than those already discussed. Both the placing of the figures and their general proportions can be easily understood within the framework of Chālukya art. The dvārapāla's dwarf attendants and the rest of the cave's design can be explained in no other way.

There is no trace here (except for the stone slabs added to the façade) of any intended structural addition. Though the façade was wider and had the additional element of the large veranda, there is hardly more interior here than in the Rāvaṇa Phadi. The date of the temple is probably later than the Rāvaṇa Phadi to contemporary with the Badami Cave I/II style of the 560s.

The two-storied Jaina Cave (fig. 56) in the north side of Meguti Hill is hardly an excavation at all. It is only partially cut into the hill, and much of its interior is regularized by panels of cut stone. Only its shrines, which are cut into the cliff, take advantage of natural overhang. All of its façade is structural.

The lower story, which is the oldest, has an interior consisting of three cells (side by side) each lined with dressed stone, though standing beneath an overhang and cut back into the hill (fig. 54). The door to the central of these cells, just opposite the entrance (fig. 52), is decorated with moldings and simple narrative reliefs. At its base is connected in the area of Chālukya Architecture. Studies have been made of less than the full number of monuments available for study.

76 There are several other early western Chālukya Temples that make use of this format. They are all structural temples of the early eighth century. In each, as here, the stress is on the central shrine with the others subordinated.

tained a series of figures, including Nidhis. These are, however, too worn or eroded to read with certainty. Its lintel paneling is now missing.

The outer door carries similar decorations and does have an articulated lintel pratara which is composed of five kūṭas running šāla-kūṭa-šāla-kūτa-šāla, in low relief (fig. 53). At its base were several figures, but here, too, little is now readable. The measurements of these doorway parts show them to be more or less equal to those now only partially preserved in the Rāvaṇa Phadi. The façade of the lower story (fig. 56) is composed of four pillars and two pilasters that do not match well with the pilasters of the veranda wall (see fig. 54). These pillars are simple and carry a type of bracket and lintel that is typical of a style seen in the later part of Vijayaditya's reign, in the second quarter of the eighth century.

The upper story contains a single rock-cut cell and a veranda that is related to the one below. The door to the shrine (fig. 55) is undecorated in courses, but contains a more complex pratara than we have met to this point. It is made up of a šāla-kūṭas, kūτa-kūṭas and pañjara-kūṭas (šāla-kūṭas seen end-on). All of these are linked by a continuous corridor that separates them with lower relief pañjaras and is itself articulated into basement, wall and cornice. The relief of the whole is low. There is a Jina beneath the triple umbrella on the ceiling above this door. The pillars of the veranda do not match the pilasters of the inner veranda wall (fig. 54), nor are they the same sort, though they are as simple as those below. It seems likely that the veranda and

77 Essentially this is a kūṭu with more than the usual architectural analogy explicit.
pillars below were added at a later date, probably when the upper shrine was being added in the second-quarter of the eighth century. The lower triple-shrined interior and its two decorated doors are of the sixth century and probably some time after the Rāvana Phadi, during the period of the Bādami caves. The doors here use some of the features of the Rāvana Phadi and some of those found in Bādami II and Bādami III.

The last rock-cut monument worth mentioning at Aihole is the very small cave hollowed out of a single boulder on the west side of Meguti Hill, behind Temple 47 (fig. 57). This is set in a boulder with a natural seam running horizontally across. It is a two-roomed shrine facing west, with a simply molded outer door leading to a room that is plain except for another simply molded and decorated doorway (fig. 58) that leads to the cell. This cell, once held a Jina beneath the triple umbrella flanked by two chauri-bearing attendants (fig. 59). The lion throne remains as do the attendants and the umbrellas, but the Jina himself has been removed. The decoration of the door is meager, but it includes enough elements to show that it is simpler yet related to the two-storied Jaina Cave. This doorway has no prastara and less decoration than any of the others that we have considered. The course decorated with a pattern of squares alternating with circles is not the usual one seen elsewhere of diamond and bean shapes. The square rosette at the base occurs prominently in the door frame of the two-storied cave (fig. 52).

This temple's hollowed-out-boulder construction makes it another example of a type that seems related to the earlier Hindu excavations at Udayagiri Vidiśa. Its date is probably the same as that of the Rāvana Phadi, ca. A.D. 550.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, the general tendency within the development of the caves at Bādami has been from simple toward complex and in general from simply joined toward more highly organized and thoroughly integrated forms. Looking at the development from the monuments at Aihole to these we can notice another trend. In the first works at Aihole we see a style drawing on a variety of earlier traditions. The Rāvana Phadi, the small rock-cut shrine attached to it and the Jaina cave hollowed out of a single boulder relate to structural tradition prominent at Udayagiri Vidiśa which is definitely earlier, though how much earlier is certainly a question. The Rāvana Phadi also makes use of decorations that reflect earlier post-Vākātaka traditions in Mahārāṣṭra to a far greater extent than any other Chālukya monument.

When we pass from this first Aihole style to the first Bādami monuments, we see a number of elements develop into their mature and distinctive Chālukya forms. Both pillar decorations and sculptural enframements are a good example of this. The large Jaina Cave at Aihole is a graphic example of the movement away from the Kalachuri layout of the Rāvana Phadi to-

78 It was probably a movable icon of wood, metal or some other substance. A similar figure of Lakulīśa was cut away at Mandapeswar, however.

79 Examples of this can be seen in the Tawa cave and those near by it. See Banerji, Imperial Guptas, pl. XIII.
ward the peculiarly Chālukya plan seen at Bādāmi.

This evolution of a peculiarly Chālukya style of rock-cut architecture reaches its climax in the triumph of Cave III. Here the earliest Chālukya tradition, the tradition of the Chālukya cave-temple, is seen in its most unique and its least derivative form. This is not to say that there is not a good deal in Cave III that relates to the contemporary Kalachuri art of Mahārāṣṭra. On the contrary, Cave III makes use of a number of features that are just coming into use at Ellora, e.g., the large figure bracket capital and the carefully distinguished focal aisle. Yet the great success of Cave III is the fully integrated and uniquely Chālukya character of the temple that bases so much of its form on the coherent evolution of forms that are found among the other Chālukya rock-cut monuments.

Cave III is a monumental conception carried out on a scale that dwarfs the more modest monuments that neighbor it just as these “modest monuments” considerably surpass the timid works at Aihole. Yet, significantly the uniqueness of Cave III lies in its magnification and in its sophistication of the tradition that began at Aihole and came to fruition at Bādāmi.

The evolution of the Cave III sculptural ideal played little part in the stone icons of the later structural temples. The shift from inside to out and from gigantic to miniature may be responsible for this. (The post-Chālukya cave temples at Ellora continue to develop similar devices for sculptural transcendence of architectural bounds.) On the other hand, the architectural decorations developed in the cave-temples were the basis for much of the later temple decorations. The plain kapota moldings of the Rāvaṇa Phadi that develop eventually into the animal-kuḍu-kapotas of Cave III (developments already accomplished in many areas outside of the Deccan) are the established form in the structural temples. The door frame of Cave III is a model for those that follow, as are its pillar decorations and the ceiling decorations.

It has been suggested by many scholars that the Chālukyas be credited with the creations of monuments at both Ajanta and Ellora. To support either of these propositions, however, I have found no evidence. In fact I think that the majority of evidence leads to the opposite conclusion. Significant Chālukya influence is not to be found at either site before the post-Chālukya work of the Kailasa, at Ellora, in the second half of the eighth century.

The distinct break in the evolution of the temple form (filled by the early sixth-century excavations at Jogēśwari, Manda-peśwar and Elephanta) that separates the Kalachuri Hindu temples of Ellora from the Vākāṭaka Buddhist works at Ajanta and Aurangābād (Caves I and III) is seen even more clearly between the Chālukya monuments and those at Ajanta and Aurangābād. Where distinct relations exist between motifs seen at Aihole or Bādāmi and those at Ajanta, the distinct characteristic is always that the Chālukya example has evolved from the form seen in Mahārāṣṭra. No essentially Chālukya device appears in a more developed or even parallel or equivalent state at Ajanta.

When it is suggested that the Chālukyas were responsible for some of the Hindu works at Ellora, and many of the Buddhist ones, there are several problems. The first of these and the most important is,
again, the lack of any particularly Chalukya forms, such as the Badami plan type, to be seen at Ellora. Another is the lack of any inscription to link the dynasty to the site. With particular reference to the Hindu cave-temples, I see a phase that is contemporaneous with the Chalukya work in the Deccan, at Aihole and Badami. This work, which can be attributed to the Kalachuri dynasty, was most likely accomplished before the Chalukyas, under Mangalesa, came to control Maharastra in the first years of the seventh century. The later and definitely separate phase of Hindu excavations at Ellora coincides with the rise of the Rashtrakutas to predominance in the Deccan, and with the triumph of the Rashtrakutas over the Chalukyas. This is the phase seen in the Kailasa and the Das Avatara.

Finally, in considering the Buddhist monuments of Ellora, it must be remembered that the Chalukyas in none of their inscriptions mention Buddhism. This is important as their support of the major Hindu sects and even the heterodox Jainism was a major subject of most of their inscriptions. Within the Chalukya heartland itself, there are only two notices of the Buddhist faith. One is the distinctly anomalous Padmapani Litany, in Badami's natural grotto, which was ruinously defaced soon after its creation. The other is the

80 This corresponds to Spink's Kalachuri phase, though I would add the Raja Ka Khai, Ellora Cave 14, to his list (Spink, op. cit.).

81 Banerji, Basreliefs of Badami, pl. XIV, fig. a.

82 No other piece at the site has been so accidentally located or so efficiently destroyed. As both of these characteristics suggest that it was the Buddhist nature of the work that was involved, we have to remember that the later in time we distinct reference to the heterodox faiths that casts Sukracharya, the Brahman preceptor of the Asura king Bali, in the form of a Buddha or Bodhisattva in the Trivikrama panels of Badami Caves II and III (figs. 25-27). As Jainism was clearly accepted by the Chalukyas, certainly a reference to the role of misleading, which the Vaisnavas conventionally attributed to the Buddha, can be seen here. If any monuments were created at Ellora during the period in which the Chalukyas controlled that area, they should certainly be assumed to be the work of a local feudal dynasty and not of the same house responsible for the creation of the Hindu monuments of Aihole and Badami of the third-quarter of the sixth century.

In a recent article D. S. Settar of the Karnatak University has made a likely case for seeing Aihole's "Two-storied Jaina Cave" to be a Buddhist vihara. Evidence for this lies in the robe covering the left shoulder and in the vyakhyana mudra of the right hand of the figure on the ceiling of its upper veranda. No examples of a Jina in vyakhyana mudra is known, look (after the early Chalukya contact with Buddhists) the less likely anyone in the area would be to recognize the work as Buddhist and the more likely that its worship would have been taken up by individuals who might not have recognized its Buddhist meaning.

83 Though the figure shown pouring water on the Vamana's hands has been identified as Bali himself (in strict accordance with the versions of the story that have come down to us), the antelope skin robe as well as the simple dhoti should serve to indicate that this is the Brahman Sukracharya. Bali is the figure behind, who assists and who is accompanied by a female, his queen.


85 Ibid., fig. 4.
though this is a common mudrā for Buddha images in the south. The problem of the robe is more difficult. Though no example has previously been known to scholars, the unquestionable Tirthankara in the Jaina Cave at the end of Meguti Hill (fig. 50) does seem to be wearing a robe in this fashion. Though this would be a deviation from the standard Jaina iconography, it is hardly less a deviation than would be the image's triple umbrella, if the image is to be considered a Buddha. In any case, the unorthodox and ambiguous portrayal of the deity intended would seem to support the conclusions reached above. If a Buddhist vihāra did exist in the Chālukya heartland, it did so by accentuating its resemblance to the equally heterodox (if less rejected) Jaina establishments, both in its location and in the portrayal of its images. If we are to accept this as a Buddhist vihāra, and as I indicate it is not altogether certain that we should, we must reconsider the dedication of the “Single Boulder Jaina Cave” (figs. 57–59) in this light as well.

CHART

The following chart is intended as a graphic illustration of the relative sequence and likely chronological location of the Early Western Chalukya's rock-cut shrines. It is not an indication of the spans of time during which excavation took place, but of the likely periods during which that excavation probably occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>540</th>
<th>550</th>
<th>560</th>
<th>570</th>
<th>580</th>
<th>590</th>
<th>600</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saka</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>522</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Aihole**
- Rāvana Phadi Temple
- Rāvana Phadi Linga Shrine
- Single Boulder Jaina Temple
- Jaina Temple
- Two Story Jaina Temple

**Bādāmi**
- Cave I
- Cave II
- Cave III
- Cave IV
AN UNFINISHED CHAITYA HALL: JUNNAR, MANMODI 39
BY JOANNA WILLIAMS

The history of early Buddhist sculpture is a subject more fully studied than many in Indian art, and the problems which remain here are relatively refined. It is thus possible to place with precision the carving of Manmodi, Cave 39, a monument which has escaped examination. This in turn throws some light into the shadows which still surround the date of the most impressive early chaitya hall, that at Karle.

The Manmodi escarpment lies just south of Junnar, one of five hills girdling that town with over 200 Buddhist monastic caves. Junnar itself, today a large village 56 miles north of Poona, was an important market center in the first century B.C. to the second century A.D. and indicate a cosmopolitan context.

Cave 39 is one of three unfinished chaitya halls on Manmodi Hill. In this case the actual object of devotion, the stūpa or chaitya, had been completed (text fig. 1 and fig. 1). Three plain octagonal pillars on the right interior wall were cut; those on the left wall were only sketched. The façade was almost finished, and work was proceeding in several places simultaneously when the main lintel collapsed (fig. 2). It appears that one sculptor was working from the top down on the blind arches; a
second had completed the two large figures above the main arch and was carving the spandrels; yet a third sculptor had finished the lunette above the door and had moved upward to the ribs of the large arch.

The sole dated inscription on this hill records that a dwelling cell, number 4, was dedicated in the year 46 (possibly A.D. 123–124) by a minister of Nahapāna, the Kṣatrapa insurgent to the end of whose reign Karle belongs. This inscription, however, lies at the southeast end of Manmodi Hill, while Cave 39 lies at the north. All that can safely be inferred is that excavations continued at the site as a whole through the period of Nahapāna. A. K. Coomaraswamy suggested in passing that Manmodi 39 was contemporary with Karle. This late relative position has generally been accepted, even after recent revision of the absolute chronology of the period.

The sculpture of the façade of Manmodi 39, on the contrary, is closely related to Nasik (Pandulena) Cave 18 and to the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī, both of which clearly precede Karle. At the top of this façade are two large figures holding flywhisks: the one on the left has a parrot head rising above his turban; the one on the right is cloaked with a five-fold cobra hood. This pair of Suparṇa (Garu-

dā) and Nāga would appear to be the most stylistically advanced part of the carving, for they stand in high relief, are unconstrained by the plane of the façade, and move freely in response to the area they occupy. Comparison with figures in similar poses at Karle (fig. 11), however, shows major differences: projection of the legs from the wall plane is avoided, and limbs such as the raised arm do not overlap other parts of the body. The effect is closer to the dvārapālas of Nāsik (fig. 8) and Sāñcī (fig. 10), although the basically two-dimensional poses are handled with more anatomical versimilitude at Manmodi. These figures are all studied and stable, lacking the nonchalant, transitory movements of the Karle mithuna.

In the right spandrel of the main arch of Manmodi 39, an unfinished figure flies toward a tree hung with garlands, a kalpa-
druma (fig. 4). This figure would presumably have resembled the vidyādbharat at the summit of the arch of Nāsik 18 (fig. 8). The depth of relief in this unfinished portion is clearly less than that of the Nāga-Suparṇa above, dispelling any illusion of a consistent progress toward higher relief.

The lunette above the main arch is formed by a large lotus (fig. 3). Similarly defined flowers appear inside the smaller

ruda in human form, created to parallel the established Nāga type. Serpent images in India perhaps require no specific explanation; it is at least interesting that the motif appears here and (in the form of two cobras) above the Nāsik 18 arch, both caves being associated loosely with Śrī Sāta-
karṣi, whose wife, according to the Nāṃgāhāt inscription, was Nāyānikā (of the Nāga tribe).


5 This appears to be the first image of Ga-
Fig. 1. — Manmodi 39, interior. Photo, Gary Tarr.

Fig. 2. — Manmodi 39, façade. Photo, Gary Tarr.
Fig. 4.—Detail of figure 2. Kalpadruma.

Fig. 5.—Detail of figure 2. Naga-Suparna.

Fig. 6.—Manmodi, façade of cell next to 39.

Fig. 7.—Detail of figure 2. Lunette.
Fig. 7.—Manmodi, façade of cell next to 39.

Fig. 8.—Nāsik 18, façade. Photo, Thelma Lowe.

Fig. 9.—Detail of Nāsik 18, façade. Photo, Gary Tarr.
Fig. 10.—Sāñchi Stupa I, north gate, east pillar, dānārapāla.

Fig. 11.—Karle façade, mlhunna.
arches of Ajanṭā 9. The decoration of this large lotus with human figures is apparently unique. Certainly the subtle adjustment of the poses of the attendant figures to their position on the lunette indicates the hand of an inventive sculptor. At the same time, the arrangement of the central group, Gaja-Lakṣmī (or Māya) with elephants raised on lotuses, resembles the carvings of Sāñchī 1.

Immediately to the east and above Manmodi 39 are a series of small vibāra cells. While there is no evidence that these are contemporary with the chaitya hall, this seems a reasonable assumption. Here again appear motifs which are also found at Sāñchī 1 and Nāsik 18. The inner trellis-work of three arches which decorate these vibāra cells, rather than simply creating the form of a wooden screen, appears to be tied in knots as if pliable (figs. 6 and 7). This knotting and the central triratna of figure 7 closely resemble the more elaborate arch-filler of Nāsik 18 10 (fig. 9). The projecting arch above the southernmost cell bears a floral border with small human figures springing symmetrically outward (fig. 7). Spink has pointed out similar borders at Sāñchī 1 and Nāsik 18.11 Flower grills above three of the Manmodi cells (fig. 6) also occur at Nāsik and Beḍāt but no later.12 Thus many distinctive motifs used at the Manmodi complex are limited to a brief phase in the sculpture of the area.

Finally, the entire design of the Manmodi façade links this with Nāsik 18. Both are organized as a unified flat surface to be viewed from the front. At Manmodi the composition is a tensile one of opposing curves; at Nāsik congruent arches are varied in size, pivoting upon the doorway below. This phase was initiated by Ajanṭā 9 with the introduction of the stone screen, whose sculptural possibilities were only later realized.13 The composition of this group of stone façades is more compact than the diffuse balconies that surround the halls of Bhājā and Kondane. The effect also differs from later caves, beginning with Beḍāt, in which the insertion of a Pitalkhora where animals are inserted as at Nāsik 18, the form of the trellis imitates a wooden screen (M. N. Deshpande, “The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan,” Ancient India, no. 15, 1959, pl. XLIX B.

11 Spink, “Early Buddhist Art,” p. 100. The motif occurs also at Anuradhapura and Mihintale in Ceylon (D. T. Devendra, Classical Sinhalese Sculpture, London, 1958, pls. 1 and 24); cf. again Pitalkhora, where the floral border is similar, but human figures are not yet inserted (Deshpande, “Rock-cut Caves,” pl. L.I.A).

12 R. S. Wauchope, Buddhist Cave Temples of India, Calcutta, 1933, pl. XXIV.

13 Thus the relative phases formulated by Percy Brown for the early chaitya hall appear to me to be valid (Indian Architecture [Buddhist and Hindu Periods], 3d ed., Bombay, 1959, ch. V).
member before the hall front prevents a coherent view of the façade as a surface. By the period of Karle, the figural decoration is confined to the lower part of the exterior and to the interior capitals which define a path of movement towards the stūpa and dramatize its simple form. The façade itself is dominated by a single arch with rows of smaller ones and loses interest as a composition, because it is partially obscured by the second, outer screen. Thus while the latest halls are enriched architecturally, sculpturally they are impoverished.

The only inscription of Manmodī 39 suggests that the façade was a single donation, supporting the inference that the design of the front formed a unified conception. The line of writing around the pericarp of the large lotus runs:

"Yavanasa Camdanam deyadhama gabhada(ra)."\(^{14}\)

"Of the Yavana Candra, the gift of a hall-entrance."

It might be questioned whether gabhada(ra) refers to the entire screen or to the opening alone. At least the position of the line shows that the inscription and the figural carving were coordinated. And in the inscriptions of Karle, the word mughā (mouth), is used for the simple opening.\(^{15}\)

The next question, that of the absolute chronology of the monuments concerned, raises problems which are the province of an epigrapher rather than an art historian.

Nonetheless whatever inconclusive evidence there is should be reviewed. Nasik vihāra 19, probably slightly earlier than the chaitya hall 18, was excavated under King Kanha (Krṣṇa) of the Sātavāhana dynasty.\(^{16}\) The top architrave of the southern and probably earliest gate at Sāṅchi 1 was given by the foreman of the artisans of Śrī Sātakani (Śrī Sātakarni).\(^{17}\) In the Purānic lists of the Andhra dynasty, Krṣṇa appears as the second ruler.\(^{18}\) Of the various Sātakarniś in these lists, it is most likely that the Sāṅchi inscription refers to Krṣṇa’s successor, who also appears in the Nāṅghāt inscription along with Simukha, founder of the Andhra line.\(^{19}\) If it is ac-

\(^{14}\) Burgess, "Buddhist Cave Temples," p. 95 (no. 16); Lüders, "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions," p. 131 (no. 1156), Gabhā-garbha, an interesting suggestion of the later garbhagṛha.

\(^{15}\) Burgess, "Buddhist Cave Temples," p. 90 (nos. 4, 6); Lüders, "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions," pp. 116–7 (nos. 1090, 1092).

\(^{16}\) E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik," Ep. Ind. vol. 8 (1905), p. 93 (no. 22). The donoress, Bhaṭṭapālikā, who completed Nāsik 18 is described as the grand-daughter of Mahāhakusiri, possibly to be identified with Kumāra Hakusiri of the Nāṅghāt cave (ibid., pp. 91–92); if so, the placement of the commencement of Nāsik 18 at the end of Śrī Sātakarni’s reign is still possible.

\(^{17}\) Lüders, "List of Brāhmī Inscriptions," p. 42 (no. 346).


\(^{19}\) Both palaeographically and stylistically, there is no reason to suggest a gap of three generations between Nāsik 19 or Nāṅghāt and Sāṅchi I or Nāsik 18; this would be necessary if the Sāṅchi inscription refers to the second Sātakari. If later Sātakarniś are invoked (Sundara, Sivaskanda, Yajñāṣṭri), a yet more implausible gap occurs. The short Andhra chronology, usually accepted by art historians today, is presented by D. C. Sircar in The Age of Imperial Unity, R. C. Majumdar ed., Bombay, 1951, p. 195. K. Gopalachari, however, maintains a long Andhra chronology, presupposing a mistake in the Purāna’s account that Simukha overthrew the Kanva (A Comprehensive History of India, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri ed., Bombay, vol. 2 [1957], p. 295).
cepted that Simukha overthrew the Kanvas about 30 B.C. and if the regnal periods given in the majority of the Puranas are accepted, the first three rulers would be dated as follows:

Simukha ca. 30–7 B.C.  
Kṣṇa ca. 7 B.C.–A.D. 11  
Śrī Satakarni c. A.D. 11–29

Thus the Sāñchi 1 toranās would have been begun in the second or third decade of the first century A.D. Manmodī 39 can be assigned to the years between A.D. 20 and 40, along with the later Sāñchi gates.

The date of Karle is further complicated by the question of what era was used by the Kṣāharatās, under whom that cave was completed. Current estimates for the excavation range from A.D. 40–105 (K. Khandalavala) to A.D. 119–125 (W. Spink). Without reopening the issue of Nahapāna’s exact position, I would like to reaffirm a late and short date for Karle. This is possible even if Nahapāna’s reign ended about 105, as Khandalavala suggests.

In the first place, Khandalavala’s principal reason for assigning 60 years to the excavation of Karle is the size of that cave: 124 ft. long, 46 ft. wide, 45 ft. high, by comparison with the “Queen’s Vihāra,” Nasik 3, which is 46 ft. long, 41 ft. wide, and about 10 ft. high. The latter appears to have taken 20 years to complete.21 This analogy is not compelling, however, for the large number of donors at Karle would suggest a proportionately large number of workmen. The unfinished carving of Manmodī 39 shows that in this far smaller excavation several different kinds of relief carving were in progress at once, with a minimum of three sculptors working on the façade while yet more carved the interior. Equally so on the Karle façade, differences among the lower mitunās are explained better by varying degrees of artistic proficiency than by stylistic change.22 These figures in turn differ somewhat from the couples higher on the Karle façade and from the interior capitals, as a result of the position of the carvings. The entire excavation is at least loosely associated with Nahapāna’s son-in-law, Uśavadata, whose inscription on the exterior provided for the upkeep of the hall; apparently the son of this same Uśavadata dedicated one interior pillar.23 Since the exterior inscription refers

of monks, not its completion (D.C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Calcutta, 1965, p. 203, note 1). The term citranāmītaka, the object of Pulumāvi’s donation of a village, corresponds to “embellishment,” which is not precisely the same as completion of the cave. Moreover, the analogy between this and Karle overlooks the possible differences between a vihāra (which might be said to proceed haphazardly) and a chaitya hall (necessitating planning), as well as the difference between a cave like Nasik 4 with only four inscriptions, all royal, and Karle with its copious, general patronage.

21 Cf. Barrett, Guide to the Karle Caves, pls. ii, iii, xii and xiv.
22 Burgess, “Buddhist Cave Temples,” p. 91 (no. 11); Lüders, “List of Brāhmī Inscriptions,” pp. 117–118 (no. 1097). The pillar donor’s father, Usabhadata, is not identified in any way; but it is not implausible that his son would fail to refer to his mother’s father, Nahapāna.
to Nahapāna as if alive, this provides a *terminus ante quem* for the façade of A.D. 105 to 125 (alternate dates for Nahapāna’s fall). There is no reason to think that the Karle façade was begun before A.D. 75.

In the second place, an interval greater than five or ten years seems to have elapsed between the plan of halls such as Nāsik 18 and the radically different plan of Karle. The redating of Manmoḍi 39 as part of the former group clarifies this break. Transitional halls such as Beṣā are comparatively austere in decorative carving, although complex in spatial organization. When sculptural decoration reappears at Karle, its role is no longer an independent one but rather a part of a sumptuous and dramatic architectural complex.

24 Burgess, “Budhisst Cave Temples,” pl. XI. Author’s note. Since this article was written, a comprehensive survey of the Junnar caves has appeared: V. Dehejia, “Early Buddhist Caves at Junnar,” *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 31, 1969, pp. 147–66. Dehejia reaffirms the older theory that the Manmoḍi 39 (Budh Lena) façade is contemporaneous with Karle. This would seem to imply that the Manmoḍi façade was carved after the interior (which Dehejia admits is contemporary with Nāsik 18 and Ajāntā 9), although both are unfinished.
NOTES ON FIVE PAINTINGS FROM A CH'ING DYNASTY COLLECTION

BY THOMAS LAWTON

Musing over his unexpected good fortune in obtaining a rare example of calligraphy, the Ch'ing dynasty collector An Ch'i 安岐 wrote, “How could my fortunes, which have declined in my old age, be restored again so that I am able to obtain this ink marvel? It is an extremely strange matter. Is it not because I have a destiny [joined] to brush and ink?” That there is a destiny or affinity which inexplicably joins a fervid admirer with those examples of calligraphy and painting that he most cherishes is an idea frequently expressed in the writings of Chinese connoisseurs. In addition to providing such insights into traditional attitudes toward collecting, these records furnish a wealth of miscellaneous and specific information relating to calligraphy and painting. Not infrequently, the astute comments found in such writings reveal a startling perceptiveness. Contrary to popular conception, Chinese collectors were quite ready to question older opinions and propose what, in the light of more recent research, appear to be more tenable attributions. With the continuing growth of interest in Chinese painting in the West, there has been a corresponding increase of interest in the probing of the vast quantity of relevant Chinese reference material. Judiciously used, this material provides a variety of information for the documentation of those works still extant as well as those now lost.

1 See footnote 6.

A wealthy Korean salt merchant, An Ch'i, occupies a special place among Ch'ing dynasty connoisseur-collectors.2 He was evidently on good terms with the great Chinese collectors of the day, most of whose collections he was able to see. His catalogue, entitled Mo-yüan hui-kuan墨緣彙觀, is eloquent proof of how many of the most famous examples of calligraphy and painting passed through his hands. In the preface to his catalogue, dated in correspondence with August 12, 1742, An Ch'i speaks of suddenly being sixty years old.3 The first entry in chīan one of Mo-yüan hui-kuan, discussing Chung Yu's "Chien Chi-chih piao 黎季直裴—a late, perhaps the last, addition to his collection—provides a date corresponding to


3 The preface reads: “Being naturally slow and lazy, my ambition has been to live quietly and contentedly. From childhood, all those things of which mankind is so fond—like the pleasure of music and women, or skill with the ch'ìn and chess—are not what I have sought. I have been fond only of amusing myself with famous examples of ancient and modern calligraphy and painting. Each time I take an example in my hand and enjoy it, it is like meeting an esteemed friend. All day long I do not weary, almost forgetting food and drink. Although I am aware of the fault of
[indulging myself with] these playthings, I am fond of them by nature and am unable to put a stop to my emotions.

"Consequently, my powers of discernment have improved daily. Like-minded scholars in both north and south sometimes have said, with exaggeration, that I am able to discriminate [between genuine and spurious examples]. Some people bring calligraphy and paintings for me to authenticate. [Certain] antique dealers occasionally have objects that have been preserved by families for a long time which they want to sell to me; so a great many famous works have passed before my eyes.

"But seeing things is like the passing of clouds and mist. I have, therefore, always written a few words about all the works by the old masters that I have encountered and liked; and have preserved these records in a folder so as to be able to enjoy them at random.

"Suddenly, I am sixty years old. As I reflect on what I have seen during the past forty years, it is blurred, as in a dream. When I think of the present and of the past, I am depressed. Ch'en Hou-shan 陳后山 [Ch'en Shih-tao 陳師道, 1053–1110] has said, 'Only in old age did I really attain some understanding of poetry and calligraphy; now I regret that the years and months to come are so few.' Although I have no regrets, I am sorry that the years and months remaining are so few.

"In my leisure time, then, I took all the notes I had made in the past, selected those items that are most important, and put them in order. Now the record has been completed as a book. Although I do not dare to compare it with books like Mi Fei’s 肥, 1051–1107 Shu-shih 畫史 or Hua-shih 畫史, or [Chang Ch’ou’s 張丑, 1577–1643] Ch’ing-ho shu-hua-fang 清河書畫舫, when I occasionally open and look at it, I am able to observe marvels in ink from every dynasty swirling before my eyes. They are sufficient to show what I really like, and so I have called this record Mo-yüan hui-kuan 莫淵會圈.

"Ch’ien-lang jen-hsi ch’i-yüeh shih-erh-jih 乾隆壬戌七月十二日 [August 12, 1742]. Written by Sung-ch’üan liao-jen 宋槇老人在的Ku-hsiang 古香 Study."

4 A native of Ying-ch’uan 順川, Honan province, Chung Yu (A.D. 151–230) was both a statesman and scholar. An English translation of portions of his official biography can be found in The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms, translated and annotated by Achilles Fang, Cambridge, 1965, pp. 241–244, 328.

Chung Yu studied calligraphy with Liu Te-sheng 劉德昇 (active latter half 2nd century A.D.). He also sought to study the calligraphy of Ts’ai Yung, 蔡邕 (A.D. 132–192) with one Wei Yen 魏延, but Wei was extremely secretive and refused to teach Chung Yu. This so infuriated Chung that he beat his chest until he coughed up blood. As Chung Yu hovered on the point of death, Ts’ai Ta’sao 蔡藻 (A.D. 155–220) himself is said to have provided the medicine that saved him. When Wei Yen died, Chung Yu rifled his grave to acquire the example of Ts’ai Yung’s calligraphy that had been buried with him. So diligent was Chung Yu in his study of calligraphy, that even when lying in bed he would trace the characters with his finger on the bedclothes—eventually wearing a hole through the quilt. Chung Yu is especially well known for his k’ai-sbu 單書.

5 A memorial traditionally said to have been written by Chung Yu and submitted to the Wei 魏 ruler Wen-ti 文帝 (Ts’ai Ta’sao’s 蔡藻 [188–227], son of Ts’ai Ta’sao). A manuscript, purporting to be the original, was acquired by Lu Hsing-chih 劉行直 (born 1275). Subsequently, the manuscript was owned by Shen Chou 沈周 (1427–1509) and the collector, Hua Hsia 華夏 (born ca. 1498, Ch’in-shih 金石, who had the text and colophons printed as the first ch’üan of his Chen-shang-chai t’ieh 真賞齋帖 in 1522. After leaving An Ch’ü’s collection, the manuscript entered the Ch’ing imperial collection, where it was reproduced as the first entry in San-hsi-t’ang fa-t’ieh 三希堂法帖, published in 1748. The manuscript later went to P’ei Ch’ing-fu 費景福, who discussed it in detail in his catalogue entitled Chung-ts’ao ko shu-hua-li 許道書畫錄, 111a–9a (publ. 1937). During the Sino-Japanese War, the manuscript was in the possession of the painter Wu Hu-fan 吳湖帆 (born 1894), who buried it for safekeeping. When finally dug up, part of the manuscript had decomposed. The "pre-fire version" 前版本 from Hua Hsia’s Chen-shang-chai t’ieh is reproduced in the Japanese publication, Shodo zenshi 畫道全集, new edition, vol. 3, pl. 111–112. The memorial may
October 9, 1744. In the same entry, An Ch'i speaks of having been ill for a long time. He may have died in 1744, or soon thereafter. These remarks support the suggestion of the tentative dates for his birth and death as about 1683 and 1744.

Only one other date having a bearing on An Ch'i's chronology occurs in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*. In the entry on Chi-jan's 巨然 Hsieh t'u 雪圖, An Ch'i records that he saw the painting in Suchou in 1715, together with Wang Hui 王箴 (1632–1717) and Ku Wei-yüeh 顧維岳. Another bit of well be a Sung dynasty forgery by the celebrated calligrapher and painter, Li Kung-lin (1040–1106).

This entry begins: "On Ch'ien-lung chia-tzu ch'ung-yang ch'ien wu-jih 乾隆甲子重陽前五日 [October 9, 1744], a guest unexpectedly came bearing this scroll to sell. I had shut my door because I had been ill for a long time; but on hearing that he wanted to sell the calligraphy, I was so happy that I was unable to restrain myself. Inviting my guest to sit in [my study] the Ku-hsia sing sbu-wu 古香書屋, we appreciated the calligraphy and sighed together. I consequently bought the handscroll for a high price. At this time, this record already was complete, my idea being to say that never in my entire life had I been able to see this handscroll even once, so I had Western Ch'in 西晋 examples as the first entries. How could my fortunes, which have declined in my old age, be restored again so that I am able to obtain this ink marvel? Is it an extremely strange matter. Is it not better that I have a destiny [joined] to brush and ink?"

This entry remarks: "I recall that in Chia-wu sui shih-erb-yüeh 早午歲十二月 [January 6/February 3, 1715], I was in Suchou. It snowed for a long time and then when it had just cleared, Ku Wei-yüeh from Yu-feng 玉峰 came with the painting, and together with Wang Shih-ku 王石谷, we looked at the painting aboard a boat on the Yangtze at Suchou."

Ku Wei-yüeh's name occurs again in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*, in the entry on Tung Yüan's 湯原 (died 1662) Feng-yü ch'ü-chih-lung t'ü 風雨出殘 information is provided by a portrait of An Ch'i, published in *Chūgoku meigashū* 中國名畫集. According to the inscription, the portrait was painted by T'u Lo 油洛, while the scenery was done by Yang Chin 楊晋 (1644–ca. 1726), and the rocks and bamboo added by Wang Hui. The inscription on the painting also is dated in correspondence with 1715.

An Ch'i's seals are placed with care whenever they appear, and apparently he never wrote colophons on any of the numerous examples he had seen or owned.

However, not all the items in An Ch'i's collection are included in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*. As he points out in his preface, he 龍圖 and in the discussion of the Ting-wu 定武 "damaged five-character" version of the Lan-t'ing manuscript. The latter entry describes Ku Wei-yüeh as a native of Suchou. As a youth he had known Wang Chien 王勤 (1598–1677), Yün Shou-p'ing 隆壽亭 (1633–1690) and Wang Hui. Collectors like Kao Shih-ch'i 高士奇 (1645–1704), Sung Lo 宋荦 (1634–1713) and Wang Yüan-ch'i 王原祁 (1642–1715), all treated him with esteem. Ku lived to a great age, dying about the same time as Wang Hui (1717). His older brother, Ku Fu 顧復, was the author of *Ping-sheng chuang-kuan 平生壯觀*, a catalogue of calligraphy and painting in 10 chüan. Ku Fu's preface is dated in correspondence with 1692.

Apparantly not recorded in standard Chinese biographical dictionaries.

To my knowledge, the only inscription said to have been written by An Ch'i appears at the end of an album of T'ang dynasty calligraphy, *T'ang-jen Shih-erb-yüeh p'eng-yu hsiao-wen* 唐人十二月朋友相問; see, *Ku-kung sbu-hua lu*, chüan 3, pp. 8–11. The unsigned inscription, which copies a portion in the same album of a longer inscription by Pi Yüan 筆沅 (1730–1797), is identified in an anonymous notation as having been written by An Ch'i. Since An Ch'i probably died some time around 1744, it seems unlikely that he could have written the inscription.
had “selected those items that are most important.” Hence it is not unusual to find examples of calligraphy and painting bearing genuine An Ch’i seals but not listed in *Mo-yüan hui-kuán*. On the other hand, in several instances An Ch’i records a particular work and then mentions that it had been given or taken away before he had time to affix his seals.

Unfortunately, the dispersal of An Ch’i’s collection, which began during his own lifetime, was completed soon after his death. By 1746 the An family fortunes had so seriously declined that their plight was noted by the Chi’en-lung Emperor (r. 1736–95) in an inscriptions, dated in correspondence with 1746, written on the Tzu-ming 子明 version of Huang Kung-wang’s 黃公望 (1269–1354) Fu-ch’un shan-chi t’u 富春山居圖. Many examples mentioned in An Ch’i’s catalogue went into the Ch’ing Imperial Collection and are now in the National Palace Museum, Taiwan; others were bought by some of the most famous connoisseurs of the late Ch’ing and early Republican periods. During the first half of the 20th century, a few items from An Ch’i’s collection left China, perhaps in response to an “international affinity,” and were acquired by Western collectors. There are five paintings in the Freer Gallery which are related to entries in *Mo-yüan hui-kuán*. An Ch’i’s remarks about these paintings both provide insight into his keen discernment and judgment and serve as an introduction to a discussion of the paintings themselves.

I

Among the paintings by Chi’en Hsüan 錦飄 (ca. 1235 – after 1300) recorded in chüan three of *Mo-yüan hui-kuán* is Lai-ch’in chih-tzu t’u 來禽鳬子圖 (“Crabapple and Gardenia”). The entry reads:

Crabapple and Gardenia [fig. 1]. Handscroll with two square paintings on white paper. Each painting is 16 1/4 inches square. [The artist] painted two branches, [one] of crabapple and [one of] gardenia. [His] use of color is light and elegant; both [flowers] have a lifelike flavor. There is no signature, but in the corner at the end [of each painting], there are Shun-chü 舜舉 red-script seals. At the beginning [of each painting and on the silk mounting at the end of the painting] are affixed the half-impression of a white-script seal, Chu-jen 祖人.

12 Ku-kung shu-hua lu 故宮書畫錄, chüan 4, p. 158. In his article entitled “Huang Kung-wang ho t’a-te Fu-ch’un shan-chi t’u 黃公望和他的富春山居圖,” Wen-ku ts’ an-k’ao tsu-liao 文物參考資料, 1958, no. 6, pp. 32–36, Hsiü Pang-ta 徐邦達 points out an error in the discussion of the Fu-ch’un handscroll in *Mo-yüan hui-kuán*. Hsiü goes on to suggest that An Ch’i himself would never have erred by saying that the handscroll had “slight color,” and that the entry in the supplement may well have been written by An Ch’i’s son, An Yüan-chung 安元忠, after the handscroll had left the collection. It seems unlikely that An Yüan-chung would have made an addition to his father’s text without appending a note to say that he and not his father was responsible for the statement.

13 For a discussion of the dates of Chi’en Hsüan’s birth and death, see James Cahill, “Chi’en Hsüan and His Figure Paintings,” *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, vol. 12 (1958), p. 25, footnote 4.

14 Chi’en Hsüan’s tzu.
NOTES ON FIVE PAINTINGS FROM A CH'ING DYNASTY COLLECTION

After [the painting, on the] mounting, there is a colophon by Chao Wen-min (趙文敏) in hsing-shu that is fine and marvelous. The inscription: “The crabapple and gardenia are completely lifelike. Shun-ch'ii’s marvelousness in painting can be seen from this. Other trifles were all done by his followers.” Signed, “Meng-fu 孟頫.” After [the inscription] are affixed Chao 姿, a red-script seal; Chao shih Meng-fu 趙氏 孟頫, a white-script seal, and Chao shih Tzu-ang 趙氏子昂, a red-script seal.

Apparently the entry in Mo-yüan huikuan is the only reference in Chinese literature to these paintings by Ch'ien Hsüan. Aside from the artist's seals, the earliest form of internal documentation is Chao Meng-fu's inscription written on the silk mounting. Unfortunately, the calligraphy is of poor quality, leaving its authenticity open to question. The only other inscriptions on the handscroll are the two encomia by Yung-hsing 永瑆 (1725–1823) and Mien-i 綿億 (1764–1815) written on the paper following the painting (fig. 2).

Yung-hsing’s encomium reads:

Sung-hsiüeh 松雪 served the Yüan [rulers], and many [other] scholars from the southeast, following him, sought official service at that time. Shun-ch'ii alone would not enter [Sung-hsiüeh’s] gate [again]. Shun-ch'ii’s lofty purpose was the same as that of Lan-p'o 蘭坡 and Suo-nan 所南. This handscroll is in the highest category among his genuine works. Since it also obtained Sung-hsiüeh’s inscription, [the handscroll] really is precious.

Signed, “Huang-shih-i-tzu 皇十一子.”

A red-script seal, I-chin-chai yin 良晉齋印 is affixed beneath the signature.

Mien-i’s inscription reads:

Shun-ch'ii’s integrity is extremely lofty. More often than not the fla-

15 Chao Meng-fu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322).
16 Yung-hsing, the first Prince Ch'ien 成親王, was the eleventh son of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor. A noted calligrapher, poet and painter, Yung-hsing also had a large collection of antiquities which he kept in his studio, the I-chin-ch'ai 良晉齋. For biographical details, see Eminent Chinese, pp. 962–63.

17 The third grandson of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, Mien-i was made a prince of the third degree 貝勒 in 1784, when he came of age. But in 1799 he was raised to a prince of the second degree 郡王 with the designation Jung 濟. See Eminent Chinese, p. 386.

18 Chao Meng-fu.
19 Chao Yü-ch'in 趙興勤 (active during the Chia-hsi 嘉熙 period, 1237–1240). A member of the Sung royal house, Chao served as Prefect of Hangchou, and was well known as a collector. Some indication of the extent of his collection is provided by a list of its contents that is included as a separate entry in Mei-shu ts'ung-shu 美術叢書 (I-wen 敕文 edition, 4.10.181–190, entitled, Chao Lan-p'o su-ts'ang shu-bua mu-lu 趙蘭坡所藏書畫目錄). Chao is said to have worked diligently in copying the works of the old masters. So successful was he that his copies reportedly could be mistaken for the originals. Chao's own paintings of ink bamboo also are said to have been of high quality.

vor of his painting is attained when he is slightly drunk. Those passages in which he attains his intent cannot be differentiated from the paintings of the ancients. When a youth, Sung-hsüeh studied painting with Shun-ch'i. It is evident that this handscroll, which also has an inscription by Chao Sung-hsüeh, is the only painting done in collaboration during their lifetimes.

Signed, "Nan-yün-chai 南韋齋." A white-script seal, Jung Ch'iin-wang 楚郡王 is affixed beneath the signature.

Those seals affixed to the handscroll add little additional information to its history. Aside from the seals of the artist, those of Chao Meng-fu and the unidentified Chu-jen half-seal, there is a gap until An Ch'i added his seals to the painting in the 18th century. The Chu-jen half-seal in the lower right corner of each painting and on the lower right edge of the silk mounting, as well as the narrow fragment of an illegible seal above the Chu-jen seal on the right edge of the silk mounting, suggest that the two leaves probably were remounted at some time before they were acquired by An Ch'i. Any seals or colophons that had been affixed to the scroll during the intervening years presumably were removed at that time.

Still another question is raised by the Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih pao 乾隆御覽之寶 and Shib-chü pao-chi 石渠寶笈 seals. The painting is not recorded in Shib-chü pao-chi, nor are the seal impressions convincing.

The painting, which was purchased by Charles L. Freer from Seouke Yue 游筱溪 and P'ang Yüan-chi 廖元濟 in 1917, is not recorded in P'ang's catalogue, Hsü-chai ming-hua-lu 楚齋名畫錄.

The seals on the painting are:

An Ch'i (ca. 1683-1744)
   I-chou chen-ts'ang 儀周珍藏
   Hsin-shang 心賞

Ch'ien-lung (r. 1736-95)
   Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih pao 乾隆御
   覽之寶
   Shib-chü pao-chi 石渠寶笈

Yung-hsing (1725-1823)
   Yung-hsing chih yin 永瑆之印
   Huang-shih-i-tzu Ch'eng Ch'in-wang
   皇十一子成親王
   I-chin-chai t'ou-shu yin 詔晉齋圖畫印

Mien-i (1764-1815)
   Huang-san-sun Jung Ch'iin-wang Nan-
   yün-chai t'ou-shu chi
   皇三孫葉郡王南韋齋圖畫記
   Mien-i chih yin 綿億之印

I-hui (1799-1838)
   I-hui tzu-chang 奕絳子章

Hui 懿

Tsai-ch'üan (d. 1854)
   Tsai-ch'üan chih yin 蔡鑾之印
   Yün-lin chien-shang 素琳鰲賞
   Ting-fu Hsing-yu-heng-t'ang chen-
   shang 定府行有恒堂珍賞
   Hsing-yu-heng-t'ang shen-t'ing chen-
   chi 行有恒堂審定真蹟
   Tseng-t's'un Ting-ti Hsing-yu-heng
   t'ang 曾存定邸行有恒堂

Wan-yen Ching-hsien (act. 19-20th c.)
   Wan-yen Ching-hsien ching-chien 完顏景賢精臨

21 A great-grandson of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, I-hui was a noted calligrapher, poet, architect and connoisseur. His tsu was Tzu-chang 子章. See Eminent Chinese, pp. 386-387.

22 A great-great-grandson of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor, Tsai-ch'üan was the fifth Prince Ting 定郡王. He left a collection of verse, entitled Hsing-yu-heng t'ang ch'ü chi 行有恆堂初集. See Eminent Chinese, pp. 728-29.
NOTES ON FIVE PAINTINGS FROM A CH'ING DYNASTY COLLECTION

II

One of the paintings given to the Freer Gallery by Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Meyer is a handscroll by the Chin dynasty artist, Li Shan (active late 13th century), entitled, Feng-hsiüeh shan-sung t'ü 風雪杉松圖 (Wind and Snow in the Fir-pines).23

A draft copy of Wan-yen Ching-chien's notes on calligraphy and painting was found by Su Tsung-jen 蘇宗仁 in 1928. In his preface to the text, which he entitled San-yü t'ang shu-bua mu 三處堂書畫目, Su states that Wan-yen, a Manchu and Bordered Yellow Banner man, was a noted connoisseur and contemporary of Tuan-fang 端方 (1861-1911).


In addition to the entry in Mo-yüan hui-kuan, Li Shan's handscroll is recorded in the following catalogues:

(a) Shu-bua chi 書畫記, a record in 6 chiian, of the calligraphy and painting seen by the author, Wu Chi-chen 吳其貞, during the period 1635-1677. The work was banned during the Ch'ien-lung literary inquisition because of an entry on an erotic painting by Chou Fang, entitled, Ch'un-hsiao pi-hsi t'u 春宵飽戲圖. A short handscroll bearing the same title, and interestingly enough, a colophon by the arch-conservative Wen Cheng-ming is included in the painting supplement of Mo-yüan hui-kuan. The short entry in Shu-bua chi, chiian 5, p. 512, discussing Li Shan's handscroll, comments on the resemblance of the painting style to that of Kuo Hsi and Tung Yüan. Wu Chi-chen also states that he had not found any references to the artist in other catalogues and only had seen this one example of Li Shan's work. He mistakenly identifies Wang Man-ch'ing's colophon as having been written by Li Shan's son.

The long entry in Mo-yüan hui-kuan reads:25

Wind and Snow in the Fir-pines [fig. 3]. Snowscape painted in ink on silk, 10 1/2 inches high; over 27 1/2 inches long. The spiritual harmony is naturally conceived. [Li Shan]

(b) Yen-chou shan-jen kao 昔州山人稿 by Wang Shih-ch'en 王世貞. Entry on 137:113a records an abbreviated version of Wang Shih-ch'en's colophon.

(c) Shan-hu-wang hua-lu 現湖畫錄 completed in 1643 by Wang Lo-yü 汪珂玉 (born 1587). On 23:43a the handscroll is listed by title only as being in the collection of Wang Shih-ch'en.

(d) Shih-ku-t'ang shu-bua hui k'ao 式古堂書畫彙考, a chronological list of calligraphy and painting, compiled during the years 1680-1682 by Pien Yung-yü 潘永譽 (1645-1771). On 21:113a the handscroll is listed by title only as being in the collection of Wang Shih-ch'en.

(e) P'ei-ween-chai shu-hua p'u 前文齋書畫譜 a comprehensive work on calligraphy and painting, published in 1708. Entry on 84:34b records the colophon by Wang Shih-ch'en found in Yen-chou shan-jen kao. Entry on 98:33a lists the handscroll by title only as being in the collection of Wang Shih-ch'en.

(f) Chu-chia ts'iang-hua-p'u 諸家巖畫譜 compiled by Li T'iao-yüan 李調元 (1734-1803) during the years 1777-1784. On 10:24a the handscroll is listed by title only as being in the collection of Wang Shih-ch'en.

(g) Hsiü-ch'ai ming-hua-lu 虚齋名畫錄 compiled by P'ang Yüan-chi 彭元麐 and published in 1909. On 2:32a-36a there is a complete entry giving all colophons and seals.

(h) San-yü t'ang shu-hua mu 三處堂書畫目, compiled by Wan-yen Ching-chien (see footnote 23). The preface by Su Tsung-jen is dated in correspondence with February 25, 1933. In hsia 4a the painting is listed by title with the comment that it is in the collection of P'ang Lai-ch'ên 彭來臣 (i.e. P'ang Yüan-chi).
achieved the ideas transmitted by Ching [Hao] 續浩 and Fan [K'uan] 范寬. The mountains have many vertical peaks. [The artist] painted tall fir-pines, a wattle-fenced yard, tall bamboos and a thatched hut in which a figure sits close to a brazier. At the end of the scroll a thatched pavilion is half visible. [In painting] the trees, rocks and mouth of the river, [the artist] used his brush as if without thought; but the vertical and horizontal strokes [still] have a style. The reeds and sandy bank achieve a bland, distant flavor.

Only this handscroll [by Li Shan] is extant. At the beginning of the painting is the signature, “Painted by Li Shan of P'ing-yang 平陽,” in five small characters. Upon [the inscription] is affixed one oval white-script seal, P'ing-yang. After [the painting], on paper, there is a poetic inscription by Wang Huang-hua 王黃華 in hsing-shu. The characters are more than a half-inch high and vary in size [fig.5]. The brush method is superior and un-trammeled, similar to Li T'ai-po's 李太白 Shang-yang-t'ai t'ieh 上陽帖. The poem: “Surrounding the courtyard are myriad peaks. The sky is filled with wind-blown snow which beats against the fir-pines. Fire in the stove on the floor is warm and at twilight I sleep. Can there be anyone lazier than I?” After [the poem Wang Huang-hua] inscribed, “This is a poem by [the monk] Ts'an-liao 參寥.” Unless one were naturally a recluse, he would be unable to write it. Huang-hua, ([tzü] Chen-i 蕭逸) wrote. After I wrote [the poem], a guest came and said, “This is Chia Tao's 賈島's poem. I do not know who is correct.” After [this] is a colophon by Wang Wan-ch'ing 王萬慶.

This oldster [Li Shan] still served as Secretary during the T'ai-ho 唐和 [period, 1201–1208]. When I first became acquainted with him, he already was 80 years old, but his energy had not declined much. He often happily painted large trees and stones on the walls. Then he...


27 Wang T'ing-yün 王庭筠 (1151–1202). Although a native of Shansi, Wang lived in Yün-ch'eng 語城, Shantung province, at the foot of Huang-hua Mountain; hence his use of Huang-hua shan-jen 黃華山人 as a hao. Since Wang died in 1202, his inscription provides a terminus ad quem for the execution of the painting.

28 Li Po 李白 (699–762), the celebrated T'ang dynasty poet.
would step back, look at them, and sigh to himself, saying, “Only now that I am old am I beginning to understand how to paint.” If [Li Shan] had not stored up strength for a long time, he would not have attained this high level. His fusion with nature was naturally formed. It really is not easy to see [his paintings]. Today I see this Feng-hsiueh shan-sung t'u. Its fineness and delicacy are such that it is not excessive for him to praise his own ability in his old age. But how can ordinary people know this? Consequently, my late father, who was in the Han-lin, wrote an earlier person’s poem to classify the painting, because he wanted to take this old gentleman and place him in the realm of the ancients. Looking [at my father’s inscription] causes one’s emotions to intensify. Kuei-mao liu yüeh nien-yu-erh-jih 窃卯六月廿有二日 [July 10, 1243]. Wan-ch'ing respectfully writes.

I have investigated Wan-ch'ing. [The Chin 金] history records him as Man-ch'ing 俺慶.22 His hao was Tan-yu 潘游. He is Wang Huang-hua, T'ing-yün’s 庭筠 son.23 I have seen Tan-yu’s painting [entitled] Sui-han san-yu t’u 壽寒三友圖, a horizontal format handscroll on paper.24 The brush method was lofty and marvellous. Unfortunately, there was no signature. [The painting] seemed to have been cut at the beginning and end. At the end [of the painting] there was a poetic colophon by Ou-yang Kuei-chai 欧陽圭齋,25 Ni Yün-lin 倪雲林,26 Wang Shu-ming 王叔明27 and Wu P’ao-an 吳匏庵28 wrote colophons and poems in rhyme with the original poem. Extremely few examples of calligraphy and painting by Chin artists still are extant. In this handscroll one obtains the work of three famous masters. Furthermore, the calligraphy and painting both are beautiful. [The painting] can be termed of the most marvellous class. After these there are a poetic inscription by Wang Shih-chen 王世貞29 and a colophon by Wen Po-jen 文伯仁 [fig. 6].

22 Recorded in Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-ka'o 史古堂書畫匯考, bua 15:85 a–86 a.
23 Ou-yang Hsüan 欧陽玄 (1283-1357). CKJMTT 1509.2.
24 Ni Tsan 倪瓚 (1301–1374). The colophon is dated in correspondence with August 6, 1366.
26 Wu K’uan 吳覲 (1435–1504).
27 (1526–1590). Wang’s colophon is dated in correspondence with June 25/July 23, 1568. Like An Ch’i, he points out the error in the Chin-shih, where Wan-ch’ing is recorded incorrectly as Man-ch’ing 曼慶. See footnote 32.
28 (1502–1575). Wen’s colophon is dated in correspondence with July 16, 1568. He notes that he had seen the handscroll previously in Nanking and had often thought of it afterwards. Then, together with Ch’ien Ku 錢愼 (1508–1572), Yu Ch’iu 尤求 (active second half 16th century) and Ku Sheng-shao 瞻聖少, (active second half 16th century), he was able to see the painting again, and so recorded the event.
30 Wang Wan-ch’ing actually was a nephew whom Wang T’ing-yün adopted as a son. See Idem.
On the handscroll are Ch'i-hsiao ch'ung-chieh chih chia 被衰忠節之家, a red-script seal, as well as Sheng-kuo wen-hsien 艦國文獻 and I-an t'un-shu 易韜圖書, two white-script seals. Also there are Wang Yüan-mei chia 王元美家, Chen-yüan 貞元, Chung-ya 仲雅, Ch'ien-k'un ch'ing-shang 乾坤淸賞 and Fu-chih Yün-yang teng-ch'un kuan-fang 福治韻陽等處關防, rectangular official seals. There is a Yü Ming Wang shih t'un-shu chih yin 有明王氏圖書之印, also Chang Tse-chih 張則之 and Ch'iao-yan-shih 超然室, two small rectangular red-script seals. There are seals by Mr. Huang [Lin] 黃琳, Mr. Yen [Tse] 嚴澤 and others.

In addition to the colophons mentioned by An Ch'i, there are two others. The first is a poem by the Ch'ien-lung Emperor written directly on the painting. The poem reads: “Delineated with jade-like ts'ün, the myriad peaks appear as if sleeping. [Snow-flakes] falling, falling, fill the air, just as in nature. [A man within the] thatched hut holds a book although the cold is unremitting. This fellow must be a friend of the pines.”

The second colophon, written at the end of the paper following the painting, was composed by P'eng Ch'i-feng 彭啟豐 (1701-84), 42 who states that on February 18, 1763, the Ch'ien-lung Emperor summoned 28 officials to the Ch'ung-hua-kung 重華宮 and there presented each man with a scroll from the imperial collection. P'eng had the good fortune to obtain Li Shan’s handscroll. On returning to his quarters he looked at the scroll and recorded his feelings. He notes the eleven-character inscription on the jade clasp and records the imperial seals, as well as those of the collectors who had owned the painting previously. He records, too, that the title slip was written by Wang Chih-teng 王世登 (1535 to 1612). 43 The second colophon actually was written by Wang Wen-chih 王文治 (1730-1801) 44 on May 6, 1786, who states, in his brief note at the end of P'eng Ch'i-feng’s statement, that P'eng died before writing his notes on the painting. P'eng's son, P'eng Shao-sheng 彭绍升 (1740-96), 45 requested that Wang Wen-chih add his father’s notes to the scroll (fig. 6).

This painting is the only example by Li Shan recorded. Furthermore, the information concerning Li Shan mentioned in Wang Wan-ch'ing’s colophon apparently is the only source of information about the artist. The scant references to Li Shan in biographical dictionaries are based on Wang Wan-ch'ing’s remarks.

The seals attached to the scroll belong to some of the most famous Chinese collector-connoisseurs, providing an almost unbroken sequence of ownership:

Huang Lin 黃琳 (15th-16th century)
Ch'i-hsiao ch'ung-chieh chih chia 被衰忠節之家
Chang Tse-chih 張則之
Ch'iao-yan-shih 超然室
Yü Ming Wang shih t'un-shu chih yin 有明王氏圖書之印
Wang Shih-ch'en 王世貞 (1526-90)

42 One of the leading literary figures of the Suchou circle, See Chung-kuo jen-ming ta-tzu-tien中國人名大辭典(Abbr. CKJMTT), 146.4.
43 A calligrapher, poet and painter. See Eminent Chinese, pp. 840-341.
44 Ibid., pp. 614-615.
A handscroll entitled *Hsiao-han-lin t’u* 小寒林図, attributed to Li Ch’eng 李成 (died 967), in the Fujii Yurinkan, Kyōto, is closely related to the Freer Li Shan (fig. 4). Although there are some additional details at the beginning and end of the Yurinkan scroll, the compositions essentially are the same. The use of brush and ink in the Yurinkan version is much simpler and freer, however, with less attention given to the differentiation of textures. Calligraphic
virtuosity has replaced the blunt, angular brushstrokes used in painting the trees and landscape details in the Freer Li Shan.

The traditional Li Ch'eng attribution for the Yūrinkan painting is based on the six-character inscription at the beginning of the handscroll, written in the “slender gold” script usually associated with the Sung Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗. A square shuang-lung 雙龍 seal is affixed over this inscription, while a half-impression of the Hsian-ho 宣和 seal appears below. In addition, the round ch’ien 馋 seal and double Ch‘eng-ho 政和 seals appear on the handscroll. All four seals are associated with Sung dynasty rulers.45

A painting by this same title is recorded in Shib-ch‘ü pao-chi ch‘u-pien 石渠寶笈初編, 24:11b-12b. While the description given in Shib-ch‘ü pao-chi generally fits the Yūrinkan painting, there are a number of discrepancies concerning the seals. The inscription by the Ch‘ien-lung Emperor, dated in correspondence with 1763—too late to be included in the ch‘u-pien46—is identical, with a slight variation in the date, to another inscription on a painting attributed to Li Ch‘eng and also entitled Hsiao-han lin t‘u in the Liaoning Museum.47 The entry in Shib-ch‘ü pao-chi certainly refers to the latter painting.

46 Shib-ch‘ü pao-chi ch‘u-pien was commissioned in 1744 and completed the following year. A supplement, hsi-pien 繼篇, was completed in 1793 and another supplement, san-pien 三篇, was commissioned in 1817.
47 Liao-nin po-wu-kuan ts‘ang-hua-chi 遼寧博物館藏書集 shang, pl. 22.

III

One of the best-known Yüan dynasty paintings in the Freer Gallery, Tsou Fu- lei’s 鄭復雷 Ch‘un-hsiao-hsi t‘u 春消息圖 (Breath of Spring), also is described in Mo-yüan hui-kuan. The entry reads:

Breath of Spring. Handscroll on pale yellow paper. Over 12 inches wide; 77 3/4 inches long. The branch of an old plum tree is painted in ink. The blossom dots are as ornamental as pearls. From the tip of the plum branch comes a new growth, more than 33 1/2 inches long, which was painted in one brushstroke. It is elegant, rich, vigorous and strong, unusually marvelous and extraordinary.

At the top of the handscroll is affixed Ch‘un-hsiao-hsi, a rectangular red-script seal. After the painting [the artist] inscribed a poem: “Wherever my straw-roofed hut may be, I long for the return of spring. And so I bid the autumn moon to linger on the old plum tree. The silken wisps of smoke die out and the empty room is cold. My daubs of ink keep their shadow on the window.” Written Chih-cheng keng-tzu hsin-ch‘iu 至正庚子新秋 [Early Autumn, 1360]. There is no signature. Beneath [the poem] are affixed P‘eng-pi-chi 博華居, a rectangular red-script seal and Fu- lei 復雷, a white-script seal.

At the end of the scroll is a colophon in verse by Yang T‘ieh-yai 楊鐵崖48 on pale yellow paper, 118

48 Yang Wei-chén 楊維楨 (1296–1370).
inches long, in hsing-ts'ao shu. Some
of the characters in the poem are
from 5 to 6 inches high; others from
7 to 8 inches high and some are
more than 12 inches high—they are
uneven. Some of the characters in
the colophon are 4 to 5 inches high,
extremely masterful. The signature:
"Chih-cheng hsin-ch'ou ch'in ch'i-
yüeh nien-yu-ch'i-jih 吳正言丑秋七月廿
七日 [August 27, 1361]. At
the P'eng-pi-chü, Lao T'ieh-chan 老
ejiu tried to show that he has ink.
But, alas, he is lacking in [his use of
the brush]." After [the inscription]
are affixed Yang yin Wei-chen 阳
印維鈐 and Lien-fu 倪夫, two white-
script seals and T'ieh-ti tao-jen 鐘
震道人, a red-script seal.
After that, Ku Yen 顧晏 also wrote
a preface. The paper has black-
striped outlines and the li-shu is
extremely beautiful.
At the beginning [of the scroll], in
the opening section, Yang Chu-hsi
楊竹西32 wrote the three large
characters, Ch'un-hsiao-hsi in li-shu
with the signature, "Shan-chü tao-
jen 山居道人." Below [the signa-
ture] are affixed Yang shih Yüan-
ch'eng 楊氏元誠, a white-script seal,
and Shan-chü tao-jen, a red-script
seal. On the handscroll are seals of
Mr. Huang [Lin] 黃琳, Mr. Jen [Po-
ch'i] 任柏溪, Kuan-nei-hou 關內侯,
Sheng-kuo wen-hsien 勝國文獻 and
I-an t'u-shu 易電圖書.

The painting, colophons and seals all
have been discussed in detail by Archibald
459–469).

IV

Another Yuan dynasty entry in Mo-
yüan hui-kuan describes a handscroll by
Chu Te-jun 朱德潤 (1294—1365), entitled,
Hsiu-yeh-hsüan t'u 劉有軒 ("The Hsiu-
yeh Studio").31

31 In addition to the entry in Mo-yüan hui-
kuan, the handscroll is recorded in the following
catalogues.
(a) T'ieh-wang shan-hu 鐘綾珊瑚, hua 5:
55b–64b. The entry is complete, beginning with
the Hsiu-yeh-hsüan chi, followed by colophons
written by Chang Chien 張燿, Chu Pin 朱斌,
Chang Chi 張吉, Ch'ü Chuang 趙莊, Hsieh Mu
益誇, Yang Chi 楊基, Kao Chi 高啇, Hsü Pen
符醇, Chang Yü 張羽, Yü Yao-ch'en 餘堯臣,
Wang Wang 王行, Wang I 王勤, Hsü Kuei 王桂, Shen
Tsun 沈端, Chang Tuan 潘端, Han I 韓奕,
Kao Yü 高陽, Fan P'u 奉藩, T'ien Keng 田勤,
Chiang Wen-chen 姜文震, Chien Chen 金震, Yü
K'an 胤堪, Chou Shih-heng 周世衡, Hsü Ta-tso
徐達左, Chin Ch'ihh 金覺, Tung Yüan 竄顒, Chi-
weng 寄翁, Ch'en P'ei 陳璧, Chang Te-ch'ang
張德常, Wang Hsi-pai 王希白, Li Chih-kang
李桂剛, Wang Ch'en 王忱, Chu Fu-ku 朱復古,
Hui-ch'en 惠禎, Chang Chün 張均, Chu Chi 朱奇,
Wang T'ing-kuei 王廷奎, Liang Yung-hsing 梁用
行, Chang K'en 張勤, Ch'en Yuan-tsung 陳元宗.
(b) Li Jih-hua's 李日華 (1565–1635) Liu-
yen-chai san-pi-chi 六研齋三筆記 3.39a–13b.
The entry records the colophons of Chang Chieh,
Chu Pin, Chang Chi, Kao Chi'i, Wang Hang, Wang I, Hsü Pen, Chang Yü and two colophons by Chu Chi, as well as comments about the handscroll owned by Chou Ching-an.

(c) Pei-wen-chai shu-hua p'u 85:34a–35a. The entry lists the colophon by Chu Te-jun's son, Chu Chi, dated in correspondence with March 20, 1410. There is also a brief appreciation of the painting and the many colophons by Li Jih-hua. These entries were taken from the Liu-yen-chai san-pi-chi.

(d) Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao 19:29a–37a. The entry is complete, recording the Hsiu-yeh-hsian chi and all the colophons listed in T'ieh-wang shan-hu.


(f) Shih-ch'i pao-chi hsü-pien, Shun-hua-shuian 淳化軒 32:81b–83a. In the entry there are two colophons by Kao Shih-ch'i following that of Chu Chi, which is dated in correspondence with March 20, 1410. The first colophon by Kao Shih-ch'i states that there are nineteen colophons on the handscroll. He goes on to say that he acquired the handscroll, together with Chao Yung's 趙雍 (1289–1360) handscroll entitled Chu-hsi ts'ao-t'ang t'u 竹西華堂圖 in the spring of 1691. The handscroll by Chao Yung depicts Yang Yü 楊穎 in his bamboo enclosed studio. Yang Yü wrote the title for Tsou Fu-lai's "Breath of Spring." There is a long inscription discussing the origin of Yang Yü's hao, Chu-hsi chü-shib 竹西居士, written by Yang Wei-ch'en 楊維楨. A long entry in Shih-ch'i pao-chi hsü-pien, Yang-hsin-tien 養心殿 13:70b–72a records the inscriptions and seals. The handscroll also is listed in Ch'en Jen-t'ao's 陳仁壽 Ku-kung i-i shu-hua-mu chiao-chu 故宮己亥書畫目校注, p. 13a, with a note that the painting now is in the Tung-pei 東北 Museum. The painting is reproduced in Liao-ning sheng po-wu-kuan ts'ang-hua-chi 辽寧博物館藏畫集, shang, pls. 29–30, where the title written in chüan-shu and spray of bamboo are listed as being by Chao Yung. But the painting of Yang Yü's retreat is now mounted separately and attributed to Chang Wo 張渥. In a brief description of the painting, the editors state that the painting was erroneously attributed to Chao Yung during the Ch'ing dynasty.

Kao Shih-ch'i's wife had to sell her hairpins and earrings to enable him to buy these two paintings. In 1694, when he went to the capital, Kao left the paintings with a friend. In 1697 he went to south and so was unable to look at the paintings. Finally, on the morning of January 9, 1700, after a succession of cloudy, rainy, yet warm days, it began to snow and there was a change toward cold weather. Kao then took out the paintings and looked at them time after time.

The second inscription by Kao says that he bought the handscroll from Ku Wei-yüeh 龔維岳 in December 19, 1691 / January 17, 1692. The apparent discrepancy in the date on which Kao Shih-ch'i actually acquired the two handscrolls is explained in the first of two colophons he wrote on Chao Yung's Chu-hsi ts'ao-t'ang t'u. A guest (i.e., Ku Wei-yüeh) came with the paintings in 1691 and Kao kept them for a few months. His wife sold her jewelry to raise money, and the scrolls were formally purchased from Ku in December 19, 1691 / January 17, 1692.

In a note appended to the entry in Shih-ch'i pao-chi hsü-pien, the editors point out a variation between the sequence and number of colophons in the handscroll as compared with the entry in Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua hui-k'ao. In the Shih-ku-t'ang entry, a poem by Yang Chi follows the inscription by Hsieh Mu; while there are poems by Shen Tsun, Chang Tuan, Han I, Kao Yü, Fan P'u, Tien Keng, Chang Wen-chen and Chin Chen following the inscription by Hsi Chuei. Following the inscription by Chi-weng, there are poems by Ch'en P'u, Chang Te-ch'ang, Wang Hsi-pai, Li Chih-kang, Wang Ch'en, Chu Fu-ku and Yü Pen. Following Chou Chi's colophon there are poems by Wang Ting-kuei, Liang Yung-hsing, Chang K'en and Ch'en Yuan-tsun. These poems are now missing and in each case there is a seal in the paper where they originally were located. Probably the poems were removed when the painting was remounted. Since the entry in
The Hsiu-yeh Studio [fig. 8]. Handscroll on light ivory-colored paper, 97/8 inches high; 781/8 inches long. [The artist] used indigo mixed with ink to paint the scenery of river, mountain, flat distance, woods and luxuriant vegetation. In [the painting] is a spacious pavilion with a host and guest seated facing one another. Behind [the pavilion] are three people traveling slowly, pointing and turning [their heads]. There is also a fisherman carrying his fishing net [on his back] and crossing the bridge. [Chu Te-jun’s] use of the brush comes close to the school of Huang-ho shan-’ch’ao 黃河山樵. 52 Chao Shan-ch’ang’s 趙善長 53 [use of the brush] is also similar.

At the end [of the painting, the artist] made a notation in hsing-shu 惜書. Kao Shih-chi’s Chiang-ts’un hsiao-hsia lu contains the same number of poems as that in hsii-pien, the editors suggest that the poems were cut off some time after the scroll left Pien Yung-yii’s collection but before it was acquired by Kao Shih-chi.

(g) Wu Sheng’s 吳升 Ta-kuan-lu 大觀錄 1845a-49a. There is complete entry, including the Hsiu-yeh hsüan chi and colophons ending with that of Chu Chi, dated in correspondence with March 20, 1410.


(i) Ku Fu’s P’ing-sheng chuang-kuan 平生壯觀 91:46. Brief entry giving names of 21 people who wrote colophons.

52 Wang Meng.
53 Chao Yuan 趙原 (active 14th century).

in the style of Chao Wen-min 趙文敏. [The calligraphy] is chaste, strong, antique and elegant. At the top [of the first column, Chu Te-jun] wrote the Hsiu-yeh hsüan chi. 54 The text already can be seen

54 Record of the Hsiu-yeh-hsüan:
“In begetting living things, the primordial spirit obtained the help of [Nature’s] generative forces to transform its pure eminence and chaste purity into the [most] refined. Consequently, propitious clouds and auspicious stars are the [most] refined of heaven; lofty cliffs and winding streams are the [most] refined of mountains; the ch’i-lin and phoenix are the [most] refined of bird and beast; while men of high moral character and wisdom are the [most] refined of mankind.

“Man is a creature between heaven and earth, yet he is able to embrace the [most] refined of living things, revert to a fondness for music and sojourn in scenic places such as the former Ch’i-hsia-lou 桂霞樓 [studio of the Yuan dynasty poet and calligrapher, Po T’ing 白珽 1248-1328] and the Hsing-hsin-t’ang 麗心堂 [studio of Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修, 1007-1072, the celebrated Sung dynasty scholar-official] of which there is more than one record.

“Chou Ching-an 周景安 of Wu dwelt southwest of Yü-hang-shan 餘杭山 [Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz’ u-tien 中國古今地名大辭典 (abbr. CKKCTMTTT) 2155-3, a mountain in Chekiang province] whose back leans on the figured stones of Chin-feng 興峰, whose face draws on the elegant riches of Chen-shan 興山, at whose right elbow is the screen of Yü-ch’ao 王道, and at whose left one surveys the hands of T’ien-ch’ih 天池. Two streams bound the north and south, and between the four mountains are flat cultivated fields and fertile land with grass and trees of handsome green. Prominent is the pavilion where Ching-an amused himself. Beside the pavilion a shady path winds to the threshold and cassis trees and graceful plants form carriage-like shapes and cast jadelike shadows between the railings.

“Mr. Chou, Governor of Kiangsi and Chekiang, wrote [the pavilion’s] name, calling it
in [Kao Shih-ch'i's 高士奇] Chiang-ts'ung hsiao-hsia lu 江村消夏錄 55 and Mr. Pien [Yung-yü's 卞永譽 Shih-ku-t'ang shu-hua] hui-k'ao 式古堂書畫彙考. 56

After the text is the signature: "Chih-ch'eng erh-shih-ssu-nien sui chia-ch'èn sui-yüeh shih-jih 至正二十四年歲甲辰四月十日 [May 11, 1364] at the time Sui-yang shan-jen 睢陽山人 was 71 [sui], Chu Te-jun painted and noted." Below [the signature] are affixed two red-script seals, Chu shih Tse-min 朱氏澄民 and Mei-yü san-jen 眉宇散人. The handscroll [also] has Hsiang shih 項氏, Li shih Ho-meng-hsüan 李氏霍夢軒 58 and Shen shih chen-wan 沈氏珍玩 59 seals. Joining the seams there are Liang-hui-t'ang 良惠堂 60 red-script seals and a round seal with the character Chu 朱. 61 In the beginning section [of the scroll], at the top, are the three characters, Hsiu-yeh-hsüan written by Chou Po-ch'i 周伯琦 62 in chüan-shu and signed, "Yü-shiieh po-weng 玉雪坡翁 wrote." Above is affixed a red-script seal, Hsing-chung-shu 行中書, and below a white-script seal, Chou shih Po-wen 周氏伯溫. 63

After [the painting], on paper, are 22 colophons in verse form by Chang Chien 楊簡 64 of Ching-k'ou 京口, Chu Pin 朱斌 65 of Wu-chüen 吳郡, Chang Chi 張吉, 66 Ch'ü Chuan 章全, 67 Hsieh Mu 詩穆, 68 Kao Ch'i 高奇

Hsiu-yeh to record its beauty. How true that is! When things are entrusted [to the right person] they are perpetuated. When wilds get the [proper] man, they are refined. Thus, the Lei-t'ang雷塘 [a dike built by Li Hsi-yü 李希煥 (CKJMTT 458.2) during the T'ang dynasty (7th century) in an effort to encourage some of the Yangchow merchants to return to farming. Construction of the dike resulted in the irrigation of approximately 12,000 acres of new farmland] truly was a pool of gratefulness and Ching-an's dwelling was a true pavilion [of scholarship]. In examining the various histories, I find that all are written in order to reflect these matters. In accord with former words and past deeds, Mr. Chou enhanced his scholarship so that in other days there was a remarkable refinement which came from the wilds of Yü-hang, and I took hope from Ching-an. Therefore I have written this to record it.

"May 11, 1364. Sui-yang shan-jen 睢陽山人, Chu Te-jun, at the age of 71 [sui], has both painted and recorded." 55 2:37a-41b.
56 19:29a-38a.
57 Seal of Hsiang Yuan-pien 項元祚 (1525-1595). 62 Seal of Li Chao-heng 李肇亨 (active 17th century), son of the well-known connoisseur, Li Jih-hua 李日華 (1565-1635).
59 Unidentified.
60 Unidentified.
61 Seal of Chu Te-jun.
62 Chou Po-ch'i 周伯琦 (1298-1369). An official, Chou was sent to put down the rebellion of Chang Shih-ch'eng 張士誠 (died 1367). Only after Chang had been defeated, some ten years later, was Chou able to return home where he died shortly thereafter. He was a noted calligrapher. CKJMTT 528.4.
63 Both seals of Chou Po-ch'i.
64 Unidentified. Colophon dated in correspondence with June 5, 1365.
65 Unidentified.
66 Unidentified.
67 Unidentified.
While the description given by An Chi agrees with a handscroll acquired by the Freer Gallery in 1950 (fig. 7), an identical painting, apparently of finer quality (fig. 8), now on mainland China, was published in 1956 and 1959.87

87 (Died 1379). CKJMTTT 791.3.
88 (1333-6385). Ibid., 931.4.
89 (Fl. ca. 1369). Ibid., 301.1.
90 (1331-1395). Ibid., 91.3.
91 (Died 1374). Ibid., 153.3.
92 Unidentified.
93 Ibid., 322.2.
94 Unidentified.
95 Ibid., 794.1.
96 Unidentified.
97 Unidentified.
98 Chu Ying-ch'en 朱應辰 (fl. ca. 1506). Ibid., 268.1.
99 Unidentified.
100 Unidentified.
101 Son of Chu Te-jun. Ibid., 251.1. In his colophon, Chu Chi states that Chou Po-ch'i's son-in-law, Ho Yüan 何藻, showed him the handscroll and asked him to write an encomium.
102 Kao Shih-ch'i.
103 Wen-wu ts'an-ko'ao tsu-liao 文物參考資料, 1956, no. 1.
104 Chung-kuo-hua 中國畫, 1959, no. 12. The existence of the handscrolls was first pointed out by Chu Sheng-chai 朱省齋, in Sheng-chai tu-hua-chi 省齋讀畫記, pp. 55-56. (Although there is no publication date, the book was accessioned by the Library of Congress in 1952); then in 1956 by Ch'en Jen-t'ao, Ku-kung i-shu-hua-mu chiao-shu, p. 13b; and finally, by Wen Fong, "The Problem of Forgeries in Chinese Painting," Artibus Asiae, vol. 25 (1962), p. 110, footnote 63, no. 3.
105 Wu Cheng-ming.
106 Wu Sheng’s entry records all of the colophons, but none of the seals.
107 There is little information available concerning Wu I. A nephew of Wu K’uan 呉覲 (1435-1504), his calligraphy is similar to that of his more famous uncle. Wu I was a member of the Suchou literary circle presided over by Wen Cheng-ming. Wu’s tsu was Su-yeh 魏業 and his bao was Ch’ia-hsiang chu-shih 宋香居士. The title on the Freer handscroll is similar to a title Wu I wrote on a handscroll by Wen Cheng-ming entitled Tung-lin pi-shu t’u 東林遊圃, now in the
his sworn relative Chi-ching 季靜. As the colophon by P'eng Fang 彭昉91 indicates, the painting and poems all were done for Yang Chi-ching 楊季靜,92 the ch'in master, on the occasion of his trip from Suchou to Nanking in the spring of 1505. P'eng Fang’s inscription provides a terminus ad quandam for the painting itself. Apparently the figure astride a horse at the beginning of the handscroll represents Yang Chi-ching. A boy with a ch'in strapped to his back and carrying an umbrella follows behind. There are four seals on the yin-shou of the handscroll, two at the beginning reading Chiu-shih-yüeh-se 萊時月色 and

Jen-ch’en sheng 壬辰生; and two following Wu I’s signature, reading Ku Chi shih 古姬氏 and Ssu-yeh fu yin 蘇業父印 (fig. 10).

At the end of the painting, on the same piece of paper, are two inscriptions in verse by T’ang Yin (fig. 11): “A spring breeze blows from the river over the young elms. Clasping the ch’in, swaying my long skirt, I have come to this spot to see you off. If among those you meet, there should be one who appreciates music, [remember that] everywhere cut reeds are good for building a thatched hut.” “In the old days, Chi K’ang 齊康93 composed the Kuang-ling-san 歌陵散. Its melodies are lost in the silence of a thousand years. Today I travel here with you and perchance we can rediscover the music according to the score. T’ang Yin of Wu-ch’ü.” Beneath the signature are two seals, Po-hu 伯虎 and T’ang Yin ssu yin 唐寅私印.

On the end-papers are nine colophons by various contemporaries eulogizing Yang Chi-ching and his father, Yang Ya-su 楊雅素 (figs. 11-14). The first colophon, by Wen Cheng-ming 文徵明 (1470-1559), states:

I am acquainted with Sire [Yang] Ya-su, and am conversant with his frowns, smiles and gestures. For his entire life, [his interest has been in his] seven-foot ch’in. The gurgling

91 Chi K’ang, born Hsi K’ang 沈康 (237-262), was an alchemist, poet and musician, one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. He fell afoul of the imperial family and was executed at the age of 40. Just before his execution he sang the Kuang-ling-san, accompanying himself on the ch’in and lamented the fact that as the piece of music had not been transmitted to anyone, it would perish with him. See Robert Hans van Gulik, Hsi K’ang and His Poetical Essay on the Lute, Tokyo, 1941.
[sound of his ch'in is like that of] flowing water. How can the fullness and softness [of his music] be likened to the [usual] excesses? I am able to comprehend the essentials that he posits in his melodies. Of late, Sire [Ya-su] has transmitted the subtleties [of his ch'in] to all [who wish to receive them], but [his son, Yang] Chi[-ching] alone [is able to] attain [his father's marvelousness]. He obtained the orthodox tradition of ancient [ch'in] melodies. His other skills also manifest his natural intelligence. [The teachings which Yang Chi-ching received from his father] are by no means his only skill. [That kind of] pure and austere way of life resembles [that of his father].

Now of those people in antiquity who are famous for their ability [to play the] ch'in, in Yüeh there was Liu Hung 劉鴻; while in our Su-chou, those who are famous ch'in [players] really begin with Sire [Ya-su], father and son. For sixty years [famous ch'in masters] in the [Soochow] school have been so few; [now the title ought to be] entrusted to you, Sire Chi [-ching].

When talking, you lament that those people who comprehend music are so few. So, covering your ch'in, you are going [on a trip of] 1000 li, to Mo-ling 摩陵 94, the famous old capital. In going you may meet [someone there who will appreciate you]. Twanging, you pluck one solitary note and cleanse the ears [of those accustomed to hearing the common sounds of] cheng 竹 and ti 箫. Wen Pi 文璧 of Ch'ang-chou 長洲.

In the next inscription, a poem, Hsü Shang-te 徐尙德 (active early 16th century) 95 writes:

Wanting to advance to the clouds and visit heaven,

[You are going to] Chung-shan 鍾山 96 [where, in the] beautiful sun, the five-hued clouds are auspicious.

[Shun 舜 strummed] a song of the South Wind and the people were peaceful and happy, and there was abundance. 97

Extremely superior, Ch'i Chou 峯周 saw the phoenix. 98

Paired dragons and precious swords [ornament the] plain silk wrapper [of your ch'in].

94 Ancient name for Nanking.

95 Tzu Chung-hsiu 仲修. Hsü was a native of Chiang-tu 江都, Kiangsu. He is recorded in chüan 8 of Ming-hua-lu 明華錄, but examples of his paintings are rare.

96 One of the most famous scenic mountains in Chiang-nan, located on the outskirts of Nanking. See CCKCTMTTT 1:1303.1.

97 Shun, one of the legendary rulers of China, traditionally is said to have made a five-stringed ch'in and used it in singing one of his poems, entitled Nan-feng, or South Wind. Supposedly the poem celebrated the beneficent influence of rulers and parents as being like that of the genial South Wind.

98 The phoenix, which is said to appear when a sage ascends the throne, or when right principles are about to triumph in the world, supposedly was heard singing on Mount Ch'i during the reign of Wen-wang 文王 of the Chou dynasty.
On the Yangtze and Han 河 [River]s the east wind will blow the traveler's dress.

Travelling to Nanking for me seeking ancient melodies,
[Beneath] luxurious. 唯[-t'ung trees] and distant clouds, the T'ai-shuo 太韶 is far-reaching.
Hsü Hsiang-te of Chiang-yin 江陰.

A poem by Wang Huan 王濬 (1519 chii-jen) follows.

The spring warmth 青 hits you take the jade pegs [of the ch'în].
[The surface of the ch'în is] sleek and cold, [decorated with] chih-ch'iao 素鷹 and shiny golden blades.
In the Yu-hua 雨花 Tower, I think of past travelling days,
Pointing out [desirable places] in the streams and mountains while talking of the Six Dynasties.

Transmitted sounds sometimes can be heard in the Chin-hu 金虎 Temple.

99 The name of the music of Shun, who was fond of praising the virtue of past worthies.
100 Tzu Shih-lin 時霖. A native of Hsiang-shan 象山, Chekiang, Wang was noted for his hsing and ts'ao scripts.
101 The term used in referring to the larger of the two holes on the curving under section of a ch'în.
102 A bird which is said to have been brought as tribute to the Chinese court in 120/121 A.D. from a Western country, perhaps Arabia. Supposedly the bird could understand human speech, and, when the country was at peace, would soar into the air.

Imposing songs mount to Feng-huáng 凤凰 Mountain.
[When you were at] Ch'in-huai 塵淮 selecting a courtesan, I was aware of your black hair.
Today at our meeting, I see that your hair already is streaked with gray.

Liu Pu 劉布 (active early 16th century) adds a short poem, written in bold script.

[Yang] Ya-su’s [music] already has a long history.
You [Yang Chi-ching] have obtained the orthodox tradition,
Recreating the Kuang-ling-san.
Like flowing water you are able to proclaim your determination.
Within your thatched hut you repeatedly examine your sword.
In spring, by the river alone, you strike the strings of your ch'în.
This trip definitely will not be in vain.
For your friends all are sages of the time.

These poems are followed by a long preface, written by P'eng Fang 彭昉 (active 16th century).

103 A mountain in Chiang-ning hsien 江寧縣, Kiangsu province. See CKKCTMTTT 114.1.
104 A canal in Chiang-ning hsien, Kiangsu. Both sides of the canal were lined with establishments of amusement and entertainment. See CKKCTMTTT 745.2.
105 Tzu Meng-sheng 孟升. A native of Ch'ang-lo 長樂, Fukien, Liu was noted for his chüan script.
106 Tzu Yin-chih 賢之. P'eng was known for his calligraphy.
Fig. 3.—Wind and Snow in the Fir-pines, by Li Shan. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 4.—Wintry Grove, attributed to Li Ch'eng. Fujii Yūrinkan, Kyoto.
Fig. 1—Crabapple and Gardenia, by Ch’ien Hsiian. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 2—Colophons by Yung-hsing and Mien-i.
Fig. 3.—WIND AND SNOW IN THE FIR-PINES, by Li Shan. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 4.—WINTRY GROVE, attributed to Li Ch'eng. Fujii Yūrīkan, Kyōto.
Fig. 7.—Copy of The Hsiu-yeh Studio, by Chu Te-jun. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 8.—The Hsiu-yeh Studio, by Chu Te-jun.
Fig. 5.—Colophons by Wang Ting-yün and Wang Wan-ch'ing.

Fig. 6.—Colophons by Wang Shih-dien, Wen Po-jen, P'eng Ch'i-feng and Wang Wen-dah.
Fig. 7.—Copy of The Hsiu-ten Studio, by Chu Te-jun. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 8.—The Hsiu-ten Studio, by Chu Te-jun.
Fig. 9.—Journey to Nanking, by T'ang Yin. Freer Gallery of Art.

Fig. 10.—Wu I, title for Journey to Nanking.
Fig. 11.—Colophons on Journey to Nanking.
Fig. 13.—Colophons on Journey to Nanking.

Fig. 14.—Colophons on Journey to Nanking.
Preface to poems presented to the ch'in master, Yang Chi-ch'ing, who is travelling to Chin-ling.

What distresses a scholar is [that he might] not [have] any ability. An able [scholar] is distressed [that he might] not attain the utmost of his faculties. [If his] faculties aid his ability, and his ability aids their [practical] use, then he can go anywhere in the empire. But if he has no true ability, and [goes on a journey], then what he sees and feels, such as the teaching of classical music, will be impeded and blocked, not assisting him. [Although his] legs [were to travel] one thousand li, his body [still] would be here. So how can he speak of travelling?

That which [most] easily moves mankind is music. The music that [most] easily moves mankind is [that of] the ch'in. Made in antiquity, the ch'in was used as an instrument to pacify the empire. Later [generations] changed [and composed] new melodies. Compared [with the canon of the classical melodies, the newer melodies] aim at intensifying grief, [so that the people] slowly forgot how to return [to the orthodox music]. When the great peacefulness of men's hearts is destroyed, then government does not equal that of antiquity. Alas! Where can a person be found who is devoted [to the ch'in] and thereby can carry on the melodies transmitted from antiquity to open people's hearts? From antiquity, people's hearts always have been constant, but if people are guided by ancient melodies, then [they will be like the] ancients; [if they are] guided by present-day [music, then they will resemble] present-day [people]. If someone wishes to utilize the ch'in to pacify men's hearts, but does not attain the utmost of his faculties in ancient customs, then he himself will be deluded; whom can he help?

Yang Chi-ch'ing of Soochow has skill [in playing the] ch'in which results from his father's training. His songs, compositions, introductions and performance are extensive and comprehensive. None is what it should not be. The marvelousness of his harmony and continuity enable him alone to approach the ancients. Once he played several melodies for me, stopping only when he had finished. Such is [the degree of] Chi-ch'ing's [ability in playing the ch'in], and this degree is the utmost. This [level of accomplishment] cannot be achieved through study [alone].

Chi-[ching] is troubled because he seldom meets anyone who is able to comprehend his music. So, clasping all he has, he does not regard 1000 li as being too distant to travel [to see someone who might understand]. In the second month of ch'ou [March 6/April 3, 150] he again is going to the banks of the T'ai-huai River on Chung shan in Chin-ling, where he will loosen his clothes and play a melody on his ch'in which will spread far and wide. Nowhere is there anyone who
cannot be moved or exhilarated by those copious ancient melodies and clear, pure notes. Hence his trip will not be in vain.

As Yang Chi-ching is about to leave, the poet Ch'ien K'ung-chhou 錢孔周 107 wrote a poem and gave it to him as a present. Others also wrote essays and poems, all of which are abundant and harmonious as a string of pearls. I humbly place my coarse words at the beginning, like poetry striving with confused sounds to produce a clamor. How can he say that I comprehend music?

Three poems follow P'eng Fang's preface. The first poem, by Huang Yün 黃雲 (active late 15th, early 16th century), 105 reads:

Several years [ago, travelling in the] southern country,
I saw the flowers and mist. 109
My career has been successful and I laugh that the hair on my temples is streaked [with white].
Now I am seeing you off, Sire, travelling lightly, carrying only your ch'īn.
Those who know music are not [to be found] in the homes of nobility.
Huang Yün of K'un-shan 昆山.

The second poem, by Chu Yün-ming 朱延明 (1460-1526), 110 is entitled, "Summoning the phoenix, [written] on seeing off Master Yang on his trip to Nanking."

On the dark wu-t'ung [surface of the ch'in] hang red silken threads.
On the green pegs gold [inlay] sparkles.
Alone, clapping [the ch'in], you climb to a lofty platform.
When seated on a stone plucking [the ch'in],
The pure [second note] shang 商 does not equal the purity of the [sound of the third note] chiao 解 for sadness.
The phoenix returns, the phoenix returns.
On the lofty platform, the red sun gives a beautiful autumnal radiance.
With change and decline, will the phoenix return?

The third poem is by Ch'ien T'ung-ai 錢同艾 (active early 16th century), 111 whom P'eng Fang mentioned specifically in his preface.

During the third month, spring in Nanking [still] is not over.
Exhilarated [at the prospect of] moving to see the country, you mount your ornate saddle.

107 Ch'ien T'ung-ai 錢同艾. See footnote 110.
108 Tzu Ying-lung 慈龍. A native of K'un-shan 昆山, Kiangsu, he is recorded in Chung-kuo wen-hsiēh-chia ta-tz'u-tien 中國文學家大辭典, 3989.
109 I.e. courtesans.
110 One of the most famous calligraphers of the Ming dynasty, CKMTTT 824.f.
111 Tzu K'ung-chhou 孔周. A native of Ch'ang-chhou 長洲, Kiangsu, Ch'ien was a close friend of both T'ang Yin and Wen Cheng-ming. He possessed an extremely large collection of calligraphy.
Courtesans order wine at the willow blossom shops.
Travelers crossing the Yangtze exclaim at elm and peach leaves [swirling] in the torrent.
High pitch unaccompanied attains the excellence of the [Kuang-ling-]san.
For sweet music fondly played, you Sire wait expectantly to pluck [your ch’în].
For a man of spirit [mastery of] ch’în and sword are matters of a lifetime.
Who still is able to pit his [gleaming] frost-like sword [against] the Khitan?
Chi’en T’ung-ai of Chiang-tu 江都.

Finally, there is a somewhat pessimistic colophon by Hsing Ts’an-fu 邃參復.112

Master Yang [Chi-ching] is about to take a long trip and suddenly has come to say goodbye. When I asked him where he was going, he waved, pointing to the east side of the Yangtze. The wheelbarrow [containing his belongings is about to depart] hurriedly; [Yang Chi-ching himself bears] only his ch’în. From [antiquity, when] scholars [who felt they] bore the responsibility [for governing the empire], travelled [to a state where a ruler would] utilize their [correct] way, [scholars have] travelled to other provinces [where they have had to] bear gifts [to gain audience]. So [Yang Chi-ching] is undertaking a 1000 li trip [to Nanking], only [to undergo the hardships of] fording the tributaries of the Yangtze.
Shih-k’uang 師曬,113 who understood the five notes [of the Chinese musical scale], received men’s [welcome] greetings wherever he went. It is only that my heart is concerned for you, lest your journey be fruitless. Men [who are ambitious] ought to be openminded, not fettered by [a concern for] profit or fame. For there is much care and toil on the roads of the world; as when the people of Ch’î 齊 laughed [at the minister of Chin 晋] because he was short and lame.114 I hope you will [be successful in your attempt to] find someone who understands music. Don’t ridicule my words as petty. May 8, 1505.

Hsing Ts’an-fu writes in the Pi-ts’an-hsüan 碧藻軒.

Seals:

T’ang Yin
T’ang Yin ssu yin 唐寅私印
T’ang Tzu-weit’u-shu 唐子畏圖書

112 Unidentified.

113 A famous music master who lived during the Chin 晋 dynasty of the period of the Spring and Autumn Annals. See CKJMTT 773.4.
114 A reference to an incident in the life of Ch’Î K’o 齊克, who was sent to the court of Duke Ching 選 of Ch’î 晋. The Duke placed his women behind a curtain so that they could observe Ch’î K’o, who was lame, as he ascended the stairs. On hearing the women laughing at him, Ch’î K’o was enraged and vowed to revenge himself. See Legge, Tso-chuan, VII, xvii, 5.
Hung-hsiao (died 1778)\textsuperscript{116}  
**Ming-shan-t'ang chen-ts'ang shu-hua yin-chi**  
明善堂珍藏書畫印記  
*Ming-shan-t'ang 明善堂*  
*Ming-shan-t'ang lan-shu-hua yin-chi 明善堂覽書畫印記*

Each of these five handscrolls, dating from the Chin through the Ming dynasty, presents particularly important information concerning the individual artists and their work, as well as insight into Chinese connoisseurship. Tsou Fu-lei’s “Breath of Spring,” and Li Shan’s “Wind and Snow in the Fir-pines” are the sole surviving works by the artists. The only available biographical details about either of these two artists are contained in the inscriptions mounted with the handscrolls. The only information about the short handscroll, “Crabapple and Gardenia,” by Ch’ien Hsüan, an artist whose extant works are extremely limited, is provided by the entry in *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*. Chu Te-jun’s “Hsiu-yeh Pavilion,” which is meticulously recorded in at least nine catalogues other than *Mo-yüan hui-kuan*, offers an instructive example of how Chinese connoisseurs went about solving problems which result when colophons have been removed from several different sections of the same painting. T’ang Yin’s handscroll, “Journey to Nanking,” painted for Yang Chi-ching, together with the inscriptions by friends and contemporaries of the *ch’in* master, constitute an especially fine example of the literati tradition.

Varied as the paintings are, and differ-

\textsuperscript{115} The thirteenth son of the K‘ang-hsi Emperor, Yin-hsiang was the first Prince I 怡親王. *Eminent Chinese*, pp. 923–924.

\textsuperscript{116} Seventh son of Yin-hsiang. He inherited his father’s rank in 1730. *Idem.*
ent though the problems relating to each one may be, the handscrolls are related if only for the reason that for a brief time during the eighteenth century they were among those most important items which An Ch'i selected for inclusion in his famous catalogue. Now, more than two hundred years later, they have been brought together again by that inexplicable destiny or affinity which seems to control the disposition of Chinese paintings with unerring appropriateness.
WANG HUI’S “DWELLING IN THE FU-CH’UN MOUNTAINS”: A CLASSICAL THEME, ITS ORIGIN AND VARIATIONS

By HIN-CHEUNG LOVELL*

The recent exhibition, In Pursuit of Antiquity, originating at Princeton University in May, 1969, has naturally intensified interest in the early Ch’ing painter Wang Hui 王翚 (1632–1717). It is therefore with a sense of rediscovery that one turns to a scroll of high quality by Wang Hui which has been in the Freer Gallery of Art since its acquisition in 1950. The painting (FGA 50.19) is a copy of the handscroll, the Fu-ch’un shan-ch’ü t’u 窮春山居圖 (Dwelling in the Fu-ch’un Mountains), by the Yüan Dynasty painter Huang Kung-wang 黃公望 (1269–1354). Research into the background of this copy inevitably leads straight to the many knotty problems connected with the original Fu-ch’un: the two versions in the Palace Museum in Taiwan, the authenticity of their documentation, and the profusion of copies executed since Huang Kung-wang’s time, particularly in the 17th century. This article is the result of an enquiry into the documentary aspects of these problems.¹

The Freer Wang Hui

The painting is done in ink and light colors on paper, and it measures 743.5 cm. (24 ft. 5.3 in.) in length and 38.4 cm. (1 ft. 3.1 in.) in height (fig. 10). The composition follows that of Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un and preserves the beginning section which is missing from the original. It has no signature or seals of the artist himself, nor is it dated. However, evidence points to 1672 as the year of its execution,² and stylistically the painting accords well with some of Wang Hui’s paintings which are firmly dated to this middle period of his career. At the end of the painting is a colophon by Wang Hui’s mentor, Wang Shih-min 王時敏 (1592–1680), which confirms the 1672 date (fig. 1). The colophon is translated in full as follows.

“All four of the great Yüan painters [Huang Kung-wang, Wu Chen 吳鎮, Ni Tsan 倪瓚, Wang Meng 王蒙] took Tung Yüan 窮源 and Chü-jan 裕然 as their masters. The stout, the slender, the bland and the distant, all elements attain the utmost in the transmitted concepts [of the masters]. Tzu-chiu 子久 [Huang Kung-wang] alone [was capable of] miraculous variations, and did not adhere rigidly to the styles of his masters. His composition and number of problems with obscure passages of Chinese text.

¹ This piece of evidence is in a colophon by Ta Chung-kuang 鄧重光 (see footnote 4) on another Wang Hui painting published in Shina nanga taisei 支那南畫大成, vol. 15, p. 65. Ta records how one day in the autumn of the jen-tzu 子年 (1672), Wang Hui painted a copy of Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un for him when they were staying at Pi-ling 毛陵 (present-day Wu-chin 武進, Kiangsu).

² Assistant Curator of Chinese Art, Freer Gallery of Art.

¹ I am indebted to Thomas Lawton, Curator of Chinese Art, Freer Gallery of Art, who suggested various lines of investigation and was most generous with his time and knowledge. I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Chiang Chao-shen 江兆申 of the National Palace Museum, Taiwan, whose erudition helped to solve a
use of the brush often convey the feeling of movement and vigor in the midst of solidity, and of grace and elegance in the midst of earthy robustness. [The more] delicate the details, the more expansive is the overall impression [of the painting]. The interest [of his paintings] is inexhaustible. Those who copy his style seldom detect the flow [of his inspiration]. Shih-ku 石谷 [Wang Hui] is the only one who attains his essence marvelously, an essence which can stand even without an [external] frame. I have seen more than twenty genuine paintings by Tzu-chiu; there were three or four in the family collection, but they are now all lost. I recall that Tung Wen-min 董文敏 [Tung Ch‘i-ch’ang 董其昌] said, ‘Of all of Huang’s paintings, which added up to reams of paper, the Fu-ch‘un ranks first’. It is a regret that I have never set eyes on it. Several years ago, I heard that Shih-ku had painted a picture [after Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch‘un] for a Mr. T’ang 唐 of Chin-ling 錦陵 [another old name for Wu-chin 武進, Kiangsu]. That picture I also did not see. But I tried to imagine its spirit, and inscribed a few words about it on another painting in an idle attempt to express my admiration for it. 3 Last winter Shih-ku traveled to Jun-chou 潮州 [present-day Chen-chiang Hsien 長江縣, Kiangsu], and again he made a copy of the genuine painting [sic.?] for Tsai Weng 在翁, the Provincial Censor. 4 Now, on the eve of his departure for Chiao-shan 焦山 [a mountain in Tan-tu Hsien 丹徒縣, Kiangsu] where he is to spend the summer, he drops by on Lou-tung 廬東 [part of present-day Sung-chiang Hsien 松江縣, Kiangsu] to bid me farewell, and brings this scroll with him. At last I see its spontaneous brushwork, which lifts me onto a higher plane and into the realm of divinity. The marvel is like that of the feat of whirling a hatchet with a noise like the wind. 5 Yet in the end, everything resolves in blandness. [In his inscription on a certain painting after Huang Kung-wang], Pai-shih Weng 白石翁 [Shen Chou 沈周] credited himself with bringing about a rebirth of Ta-ch‘ih 大軼 [Huang Kung-wang] after two hundred years. 6 Surely this painting [by Wang Hui] is not inferior. What a stroke of luck it is that in my failing years I can behold this monument. Although I admire the painting, I dare not ask any favors. Shih-ku honors me by promising to paint one for me. Furthermore, he intends to ask the Provincial Censor to write a colophon on it for me. On hearing that, I could not help but be wildly ecstatic. For the Censor is of impeccably pure and lofty character. He is

3 This colophon is recorded in Li Yü-fen 李玉藩 (ed.), Wang Feng-ch‘ang shu-hua t‘i-pu 王文常書畫題跋, a collection of Wang Shih-min’s inscriptions and colophons, (1909), ch‘iu 24:4a-b.

4 Ta Chung-kuang 戴重光, ts‘u Tsai-hsin 在辛, bao Chiang-shang-wai-shih 江上外史, (1632–92), official, painter, calligrapher, connoisseur and collector.

5 A feat which calls for strength, dexterity, tender care, and suitable material to work with. The allusion is to the carpenter Shih who whirled his hatchet with a noise like the wind for the purpose of brushing from a friend’s nose a speck of mud the size of a fly’s wing. He refused to perform the feat for Lord Yuän of Sung on the ground that he was not suitable material. See Ch‘ung tzu 莊子, Chapter 24, Hsi Wu-kuei 徐無鬼.

6 This is referred to in Wen P‘eng’s 文彭 colophon on Shen Chou’s copy of the Fu-ch‘un, and is recorded in Wu Sheng 吳升, Ta-kuan lu 大觀錄, a catalogue of calligraphy and painting seen by the compiler, first published in 1712 (1920 edition), ch‘iu 20: 12a–b.
the rock [which withstands] the current of degeneration. His literary style is beautiful, elegant and robust; his composition refined. I have been admiring him for years. I am old and bald, yet still in touch with current events, and I am basking in reflected glory. Is this not the happiest event which can befall one in three incarnations? Shih-ku's art is rivaled by neither ancients nor moderns. Together with the fact that it is to bear the name of the master, the fame [of the painting] will be further enhanced, its spirit harmonized, and its need satisfied. Furthermore, with the aid of nature, the advancement of skill knows no bounds. With my garb loosened, sitting cross-legged in the woods on this long summer's day, as I know that it is not yet cool on this earth, so I know that this precious branch [i.e. this painting] is heading for a good destination. Inscribed by Wang Shih-min of Ch'ing-ho 清和, in the kuei-ch'ou 窍丑 year [1673], 82 [sui].

This colophon is to be found in Wang Feng-ch'ang shu-hua t'i-pa7 and in Ch'ing-hui tseng-yen 清晖赠言.8 Several slight differences between the colophon on the painting and these two versions may be noted. It was not uncommon for writers to keep a copy of their colophons and go on polishing them and making minor changes, so that discrepancies in their final published form need not necessarily be significant.

Mounted on a piece of end paper following the painting is a letter from Wang Shih-min to Wang Hui on the subject of this colophon (fig.2). "...Your promise of a painting of the Fu-Ch'un handscroll makes me jump with delight; my happiness is indescribable. Your finished copy, [the one painted for Ta Chung-kuang], which I am fortunate enough to have on my table so that I can enjoy going back and forth over it for days at a time, brings a still more overflowing happiness. Now you have given me specific orders [to write a colophon]; it is like asking me to throw dung on Buddha's head. I tremble, not daring to obey your command. And yet on thinking the matter over many times, I dare not go against your solemn wishes. This [the Fu-Ch'un] handscroll is a masterpiece by Ch'ih-weng, far above the ordinary. I have all my life been longing to see it, but regrettably have not done so. You honor me by promising to paint a copy for me. This generous gift is far beyond my expectations. My longing for it is such that it never leaves me. And that was why I presumed to describe my feelings, my gratitude and my admiration [in the colophon]. Alas, my sentences are unpolished, my calligraphy hideous. Furthermore, on completion [of the colophon], I spread out and viewed the scroll, and saw that seals bearing my lowly name have a lumbering appearance and are spoiling the beginning section of the painting. I regret that, but it is too late. On carefully examining the result of my rash act of scribbling on the painting, I realize that the painting has been defaced by me, and would not be eligible for a place in a refined collection. I intended to request that you let me keep this painting, delete the colophon, and bequeath it to my descendents to be treasured by them. Furthermore, I intended to beg you to paint

7 Li Yü-fen, op. cit., chüan 2:13a–14a.
another scroll with your marvelous brush for Mr. Ta, at the same time ask him to write a colophon on it. The painting will become part of the lore of the art world. However, on thinking the matter over and over, I am afraid that people will mock me and say that I try to obtain this painting by devious means. In the end, I concluded that what was promised Chao should be returned. As for the one you promised to paint for me, I know that a promise from you is like a thousand pieces of gold and you would surely not let me long for the painting in vain...

After Wang Shih-min's letter is a colophon by Ts'ao Jung 尹銘 (1613-85) (fig. 3). "Huang Tzu-chiu enjoyed a long life, and it is not known when he died. He achieved an excess of the Tao, and his wisdom was overflowing. His art was outstanding and far surpassed that of his contemporaries. During the last years of the Yüan Dynasty, politics was corrupt, excesses rampant, and the people were at a loss as to what course to follow. Those brave souls with high ideals were unhappy with the state of affairs and often became recluses, finding freedom in nature, books and painting. Chung-kuei 仲圭 [Wu Chen], Yüan-ch'en 魯顛 [Ni Tsan], Yün-hsi 雲西 [Ts'ao Chih-po 蔡知白] and Fang-hu 方壺 [Fang Ts'ung-i 方從義] all resorted to this, and Tzu-chiu was not the only one. The extant paintings of his followers still enjoy popularity even though they are not of good quality. How much more justifiable is [the popularity of] this immortal painting [the Fu-ch'un]. The powerful brush of Wang Shih-ku fuses the styles of various masters. Knowing that the essences of the ages are lodged in Tzu-chiu's painting, Wang Hui chose not to execute a faithful copy but to follow whatever is natural. Yet the ancient's art is steeped in high seriousness, and it would have been impossible to copy it without being similarly endowed. Shih-ku has painted this picture for Mr. Chiang-shang [Ta Chung-kuang]. Is this not a subtle way of expressing his esteemed friendship? The sixth month of the keng-shen 庚申 year (1680). Ts'ao Jung of Tsui-li 濟李 [the old name for Chia-hsing Hsien 嘉興縣, Chekiang]."

The painting was in the Ch'ien-lung emperor's collection if the two seals Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih-pao 乾隆御覽之寶 and Shih-ch'ü pao-chi 石渠寶笈 are genuine; and they may well be. There is, however, no record of the painting in Shih-ch'ü pao-chi, the catalogue of the imperial collection compiled in 1744-45, or in either of its two supplements. Many of the paintings recorded in these catalogues bear groups of three of Ch'ien-lung's seals, two of which are Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih-pao and Shih-ch'ü pao-chi, and the third a seal stating the hall or palace in which a particular painting was stored. It would appear that the seal Ch'ien-lung yü-lan chih-pao was affixed when a painting was acquired, and Shih-ch'ü chih-pao when it was decided to include the painting in the catalogue. For some reason the Wang Hui was not finally included in the catalogue; perhaps it was given away or somehow lost from the collection between the time the second seal was affixed and the time of the actual compilation of the catalogue.

9 An allusion to the story of the safe return of a precious jade pi to the state of Chao of the Warring States period after the Chao envoy detected the lack of good faith on the part of the king of Ch'in to honor the bargain of exchanging fifteen cities for the pi.
WANG HUI’S “DWELLING IN THE FU-CH’UN MOUNTAINS”  221

A relatively recent owner of the painting was Weng T’ung-ho 翁同龢 (1830–1904), a prominent official, calligrapher and writer. His signature and seal are on a small label sewn onto the outer silk wrapping in which the painting arrived at the Freer Gallery. For a list of the seals on the painting, see Appendix I.

WANG HUI’S VARIOUS COPIES OF THE  
FU-CH’UN

The Freer painting of 1672 is by no means Wang Hui’s only copy of the Fu-ch’un shan-chii t’u. Indeed, Wang Hui did at least one copy in nearly every decade from the 1660’s to the 1700’s: in 1662, 1672, 1686, 1700 and 1702. There may even have been others which are not recorded. As far as the one promised to Wang Shih-min is concerned, it seems that Wang Hui did not after all fulfill his promise, for it is unlikely that such a painting would be unrecorded. Evidently, Huang Kang-wang’s painting had tremendous significance for Wang Hui, and it is as though he had to refresh himself periodically at the fountainhead by painting copies of it. It is a great pity that not all the copies are extant or available in reproduction, for the sequence would constitute an excellent illustration of Wang Hui’s stylistic development.

The earliest copy of which there is a record was done at a studio called the Hsiu-chi-t’ang 修吉堂 in the summer of the Jen-yin 玖寅 year (1662). There is a passing reference to it in Kuo-yün-lou shu-hua chi 過雲樓畫記, 10 which quotes Wu Chih chen-

10 Ku Wen-pin 顧文彬, Kuo-yün-lou shu-hua chi, a catalogue of paintings and calligraphy in the compiler’s collection, (1882), chüan 6:31 b.

chi t’i-pa lu 吳芝書畫記; however, I have not been able to find a copy to verify this quotation.

Wang Hui and some of his friends have left accounts of some of the copies, but before going into these, we have first to identify a person who appears in all of them, a Mr. T’ang. His name was T’ang Yü-chiao 唐于昭 (sometimes given as 唐禹昭). His tsu was K’ung-ming 孔明; his hao were Pan-yüan 半園, Pan-yüan-t’ui-sou 半園頤叟, Yün-ku 雲谷, and Yün-k’o 雲客. He was a native of Wu-chin, Kiangsu. His exact dates are not known; but there is a record of his becoming a chü-jen 華人 in 1636, so he must have been Wang Hui's senior by some years. He was a calligrapher and a painter of landscape, bamboo and rocks—very much a member of the circle to which Wang Hui and Yün Shou-p’ing 暨壽平 belonged.

In his colophon on the Freer version of 1672, Wang Shih-min mentions that Wang Hui had done a version of the Fu-ch’un a few years previously for a Mr. T’ang of Chin-ling. The account left by Yün Shoup’ing in his Ou-hsiang-kuan chi 歐香館集 seems to confirm this. “Shih-ku copied the Fu-ch’un three times. More than ten years ago he did a copy for Mr. T’ang Pan-yüan. At that time he was still fettered by the rules of the ancients, and could not yet roam at ease. Later, he borrowed Mr. T’ang’s painting and made another copy for Ta Chiang-shang 頭江上. This has the thrust of a charging pellet. Wang Feng-ch’ang 王奉常 of Lou-tung marveled at it. Shih-ku did yet another copy. I saw all of them. When wielding the brush his spirit merged with that of the ancients; the jen-pen 師本 (‘sketch’) was simply a point of departure for expressing the inspiration in
his breast. Therefore he tackled the task with a fluent brush, was neither hindered by the thinking process nor deficient in the observation of the rules, and the result was that all was executed according to what was natural. The copy is worthy of going down to posterity side by side with the original; it certainly deserves better than being in a category below the original painting. It would appear that Wang Hui’s first copy was done for T’ang Yü-chao. Since Yün Shou-p’ing died in 1690, it is clear that the three copies he discussed refer to the 1662, 1672 and 1686 versions.

Wang Hui’s own testimony, which differs somewhat from that of Wang Shih-min and Yün Shou-p’ing, is in his inscription on the 1686 copy of the Fu-ch’i’un in the Liaoning Museum (fig. 11). “The Fu-ch’i’un long scroll by I-feng-lao-jen 一峰老人 [Huang Kung-wang] is the most famous relic in the country. It was first in the collection of Shen the cheng-ch’iun 徵君 [Shen Chou], then in the collection of Tung Tsung-po 聲宗伯 [Tung Ch’i-ch’ang], and its fame dominated the world of painting. I borrowed a ‘sketch’ from Mr. T’ang Pan-yüan of Pi-lung and copied it. Subsequently I copied again and again, and only then did I begin to achieve something. I copied once more at the Yü-feng-ch’i-h-kuan 玉峯池館 in the autumn of the ping-yin 丙寅 year (1686). Wang Hui.” Thus, the first copy, instead of being done for T’ang Yü-chao, was done from a “sketch” belonging to him. It is important to establish from which painting Wang Hui did his first copy, whether it was from the original or some intermediate version. If Wang Shih-min and Yün Shou-p’ing were correct in saying that the first copy was done for T’ang Yü-chao, then it might have been copied from the original. If, on the other hand, the first copy was copied from a “sketch” belonging to T’ang, as stated in Wang Hui’s inscription on the Liaoning painting, then it certainly was not done from the original. I am inclined to give greater credence to Wang Hui’s own account than to Wang Shih-min’s or Yün Shou-p’ing’s, even though it was written 24 years after the event.

Yün Shou-p’ing describes the first copy, which we may tentatively identify as the one dated 1662, as a painting in which Wang Hui is not yet able to soar but is still “fettered by the rules of the ancients,” implying that he has not yet come into his own. Apart from that, we do not know very much about the painting: what were its dimensions, were colors used, etc. We may be fairly certain that it preserved the beginning section of the composition of the original Fu-ch’i’un, the section which was to suffer damage by fire in 1650. We know for a fact that the Freer version of

13 A scholar who had received a summons from the emperor.
WANG HUI'S "DWELLING IN THE FU-CH'UN MOUNTAINS" 223

1672 does preserve that portion. This is another reason why it is almost certain that the 1662 and 1672 versions were based on a "sketch" which was made from the original before it sustained any damage. That point having been settled with reasonable certainty, the question that leaps to mind is: Did Wang Hui ever see Huang Kung-wang's Fu-ch'un? I believe he did, perhaps before, but probably after, 1686 for reasons to be given later.

The Liaoning version of 1686 (fig. 11) is done in ink on paper; its dimensions are given as 475 cm. (15 ft. 7 in.) long and 37 cm. (1 ft. 2.6 in.) high. The composition, which is illustrated in the Liaoning catalogue, is the entire length of the painting at present. It represents only the final seven-twelfths of the composition of the original. The painting must have been longer when it was first painted, and the beginning section must have been removed at some time.

After 1686, the next recorded copy of the Fu-ch'un by Wang Hui is dated 1700; it is catalogued in Shu-hua chien-ying. There is a description of the painting, but the compiler neglects to say whether it has colors. Wang Hui's inscription is recorded (text fig. 7) and is followed by Huang Kung-wang's inscription on the original Fu-ch'un transcribed by Wang Hui onto this painting. "Tzu-chiu's Fu-ch'un shan is a legend in the art world and the first relic in the country. Shen the cheng-chün [Shen Chou] and Tung Wen-min [Tung Ch'i-ch'ang] had inscribed it. It is a microcosm of the entire field of painting. I saw it at the Yen-t'ai-yü-ch'ai 胤邁園齋. I copied it from a 'sketch' to my satisfaction. In the summer of the keng-ch'en 禎辰 year [1700] I was confined and did another copy. It retains only an outward resemblance to

15 Knowing the height of the painting, one can work out the scale of reproduction, and on the basis of that, the length illustrated is calculated to be the painting's present length.

16 Li Tso-hsien 李佐賢, Shu-hua chien-ying, a catalogue of painting in the compiler's collection and others seen by him, (1871 edition), chüan 9:10a-11b.
Ch'ih Weng's original, and in spirit it is much inferior to it. Wang Hui of Yü-shan 處山. The original inscription [by Huang Kung-wang] is recorded on the left."

I submit that Wang Hui saw the original Fu-ch'un for the first time between 1686 and 1700, most likely shortly before the latter date. At the time, the painting was probably in the collection of Kao Shih-ch'i 高士奇, whom Wang Hui certainly knew. The inscription on the 1700 version is the first one which states categorically that he had seen the original, and the fact that he transcribed Huang Kung-wang's inscription next to his own would support this. Up to the time of seeing the Fu-ch'un, Wang Hui probably did not have access to the full text of Huang's inscription because it had not been transcribed onto the "sketch" on which he based his first recorded copy. Seeing the painting for the first time or shortly before 1700, he must have been so taken with its inscription that he decided to transcribe it onto his copy as a deferential gesture to Huang Kung-wang.

The last version of the Fu-ch'un by Wang Hui appears to be the one recorded in Kuo-yīn-lou shu-hua chi and is dated 1702. With this copy, Wang Hui went even further in paying homage to Huang Kung-wang, for he transcribed onto his copy not only Huang's original inscription but also the colophons by Shen Chou, Wen P'eng, Wang Chih-teng 王履登, Chou T'ien-ch'i'ü 塩天球 and Tsou Chih-lin 鄭之麟 to be found on the end papers, and the colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang on the silk mounting to the right of the Fu-ch'un. Wang Hui then added his own inscription (text fig. 2). "Ta-ch'ih's genuine paintings are be-

17 Ku Wen-pin, op. cit., chüan 6:30a-30b.
coming more rare every day. This scroll follows Tung Yüan and Chü-jan in its brushwork and composition. It is simple and astringent, and attains a marvel not contained in mere naturalism. One day in the autumn of the jen-wu 王午 year [1702], all was quiet outside the window of my mountain dwelling, and there happened to be some good paper at hand. My brush emulated what my heart admired, and positive result was obtained. Hence this inscription.” According to Hsü Pang-ta 徐邦達, this version is now in the Palace Museum in Peking.\(^{18}\)

**HUANG KUNG-WANG’S **

*Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u*

We now turn to Huang Kung-wang’s original *Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u* (fig. 12), which has an inscription by the artist dated 1350 (fig. 4). It appears at the end of the painting, at the left side of the last of the six pieces of paper which at present make up the painting. “In the seventh year of the reign of Chih-cheng [1347], I returned to the dwelling in the Fu-ch’un Mountains, and Master Wu-yung 無用師 came with me. One day I grasped a brush and painted this picture at the southern pavilion. The mood was upon me, and I laid out the composition thus, unconscious of fatigue, gradually filling in the details. The picture was not finished for three or four years, because it was left in these mountains when I traveled elsewhere. Now I make a point of putting the painting in my luggage, and whenever I have time in the morning and evening, I apply the brush. Wu-yung worries that some clever person may take the painting away; I therefore inscribe on the end of the scroll before [it is finished] so that people know how difficult it is to bring this painting to completion. Written by Ta-ch’ih hsüeh-jen 大漆學人 at the Chih-chih t’ang 知止堂, [the studio] of Mr. Hsia 夏 of Yün-chien 雲間, on the day before ch’u-chieh 歓節 [ching-chih 驚節, the day of the Excited Insects] in the spring of the tenth year [of the reign of Chih-cheng (1350)].”\(^{19}\)

From the inscription, we gather that the painting was begun in 1347 and not yet finished in the spring of 1350 when the inscription was written. Huang Kung-wang was 82 sui at the time. Wang Yüan-ch’i 王原祁 once said that the *Fu-ch’un* took seven years to complete,\(^{20}\) but this cannot be verified. Whether Huang Kung-wang took four, five, six or seven years to finish the painting need not concern us. It is obvious that the painting is a monumental achievement; and coming in the last decade of his long life, it is a grand summing-up of his entire artistic career.

The Fu-ch’un are a range of mountains in Chekiang Province, about fifty miles south-west of Hang-chou 杭州, and the stretch of the Che Chiang 浙江 which flows past them is called the Fu-ch’un Chiang 富春江. From the inscription translated above, it appears that Huang Kung-wang spent a considerable amount of time towards the end of his life roaming these

---

\(^{18}\) Hsü Pang-ta, “Huang Kung-wang ho t’a-ti Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u 黃公望和他的富春山居圖,” in Wen-wu ts’an-k’ao tz‘u-liao 文物參考資料, 1958, no. 6, p. 36.

\(^{19}\) The painting is fully recorded in *Ku-kung shu-hua lu 敦煌書畫錄* (Taipei, 1965), chüan 4:133–138.

mountains, and a number of his landscapes were probably inspired by the scenery there.\(^{21}\) The recipient of the painting, Master Wu-yung, has not been identified. He has been called Huang Kung-wang's Taoist friend,\(^{22}\) but the title shih 師, carrying the meaning of "teacher" or "master," is more indicative of the Buddhist persuasion. Mr. Hsia, at whose studio the inscription was written, has Hsia Shih-tse 夏世澤, a collector and art patron who resided in Yin-chien (present-day Sung-chiang Hsien, Kiangsu), about twenty-five miles southwest of Shanghai. Huang Kung-wang must have been a good friend of Hsia, for he seems to have visited and painted at the Chih-chih t'ang frequently.\(^{23}\)

The Fu-ch'un shan-ch'ü t'u is in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and is generally referred to as the Wu-yung version to distinguish it from the Tzu-ming 子明 version (fig. 14), a painting of the same composition\(^{24}\) in the same collection, which at one time was attributed to Huang Kung-wang and indeed thought to have been the genuine Fu-ch'un.\(^{25}\)

\(^{21}\) There is a hanging scroll by Huang Kung-wang entitled Fu-ch'un t'ao-ling t'u 富春大嶺圖 recorded in Chang Keng 賣賁, T'u-hua ch'ing-i shih 圖畫精意 (preface dated 1888), in Mei-shu ts'ung-shu collection (1936 edition), tse 86:25 a–b. The painting is said to have a colophon in verse by Wang Meng and one in prose by Ni Tsan dated 1362.


\(^{23}\) Li Jih-hua 李日華, Liu-yen-chai san chi 六研齋三記, preface dated 1626 (no date), chüan 4:112 a.

\(^{24}\) The Tzu-ming has a section at the beginning which is not on the Wu-yung version.

\(^{25}\) The Tzu-ming version is recorded in Ku-kung shu-hua lu, chüan 4:138–142.

From the series of colophons on the Wu-yung version, it is possible to partially reconstruct its pedigree, and some of the gaps can be filled by information from external sources. Presumably Master Wu-yung did receive the painting from Huang Kung-wang when it was finished. Nothing is known of its whereabouts and its ownership between then and the time Shen Chou acquired it, in or sometime before 1487. The earliest extant colophon was written by Shen Chou in 1488 (fig. 5), when the painting was no longer his. He remarks that some earlier colophons had become detached from the scroll with the passage of time.\(^{26}\) He goes on to relate how the painting was formerly in his collection, was lost, and then acquired in 1488 by a prominent official in Su-chou, a Mr. Fan 瀟.\(^{27}\)

Curiously enough, Shen Chou does not appear to have painted any copy of the Fu-ch'un until after Huang Kung-wang's painting had been lost from his collection. This he did in 1487, and for want of a better term, we shall call this the "memory copy," the Chinese term being pei-lin pen 背臨本. We have a record of it in Ta-kuan

\(^{26}\) Chang Ch'ou 張丑, in Ch'ing-ho shu-hua-fang 清河書畫舫, a catalogue completed in 1616 (1688 edition), chüan 11:63b, states that there were colophons by Li Chen-po 李貞伯 and Shen Chou at the end of the painting. Li Chen-po can be identified as Li Ying-chen 李應辰 (1431–93) an official and noted calligrapher. To my knowledge this is the only record of a colophon which either pre-dated or was contemporaneous with Shen Chou's, and it contradicts Shen Chou's statement of nearly 130 years earlier that all earlier colophons had been detached from the scroll.

\(^{27}\) Fan Shun-chü 樊舜舉, See Wu Sheng, op. cit., chüan 20:112 a.
四大家書畫家董巨 米張 之風格各不同，然皆以其筆法之真，
無愧今人。此幅手卷，書法古雅，款署 「明嘉靖丙辰四月四日」，
款題細數，字跡清秀，風格高雅。卷首題名為「米南宮賞書記」，
為米芾所作。卷末有朱耷、王石谷、吳啓等名家題跋，
富春長卷之精品。此卷為張大千之舊藏，故本卷於本館所藏，
所見者無多。
Fig. 1.—Ye’s Jung’s colophon dated 1682 on an end paper following Wang Hui’s 1672 painting.

Fig. 2.—Wang Shih-min’s letter on an end paper following Wang Hui’s 1672 painting.

Fig. 3.—Ts’ao Jung’s colophon dated 1680 on an end paper following Wang Hui’s 1672 painting.
Fig. 4.—Huang Kung-wang’s inscription dated 1350 on his Fu-ch’un shan-ch’ii t’u (Wu-yung version). National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

Fig. 5.—Shen Chou’s colophon dated 1488 on the Wu-yung version.
Fig. 6.—Wen P'eng's colophon dated 1570 on the Wu-yung version (reproduced from Shina nanga taisei).
Fig. 7.—Wang Chih-teng’s and Chou T’ien-ch’iu’s colophons dated 1571 on the Wu-yung version.

Fig. 8.—Tung Chi-ch’ang’s colophon dated 1596 on the Wu-yung version (reproduced from Shina manga taiset).
Tsou Chih-lin’s colophon dated 1650 on the Wu-yung version (reproduced from Shina nanga taisei).
Shen Chou wrote an inscription on the painting: "...The scroll [the Fu-ch'un shan-chü t'u by Huang Kung-wang] was once in my collection. [I asked a certain person to] write a colophon in verse on it. His son absconded with the painting and sold it. I was poor and unable to recover it by proper means, so all my longing for it was in vain. I therefore utilized my memory and set down the likeness, but the loss of authenticity is great, and it is in a spirit of despondency that I look at this [my] copy. Mid-autumn day, ting-wei 10th year of the reign of Ch'eng-hua [1487]. Shen Chou of Ch'ang-chou (text fig. 3). The measurements of this copy given in Ta-kuan lu are equivalent to 360 cm. x 30 cm. (11 ft. 9.7 in. x 11.8 in.). The descriptive notes state that light colors are used.

For a long time, this painting by Shen Chou was probably a twin to Huang Kung-wang's Fu-ch'un, as indicated by the colophons on the two paintings which show that they were in the same collections. As a matter of fact, Shen Chou's "memory copy" was acquired by Fan Shun-chü in 1487, the year it was painted and one year before he acquired the original Fu-ch'un. This information is obtained from the first colophon on Shen Chou's painting written by the artist Yao Shou (1423–95), which is in the form of a long poem in praise of Huang Kung-wang and of the scenery depicted. The colophon ends with an explanatory note: "Mr. Fan Shun-chü of Wu-chün [Su-chou] acquired this copy of Ta-ch'ih's painting and is delighted with it. He asked me to compose a poem. The wonders of the landscape are expressed in the painting but evade my

poem. The day before ch'ung chiu [the tenth day of the ninth month] in the ting-wei year in the reign of Ch'eng-hua [September 24th, 1487]."

To return to the transmission of the original Fu-ch'un, after Fan Shun-chü's ownership there is another gap in its history until the next colophon, written by Wen P'eng (1498–1573) in Nanking in 1570 (fig. 6). The painting belonged to

Ibid., chüan 20:11b–12a.
The next colophon on the Fu-ch’un is a short one by the famous critic and connoisseur Wang Chih-teng (1535-1612) recording the fact that he saw Huang Kung-wang’s painting at the Ch’eng-huai-ko 濃懷閣, the studio of T’an Chih-i [presumably in Su-chou], on a day corresponding to September 6th, 1571 (fig. 7). Another short colophon records the fact that the painter and calligrapher Chou T’ien-ch’iu (1514-95) saw the painting as well as Shen Chou’s copy 42 days later (fig. 7). The colophon on the latter is dated the twenty-eighth day of the ninth month in the hsin-wei 辛未 year, corresponding to October 16th, 1571.31

The most weighty of all the colophons on the Fu-ch’un is that by the eminent art critic and theoretician, Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555-1636) (fig. 8). It is dated 1596. A curious feature of this colophon is its position: it is not in sequence with the rest of the colophons but written on the silk mounting before the painting (see Appendix III.). It reads:

“The handscrolls by Ta-ch’ih which I have seen are either the kind such as the Sha-chi t’u 面容圖 in the collection of Mr. Hsiang 璟 [Yüan-pien 元沛] of Tsui-li which is not even three feet long, or the kind such as the Chiang-shan wan-li t’u 江山萬里圖 in the collection of Mr. Wang 王 [Shih-chen 世貞] of Lou-tung which is more than ten feet long, but does not look genuine because the brushwork is so weak. This scroll models itself on Tung Yüan and Chü-jan. It is lively and spontaneous while at the same time it achieves the utmost in marvelousness and competence. On unrolling, it measures more than thirty feet long, and one’s attention is not nearly enough to cope with the many demands on it. It is Tzu-chiu’s masterpiece. I recall that when I was at Ch’ang-an 長安 [Peking],32 between audiences with the emperor, I would pester Chou T’ai-mu 周豪 寶 to let me see this painting. To behold it is like entering a treasure house. Going, I was empty-handed; returning, I was richly endowed. It can be said that such happiness cleanses both the heart and the stomach. Recently I was at Ching-li 涤里 enroute to San-hsiang 三湘 on official business, and my friend Hua 華 the Chung-ban 中翰 [Secretary of the Grand Secretariat] arranged a meeting for me to acquire this painting. I store it in the Hua-ch’an shih 胡華室 with the Hsiieh-chiang t’u 雪江圖 by Mo-ch’i 摩詍 [Wang Wei 王維] so that they may complement each other. [The painting is] indeed my teacher. All nature’s mountains and valleys are captured therein. On board a boat on the Lung-hua P’u 龍華浦, the seventh day of the tenth month in the ping-shen 丙申 year [November 26th, 1596], Tung Ch’i-ch’ang.”

Exactly how long Tung Ch’i-ch’ang kept the Fu-ch’un in his collection is problematical, as information on this point is contradictory. According to Ch’ing-bo shu-hua-fang, whose preface is dated 1616, the painting was “at present in the collec-

30 Ibid., chüan 20:112 a-b.
31 Ibid., chüan 20:112 b.
tition of a Mr. Wu 善 of I-hsing 宜興 [Kiangsu].”33 It other words, the painting was no longer in Tung Chi-ch’ang’s collection in 1616. Ten years later, Tung Chi-ch’ang saw Shen Chou’s “memory copy” and on it he wrote a colophon: “Ta-ch’ih’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u 富春大嶺圖 [sic.]”34 was formerly in my collection; now I see Shih-t’ien Weng’s [Shen Chou] memory copy . . . The ninth month in the ping-yin year [1626]. Chi-ch’ang.”35 On the other hand, in Jung-t’ai pieb-chi 容壇別集, there is the following passage: “In the winter of the ping-shen 丙申 year [1596] I acquired Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u [sic.], and in the autumn of the ping-yin 丙寅 year [1626] I acquired the copy of Chi’ih Weng’s Fu-ch’un by Shen Chou. It has taken thirty-one years before the paintings are united.”36 In Shih-ch’u pao-chi san-pien 石渠寶笈三編, there is recorded a painting by Tung Chi-ch’ang “after Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u [sic.],” and on it is an inscription by Tung dated 1627 saying that Huang’s painting was in his collection.”37 In the face of these contradictory statements, the reliability of which cannot be ascertained, it is virtually impossible to decide when Huang Kung-wang’s painting left Tung Chi-ch’ang’s collection.

The year 1616 was an unfortunate one for Tung Chi-ch’ang. The people of Hua-ting 華亭 rose in revolt against the Tung clan, attacking members of its household and burning its properties. “Tung lost most of his accumulated wealth in the riots, including much of his treasured art collection. Of those pieces that escaped the burning and looting, many had to be sold to raise funds.”38 The Fu-ch’un was pawned for one thousand pieces of gold to Wu Cheng-chih 吳正志, whether in, before or after 1616, we do not know. In any case, Tung Chi-ch’ang died in 1636 without redeeming the painting.39

Wu Cheng-chih, tsu Chih-chü 之_vid, a native of I-hsing, Kiangsu, obtained the chin-shih 进士 degree in 1589 and held a succession of offices culminating in the directorship of a department in the Nanking office of the Board of Punishments. The Fu-ch’un was inherited by the second of his three sons, Wu Hung-yü 吳洪裕, tsu Wen-ch’ing 閔卿, sometimes erroneously given as Ch’iu-ch’ing 閔卿. Having obtained the chu-jen 序僧 degree in 1642, Wu Hung-yü chose not to enter the civil service but to become a recluse. Though by no means as distinguished as some of the other owners of the Fu-ch’un, Wu Hung-yü was the

33 Chang Ch’ou, op. cit., chüan 11:63b.
34 Tung Chi-ch’ang consistently referred to the Fu-ch’un san-chü t’u as the Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u. The problem will be more fully discussed in Appendix III, but suffice it to say at this point that when Tung used the title Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u, he referred to the painting now called Fu-ch’un san-chü t’u and not to the hanging scroll described in footnote 21.
35 Wu Sheng, op. cit., chüan 20:12b.
36 Tung Chi-chang, Tung-t’ai pieb-chi, in Ming-tai i-shu-chia hui-k’an 明代館術家彙刊 (Taipei, 1968), p. 2181.
37 Private communication from the National Palace Museum, Taïpei, where there is a manuscript copy of the unpublished Shih-ch’u pao-chi san-pien (1817), a second supplement to Shih-ch’u pao-chi.
39 Ch’in Ch’ien 崇簡, Pu-hua chi-yü 頤畫紀, a catalogue of the paintings in the collection of the compiler’s great grandfather, active from the 1820’s to the 1860’s (1929), chüan 1:11a.
most crucial one in the entire history of the painting, and the mark he left on it is literally indelible. If the stories about Wu Hung-yü and his love of the Fu-ch’un are not exaggerated, then this love can be described as obsessive. On the painting, the colophon following Tung Ch’i-ch’ang’s in time is by the painter Tsou Chih-lin (ca. 1580—after 1651), written in the keng-yin year, presumably 1650 (fig. 9). In it he marvels at the superiority of the Fu-ch’un and accords it the supreme place in painting, comparable to the Lan-t’ing in calligraphy. He congratulates himself on the good fortune of being Wu Hung-yü’s friend, thus having easy access to the painting. He describes how Wu and the painting are inseparable: “He puts it by his pillow when he retires at night; he puts it next to his seat when he is eating and drinking. It refreshes him when he is fatigued, it consoles him when he is despondent, and it sobers him up when he is intoxicated. ... At the time of the change of dynasty [1644], he fled with nothing else but this painting.”

At this point we have to depart once again from the documentary evidence on the painting to external sources, without which the most dramatic, or melodramatic, event in the history of the painting would be missing. Wu Hung-yü’s obsession with the Fu-ch’un was such that it nearly caused the destruction of the painting. On his deathbed, he ordered his family to burn the Fu-ch’un and a piece of calligraphy which he also passionately loved, so that they would perish with him. Fortunately for posterity, his nephew Wu Ching-an, wrote the colophon

42 A specimen of the Ch’ien-tzu wen (Thousand-Character classic) by the sixth-century monk Chih-yung fa-shih 智永法師, a descendant of Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之.
WANG HUI'S "DWELLING IN THE FU-CH'UN MOUNTAINS"

painting now belongs to the Chekiang Bureau of Cultural Relics (fig. 13). There is not the slightest doubt that this fragment was once part of the Wu-yung version of the Fu-ch' un in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and shared with it the fate of having been in the same fire. A careful scrutiny of illustrations and photographs of the two reveals scorch marks at regular intervals on the fragment and on the first 50 cm. (1 ft. 7.7 in.) of the painting, and these become progressively smaller as one moves away from the beginning.

After the fire, the long part of the Fu-ch'un was acquired by Chang Po-chüin 張伯驥, tsu Fan-wo 范我, a late Ming landscapist and a native of Tan-yang 丹陽, Kiangsu. The painting was in his collection when Wu Chi-ch' en saw it in 1652. At that time, the painting had not been remounted, for Wu Chi-ch' en remarked on the several feet of scorched backing, exposed by the removal of the first piece of paper. 

By 1657, the Fu-ch'un was in the collection of Chi Yü-yung 季寓庸. Two of his seals are affixed at the very beginning and end of the painting, in both cases half on the paper and half on the silk mounting. This indicates that the seals were affixed after the remounting of the scroll when the burnt backing observed by Wu Chi-ch' en in 1652 was removed. In other words, the scroll must have been rebacked and remounted sometime between 1652 and probably in or before 1657 when the seals were affixed. The painting was seen at Chi's residence in T'ai-hsing 泰興, Kiangsu,

by the painter Ch' eng Cheng-k'uei 程正揆 (ch'in-shih 1631) who made a copy of it. This event is recorded in the dated inscription Ch' eng wrote on his copy. Twelve years later, in 1669, Ch' eng Cheng-k'uei saw the Fu-ch'un again at Chi Yü-yung's house. Not long after that, he saw the Sheng-shan t'u at Wang T'ing-pin's house in Wei-yang 維陽, and observed that the fragment had been retouched in two places.

To return to the documentary evidence on the Wu-yung, the colophon after Tsou Chih-lin's 姚之麟 is by an anonymous writer who records that Kao Shih-ch'i 高士竒 acquired the painting for 600 pieces of gold. Kao Shih-ch'i (1645-1703) was a writer, connoisseur and personal secretary to the emperor. He did not affix any of his seals on the painting, but he included it in his compilation on paintings, Chiang-ts'un hsiao-hsia lu 江村銘夏錄, finished in 1693. From Kao Shih-ch'i, the Fu-ch'un went to Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻緒 (1645-1723) for the same amount of money. Wang Hung-hsü was one of the chief editors of the Ming Shih 明史, the official history of the Ming Dynasty, and a good friend of Kao Shih-ch'i. After Wang's death, a servant took the painting to Suchou where it was put on the market, and it was there that the anonymous writer of this colophon saw it, on the second day of the sixth month, corresponding to July 8th, 1728.

The next colophon, also by the same anonymous writer, was written in 1735

46 Wu Chi-ch' en, op. cit., p. 256.
when he saw the painting again at the home of a friend who had borrowed it from the then owner An Ch'i 安岐 (ca. 1683–after 1744), the Korean collector and connoisseur and author of Mo-yüan hui-kuan 墨緣彙觀. It is interesting to note that An Ch'i does not include the Fu-ch'un in the main part of Mo-yüan hui-kuan where paintings are described at length and discussed with discernment, but in the supplement where entries are very brief.49 In addition to this undeserved brevity, there is a piece of misinformation in the entry, namely, the Fu-ch'un is described as having light colors when it actually has none. These two points are very puzzling, particularly if we bear in mind that An Ch'i had the painting for a number of years, from at least 1735 to 1744, the date of the first entry in Mo-yüan hui-kuan. The explanation has been tentatively advanced that this entry was added by his son, An Yuän-chung 安元忠,50 when the painting was no longer available for checking, but there is no evidence to support this.

The anonymous writer of the two preceding colophons is identified as Shen Te-ch'ien 沈德潛 (1573–1679), poet, literary critic, Hanlin compiler, and at one time tutor to the imperial princes. The identification is made in a short colophon written by Chin Shih-sung 金士松 in 1786 by order of the Ch'ien-lung emperor.

The Fu-ch'un shan-chü t'u entered the imperial collection in 1746. In the first entry in Mo-yüan hui-kuan dated 1744, An Ch'i stated that he was in poor health, and presumably he died soon after that. The fortune of the An family declined, and in 1746 a group of calligraphy and paintings which were in An Ch'i's collection was purchased by Emperor Ch'ien-lung. The paintings included one of a horse by Han Kan 韓幹 (presumably the Shining White of the Night), Mi Yu-chen's 米友仁 Hsiao-hsiang t'u 薛湘鶴, and Huang Kung-wang's Fu-ch'un shan-chü t'u.51

The year before, in 1745, Ch'ien-lung had acquired a Shan-chü t'u attributed to Huang Kung-wang. This is the Tsu-ming version. The painting has an inscription: "The recluse Tzu-ming is about to return to Ch'ien-t'ang 錦塘, and I painted this scene depicting a mountain dwelling as a parting gift to him. Ta-ch'īh tao-jen, Kung-wang, Autumn of the wu-yin 戊寅 year of the reign of Chih-yüan [1338]."52 At the left edge of the painting is a short inscription purporting to be by the Ming Dynasty artist, Liu Chüeh 劉هما (1410–72), dated 1466, stating that he owned the painting. Several months before Ch'ien-lung purchased the painting, Shen Te-ch'ien had submitted some of his writings in manuscript form to the emperor for his perusal, and among them were two colophons written on the two occasions he saw the Fu-ch'un, in 1726 and 1735. Ch'ien-lung therefore must have known that the painting which Shen Te-ch'ien had seen bore colophons by Shen Chou, Wen P'eng, Wang Chih-t'eng, Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and Tsou Chih-lin. His acquisition, the Tsu-ming version, only bore colophons by Tung

49 An Ch'i, Mo-yüan hui-kuan, a catalogue of the calligraphy and painting owned and seen by the compiler, preface dated 1742 (1900 edition), Ming-hua hsü-lu chüan-hsia 名畫續錄卷下 4a–b.
50 Hsü Pang-ta, op. cit., p. 35.
51 Chang Chao, op. cit., chüan 42:55 b.
52 Ibid., chüan 42:51 a–b.
Ch'ı-ch'ang and Tsou Chih-lin, but had an additional one by K'ung O 孔額, a 57th generation descendant of Confucius. Ch'ien-lung's rationalization was that his Shan-chii t'u and the painting referred to in Shen Te-chien's two colophons were two entirely different paintings. When in 1746 he saw the Wu-yung version of the Fu-ch'un, brought on consignment to the palace by a member of An Ch'i's household, he realized that they actually were two versions depicting the same scenery, that An Ch'i's picture was the one seen by Shen Te-chien, and that Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's colophons on the two versions were nearly identical. His imperial confidence unshaken, the emperor blithely concluded that An Ch'i's Fu-ch'un (the Wu-yung) was the forgery while his Shan-chii t'u (the Tzu-ming) was the genuine one, and that some of the former's owners such as Kao Shih-chi and Wang Hung-hsü had been deceived. He conceded that the quality of the Wu-yung was good, and its "spuriousness" notwithstanding, he decided to purchase it. This he did for 2,000 pieces of gold. All this Ch'ien-lung recorded in a colophon on the Tzu-ming version, dated 1746.53 This is one of a total of 52 colophons Ch'ien-lung wrote on the painting. Thus it was that the Wu-yung version of the Fu-ch'un escaped being defaced by a comparable number of colophons which would certainly have been written on it if the emperor had accepted it as genuine. As it was, he composed a relatively short colophon in 1746 explaining these things and it was written on the Wu-yung by Liang Shih-cheng 樂詩正, then President of the Board of Revenue.

It was natural, therefore, that the Wu-yung version was not included in Shib-ch'ü pao-chih hsü-pien 石渠寶笈續編, the 1793 supplement to the imperial catalogue. However, the painting was included in the Shib-ch'ü pao-chi san-pien,54 the supplement compiled in 1817, a fact which indicates that either the Chia-ch'ing emperor or his compilers held a different opinion of the painting from that of Ch'ien-lung.

**Copies of the Fu-ch'un shan-chii t'u by Various Artists**

Huang Kung-wang's Fu-ch'un is one of the most copied pictures, and perhaps the most copied landscape, in the entire history of Chinese painting. In figure painting, there are certain subjects and episodes from Chinese history and folklore which have been depicted with regularity by artists throughout the dynasties, but the case of the Fu-ch'un is different from these in that all who copied it took great pains to preserve the composition of the original. During the 17th century it became almost a cult painting among the so-called orthodox school of literati painters, a manifestation of the fervor in their pursuit of antiquity so well demonstrated by the Princeton exhibition. Huang Kung-wang was held in the highest esteem. The Fu-ch'un was reverenced; copies of it so proliferated that it is doubtful if an exhaustive list can ever be made. The following is a list compiled from all the textual sources available to me.

---

53 *Ibid.*, chüan 42:51a–62b. There is a discrepancy in the fact that a number of colophons dated the ping-yin year (1746) on the Tzu-ming version should have been recorded in Shib-ch'ü pao-chi which was completed in 1745.

1. The “memory copy” by Shen Chou, dated 1487, discussed above. Recorded in Ta-kuan lu.55 Light colors on paper, 360 cm. × 30 cm. (11 ft. 9.7 in. × 11.8 in.). Artist’s inscription (1487) on end paper. Colophons by Yao Shou (1487), Wu K’uan 吳寬 (undated), Wen Peng (1570), Chou T’ien-ch’iu (1571), and Tung Chi-ch’ang (1626). The painting was owned by Fan Shun-chü in 1487, by Wu K’uan (1435-1504), by T’an Chih-i in 1570, by Tung Chi-ch’ang in 1626, and according to Wu Li 吳歷, it was in the collection of Wang Shih-min.56 In the early years of the Republic of China, it was in the collection of Wang Shih-yüan 汪士元, who later sold it to a Mr. Hsü 徐 of Tientsin.57 The painting is probably still on the Chinese mainland.

2. A copy by Tung Chi-ch’ang, probably between 1596 and 1616. Ink on paper, 666 cm. × 29 cm. (21 ft. 10.2 in. × 11.5 in.). Inscription by the artist, recorded in Tung Hua-t’ing shu-hua lu 菱華亭昔畫錄,58 “Huang Tzu-ch’iu’s Fu-ch’ün ta-ling t’u [sic.]” was in the collection of Shen Ch’i-nan 沈啓南 [Shen Chou]. It was later acquired by T’an the ts’an-ch’iin 參軍 [Commissary of Records] (T’an Chih-i), and later still it went to Chou T’ai-mu. My friend Hua the chung-han purchased it on my behalf. There was a copy by Ch‘i-nan in the collection of Wu the t’ai-hsüeh 太學 [Collegian of the Imperial Academy of Learning] of Hsi-shan 錫山 [Wu K’uan]. I copy the composition and inscribe it. Tung Hsüan-ts’ai.” There is recorded one colophon by Hsü Erh-huan 徐爾煥 (unidentified). “This scroll of mine was obtained from Mr. Lo 羅 [Shih-liang 希良] of Hsin-an 新安. It is from the brush of T’ai-shih 太史 [Tung Chi-ch’ang]. I examined it and suspected that it was painted by Yang Pu-ch’i 楊不穎.”59 It so happened that T’ai-shih was visiting the West Lake, and I produced the painting to ask him about it. He said that he painted it twenty years ago and was no longer using this style. He first painted in the style of Tzu-ch’iu and later submerged himself in the [work of artists of the] Five Dynasties and the Northern and Southern Sung, so that his early style is somewhat different from his current style. Those with an eye for these things should be able to make the distinction. Hsü Erh-huan.”

3. A copy by Tung Chi-ch’ang, dated 1627. Ink and colors on paper, 280.3 cm. × 26.6 cm. (9 ft. 2.4 in. × 10.5 in.). Recorded in Shih-ch’ü pao-ch’i san-pien.60 Artist’s inscription: “The Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u [sic.], a handscroll by Huang Tzu-ch‘iu, is in my collection. I

55 See footnote 28.
56 Wu Li, Wu Mo-ching hua-pu 吳墨井畫譜, a collection of Wu’s colophons on paintings (Shanghai, no date), p. 1 b.
57 Hsü Pang-ta, op. cit., p. 35.
58 Ch‘ing-fou shan-jen 靑浮山人 (ed.), Tung Hua-t’ing shu-hua lu, a catalogue of Tung Chi-ch’ang’s calligraphy and painting (no date), in l-shu ts‘ung-pien 藝術叢編 collection (Taipei, 1962), chi 1, sse 25:5.

59 Yang Ming-shih 楊名時, a Ming painter and calligrapher active in the Wan-li era (1572–1619).
60 See footnote 37.
On great (active the Chao [Shen Chou] did likewise. Mid winter, ting-mao 丁卯 year [1627]. Hsüan-ts'ai. Two seals follow the inscription: Ta-tsung-po chang 大宗伯章 and Tung Chi-ch'ang yin 唐其昌印. There is a short colophon by Tung’s friend Ch’en Chi-ju 鍾徹。4.

4. A copy by Chao Tso 趙左 (active ca. 1600–30), a close friend of Tung Chi-ch’ang; dated 1604. Colors on silk. The painting has an inscription by the artist. “After Huang Kung-wang Tzu-chiu’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u [sic].” The fifth month in the chia-ch’en 甲辰 year [1604]. Chao Tso.” The painting is recorded in Shih-ch’ü pao-chi.62

5. A copy by Shen Hao 沈颢 (ca. 1586 –after 1661), a great grandson of Shen Chou. Ink on paper, more than 240cm. long and 24 cm. high (7 ft. 10.5 in. x 9.5 in.). The painting was begun ca. 1631 and completed ca. 1651. It is recorded in Pu-hua chi-yü 書畫紀録 where a transcript of the artist’s inscription is given.63

“Twenty years ago Wu Erh-kung 吳武公 [unidentified] of Ching-ch’i 蜀溪 stopped on the Liang-hung River 梁鴻溪 and took me along to tour the various scenic spots in T’ung-kuan 通官 and Yü-nü 玉女. On that trip, [Wu] Wen-ch’ing, bao Hsiao-lien 孝親, in-vited me to his Yün-ch’i-lou 雲起樓 and brought out Tzu-chiu’s handscroll which he painted on the Fu-ch’un Mountains and we looked at it. Waves of astonishment and joy came over me, and I could not bear to let go of it. Those who saw the painting with me were my two very good friends Chiang Tse-lei 蔣澤君 [unidentified] and Wu Shih-hsüeh 吳石雪 [unidentified]. Wen-ch’ing said to me, ‘This painting was pawned to my late father by Hsüan-ts’ai for a thousand pieces of gold. Old Hsüan departed for the land of the immortals and the painting became the possession of my family.’ Wen-ch’ing then invited me for a long stay and, morning and evening, for more than a hundred days, I feasted my eyes on it, and I did not return home until I had made a copy of the painting. Recently I heard that just before he died, Wen-ch’ing ordered that the painting be committed to flames. Fortunately before the fire had done half its work, the painting was whisked away, and what was left unburnt has survived. My fellow townsman Chou Yung-hou 周鈞侯 [Chou Shih-ch’en 周世臣] had made a copy [of the Fu-ch’un] and it accompanied him on the lake. I met him in the early summer of the hsin-mao 辛卯 year [1651] and the meeting was a congenial one. I asked him to show me the copy. Although its length is only two-fifths or half that of the original,
it is so faithful that one felt as if in the presence of the old master. I remembered my old copy, and so brought this painting to completion. I shall also record Tzu-ch'iü's original inscription, as well as that by my ancestor [Shen Chou], so that the origin of the painting is known. Inscribed by Shen Hao at the Chao-ch'iu Ch'an Pavilion at Wu-lin [Hang-chou], aged sixty-six.” It appears that Shen Hao went even further, for he not only copied Huang Kung-wang’s inscription and Shen Chou’s colophon, but Tung Ch’i-ch’ang’s colophon as well.

6. A copy by Chou Shih-ch’en,⁶⁵ a friend of Wu Wen-ch’ing from whom he borrowed the original sometime before the fire. There are two contradictory reports concerning the quality of the copy. Shen Hao, as we saw above, thought it was a good copy. Yün Shou-p’ing, on the other hand, ridiculed the painting and described the brushwork as “like a child’s doodle.”⁶⁶

7. A copy by the late Ming painter Yün Hsiang 亜湘 (1586–1655). It is mentioned in passing in Yün Shou-p’ing’s Ou-hsiang-kuan chi, with the comment that the painting attained to a certain extent the spirit of the original.⁶⁷

8. A copy by Tsou Chih-lin, dated 1651. Ink on paper, 101.2 cm × 29 cm (39.7 ft. 4 in. × 11.4 in.). The painting, which has an inscription by Tsou dated the

hsin-mao 辛卯 year (1651), is in a private collection in Hong Kong.⁶⁸

9. A copy by Ch’eng Cheng-k’uei, dated 1657. Ink and colors on paper, 63.6 cm × 23 cm (20.4 ft. 10.4 in. × 9 in.). It is recorded in Shib-ch’ü pao-chi, which gives the artist’s inscription.⁶⁹

“The Fu-ch’un shan t’u is a famous painting by Tzu-ch’iu. Half of it sustained loss through the ravages of war [sic.] and the surviving portion was acquired by Mr. Chi [Yü-yung] of T’ai-hsing. I saw it at Pai-hsia 白下 [Nanking] in the ting-yu 色 year [1657] and did this copy. I hear that there is a copy of the entire painting in Wu-men 好門 and I intend to seek it out.”

There is a second inscription by the artist on an end paper. “In the eleventh month of the chi-yu己酉 year [1669], I went to T’ai-hsing to see the whole of Mr. Chi’s collection. The Fu-ch’un was only missing about two feet, and was as splendid as before. It is really a work of the i-p'in 逸品 [untrammelled category]. Its inscription is also unusual and pleasing. There must be a god protecting this object. This should be rated the champion among Mr. Chi’s possessions. I enjoyed it for several days. Afterwards I went to Wei-yang and saw the beginning fragment of the painting in the home of Wang T’ing-pin. The burn marks were still there. The fragment had been retouched in two places, and that is a pity. The dam-

---

⁶⁵ A painter of landscape, chin-shib in 1640.
⁶⁶ Yün Shou-p’ing, op. cit., chiian 11:23b.
⁶⁷ Ibid., chiian 11:22b.
⁶⁸ Exhibition of Paintings of the Ming and Ch‘ing Periods, Hong Kong, 1970, no. 24.
⁶⁹ Chang Chao, op. cit., chiian 6:83a–84a.
The Tzu-ming version, copyist unknown. Ink on paper, 589.2 cm x 32.9 cm. (19 ft. 4 in. x 1 ft. 1 in.). It is now generally accepted that the Tzu-ming version is not by Huang Kung-wang but by a later copyist. The painting is very close in composition to the Wu-yung version, close enough to be a tracing, although their present lengths are not the same, the Wu-yung being 636.9 cm. (24 ft. 5 in.) long and the Tzu-ming 589.2 cm. (19 ft. 4 in.) long; their heights are virtually the same. The Tzu-ming preserves the beginning portion of the Wu-yung, and this means that the copy was done before 1650, assuming that it was copied directly from the Wu-yung and not through an intermediate copy. On the other hand, it is minus the final portion and consequently the painting ends abruptly. The implication of this is clear. The final portion must have contained evidence, probably in the form of an inscription by the copyist. When the copy was painted, it probably was honestly acknowledged as a copy, and the facts, the dates, the circumstances may have been set down in an inscription by the copyist. It was later that the idea of transforming this copy into a Huang Kung-wang was conceived, and the inscription was removed, and other deceiving details such as Huang Kung-wang's inscription and Liu Chüeh's colophon were added.

There is the tantalizing possibility that the Tzu-ming version is none other than the fen-pen or yu-su-pen in Mr. T'ang's collection which Wang Hui borrowed and on which he based his first copy. We know that T'ang's "sketch" was made before 1650 because the Freer copy, which was derived from T'ang's, does preserve the beginning portion of the Wu-yung version. Furthermore, there are two seals of T'ang Yü-chao on the Tzu-ming scroll. They are square, white-script seals, reading T'ang K'ung-ming shib 唐孔明氏 and Pan-yüan wai-shib 半園外史 respectively, each affixed twice, once on the silk mounting to the right of the painting, and once on the left edge of the first piece of end paper.

11-15. Wang Hu'i's five copies, discussed above.

16-17. Two copies by Wu Li (1632-1718). In Wu Mo-ch'ing hua-pa 吳墨井畫跋, Wu Li relates the incident of the burning of the Fu-ch'un, and continues: "The copies which I did at Kuang-ling 廣陵 [Nanking] were of the burnt painting. On my return, I gave one to Mr. Feng-ch'ang of T'ai-yüan [Wang Shih-min]..... Of the two copies I did, one was for Feng-ch'ang, and the other one for Hui-tzu 嘉子."70 These copies were probably done after 1673 because Wang Shih-min would surely have mentioned his Wu Li copy in his colophon on Wang Hui's 1672 painting if it had been in his collection at or before the time.

18. A copy attributed to Huang Ch'ien 黃晉. Ink and light colors on paper,

70 Wu Li, op. cit., p. 1b.
The inscription is a blatant forgery, and the 1343 date cannot be genuine as Huang Kung-wang did not even begin painting the Fu-ch'un until 1347. According to Hsü Pang-ta, the painting does not have the opening section, and was therefore copied, probably not even directly, from the Wu-yung after the fire of 1650. It was probably done in the second half of the 17th century, a time when there was a proliferation of paintings done after the Fu-ch’un shan-chiü t’u.

APPENDIX I

Seals on the Freer Wang Hui

A majority of these seals may be found in Victoria Contag and Wang Chi-ch’ien, Seals of Chinese Painters and Collectors of the Ming and Ch’ing Periods, Hong Kong, 1966 (hereafter referred to as C & W).

Wang Shih-min (1592–1680): Yen-k’o chen-shang 煙客贊賞 (C & W, p.49, no. 26), lower right corner; Hsi-lu lao-jen 處盧老人 (C & W, p. 49, no. 24), lower right corner; Wang Shih-min yin 王時敏印 (C & W, p. 49, no. 21), after his colophon; Hsi-lu lao-jen (C & W, p. 49, no. 25), after his colophon.

Ta Chung-kuang (1632–92): Chiang-shang wai-shih 江上外史 (C & W, p. 311, no. 13), end of painting; Ta Tsai-hsin shih 姜在辛氏 (C & W, p. 311, no. 6), end of painting; Chiang-shang wai-shih, Ta Chung-kuang Tsai-hsin chih yin 江上外史 姜在辛氏印 (C & W, p. 689, no. 35), mounting to the left of the painting.

Ts’ao Jung (1613–85): Ts’ao Jung chih yin 曹榛之印 (C & W, p. 681, no. 23; recorded from this painting), before his colophon; Chieh-kung 潔躬 (C & W, p. 681, no. 24; recorded from this painting), after his colophon; Ching-t’i 靜惕 (C & W, p. 681, no. 25; recorded from this painting), after his colophon.

Ch’ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736–95): Ch’ien-lung yii-lan chih-pao 乾隆御覽之賞 (C & W, p. 582, no. 20), upper right corner; Shih-ch’ü pao-chi 石渠寶笈 (C & W, p. 582, no. 31), right edge.

Pi Lung (18th century, active reign of Ch’ien-lung): Chien-fei chen wan 閒飛珍玩 (C & W, p. 687, no. 11; recorded from this painting), beginning of Wang Shih-min’s letter.

Unidentified: two undeciphered seals at the lower left corner of the first end paper.

APPENDIX II

Seals on Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un shan-chiü t’u (Wu-yung version)

Huang Kung-wang: Huang Tzu-chiu shih 黃子久氏 (C & W, p. 523, no. 1; recorded from this painting), after inscription.

72 Pi Lung was a poet, painter and collector, and he edited Ch’ing-hui-ko tseng-i chib-tu 清晝 題贈贻尺牋, a collection of letters to Wang Hui from noted men of his time.

71 Kao Shih-ch’i, op. cit., chiian 2:53b.
WANG HUI’S “DWELLING IN THE FU-CH’UN MOUNTAINS”

Shen Chou (1427–1509): Ch’i-nan 啓南 (C&W, p. 167, no. 5; recorded from this painting), under his signature at the end of his colophon.

Wen P’eng (1498–1573): Wen Shou-ch’eng shih 文壽承氏, following his colophon.

Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555–1636): Ts’ung Hsiao-t’ai 諸孝泰, following his colophon; T’ai-shih shih 太史氏 (C&W, p. 417, no. 11), following his colophon.

Ch’ien-lung emperor (reigned 1736–93): Ch’tien-lung yü-lan chih-pao 乾隆御覽之賞 (C&W, p. 582, no. 20), upper right corner; Shih-ch’ü pao-chi 石渠寶笈 (C&W, p. 582, no. 31), upper right corner; San-hsi-ch’ing chien-hsi 三希堂精審, end of painting; i tsu-sun 宜子孫, end of the painting.

Chia-ch’ing emperor (reigned 1796–1820): Chia-ch’ing yü-lan chih-pao 宣統御覽之賞 (C&W, p. 577, no. 15), upper right corner; Pao-chi san-pien 寶笈三編 (C&W, p. 584, no. 68, there included among Ch’tien-lung’s seals), right edge of painting; Chia-ch’ing chien-shang 嘉慶聖賞 (C&W, p. 577, no. 12), near end of painting.

Hsüan-t’ung emperor (reigned 1908–12): Hsüan-t’ung yü-lan chih-pao 宣統御覽之賞, at the beginning of the painting and after Huang Kung-wang’s inscription.

Chou Ping-wen 周炳文 (chü-jen 1654): Chou Ping-wen, before Shen Chou’s colophon.

An Shao-fang 安韶房 (late Ming): An Shao-fang, before Wen P’eng’s colophon;
Mon-ch'ing fu 懐卵父，before Wen P'eng’s colophon.
Unidentified: Chiang Ch'ang-keng 江長庚，after Huang Kung-wang’s inscription, before and after Shen Chou’s colophon; Pa-shih chih yin 八士之印, on mounting left of painting; Nan-kung 楓公, on mounting left of painting.

APPENDIX III
TUNG CH'I-CH'ANG'S COLOPHON ON THE WU-YUNG VERSION OF THE FU-CH'UN

The authenticity of Tung Ch'i-ch'ang’s colophon on the Wu-yung version of the Fu-ch’un shan-chii t’u is not a matter of absolute certainty. Attention should be drawn to the fact that the colophon is almost identical to the one on the Tzu-ming version, a painting which is not generally considered to be by Huang Kung-wang. The only difference is that the colophon on the Tzu-ming is shorter by 55 characters: it is missing that middle section in which Tung recalls that he had easy access to the painting when he was in the capital and relates the circumstances under which he acquired the painting. As the two colophons bear the same date, the seventh day of the tenth month in the ping-shen year, corresponding to November 26th, 1596, one of them at least must be a forgery. Putting the two colophons side by side, it is, ironically, the one on the Wu-yung version which appears to be the less acceptable, its calligraphy being less robust than that of the other. There is another, a more tangible, reason for doubting the authenticity of the colophon on the Wu-yung version, and this has to do with its position on the hand-scroll: the fact that it is out of sequence with the rest of the colophons and stands by itself on the ch’ien ko-shui 前隔水, the silk mounting to the right of the painting. If the colophon had been written there by Tung Ch‘i-ch‘ang in 1596, it is inconceivable that it could escape the fire unscathed when the first section of the painting itself was so damaged that a portion had to be removed and that scorched marks are still visible on the extant sections.

We cannot rule out the possibility that because of his eminence and self-esteem, Tung Ch‘i-ch‘ang had written a colophon on the hou ko-shui 後隔水, the silk mounting to the left of the painting. Consequently, it was unaffected by the fire, and this strip of silk was moved to the front after the original ch‘ien ko-shui had been burnt and discarded. If this were so, then two points would have to be satisfactorily accounted for. First, why was it necessary to move the colophon at all when it stood undamaged on the hou ko-shui? Second, a piece of silk of the same material and design would have to be found for the hou ko-shui after the one bearing the colophon had been moved to the front.

If this colophon is spurious, then we may well ask the imponderable question: Did Tung Ch‘i-ch‘ang ever possess the Fu-ch’un shan-chii t’u? Tung’s ownership of the painting is now almost inextricably part of the pedigree of the painting, but on closer examination the bases on which this assumption is built are rather less firm than they appear to be. The salient points can be summed up as follows. (1) We have Wu Hung-yü’s account of how the painting was pawned to his father by Tung Ch‘i-ch‘ang who failed to redeem it before he died. This was told to Shen Hao who recorded it in his inscription on the copy of
the Fu-ch’un which he began ca. 1631 and finished ca. 1651. Our acquaintance with this painting and its inscription is through Pu-hua chi-yü, published in 1929. (2) We have Tung Chi-ch’ang’s account in Jung-t’ai pieh-chi. Here, the case is weakened by the fact that the painting is referred to by the title Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u rather than Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u and by the contradictory evidence for the length of Tung’s ownership of the painting. Indeed, there are those who maintain that the whole problem is a case of mistaken identity; namely, the painting obtained by Tung Chi-ch’ang in 1596 was indeed not the Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u, but another painting by Huang Kung-wang.73 However, the loophole in this theory is that Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u was a hanging scroll, and what Tung Chi-ch’ang called by the same title was a handscroll. Throughout Jung-t’ai pieh-chi there are references to Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u, and it is clear that in each case the painting is a long handscroll, not a hanging scroll.74 The clinching proof comes in Tung Hua-t’ing shu-hua lu which records a handscroll measuring 666 cm. (21 ft. 10.2 in) long, entitled Fang Huang Ta-ch’ih Fu-ch’un ta-ling t’u 仿黄大痴富春大嶺圖.75 Tung Chi-ch’ang’s inscription on that painting gives the same details about Huang Kung-wang’s painting as those contained in his colophon on the Wu-yung version, so that there is no doubt that he called the Shan-chü t’u the Ta-ling t’u.

On the basis of all this evidence, I am inclined to believe that Tung Chi-ch’ang did possess the Fu-ch’un shan-chü t’u for a certain length of time from 1596. During this time he made more than one free copy of the painting; the one recorded in Tung Hua-t’ing shu-hua lu, the one recorded in Shib-ch’ü pao-chi kan-pien, and possibly more. There are no seals of his on the Wu-yung version as it exists today, but he might have affixed some on the opening section which was burnt. Did he ever write a colophon? It would be highly improbable if he did not do so. Searching through literary records of events prior to the fire of 1650, I find one reference to a Tung Chi-ch’ang colophon on the Fu-ch’un. It is Shen Hao’s copy of the painting begun ca. 1631, which reproduces Huang Kung-wang’s inscription, Shen Chou’s and Tung Chi-ch’ang’s colophons, identical to the one now on the Wu-yung version.76 Although Shen Hao’s own inscription on the copy was not written until after the fire, there is no indication that he saw the Fu-ch’un again after that event, and the transcript of Tung Chi-ch’ang’s colophon must have been taken in 1631.

One solution which may be offered is that Tung Chi-ch’ang had written his colophon on the ch’ien ko-shui, and consequently it was badly burnt and had to be discarded. When the painting was remounted, it was decided to replace the lost colophon, and one was created by someone whose calligraphy could pass for Tung Chi-ch’ang’s, at the place where the original was in relation to the painting, namely, on the ch’ien ko-shui. This solution has a serious flaw because it postulates that the silk for the ch’ien ko-shui was new to the handscroll when it was remounted after

---

74 Tung Chi-ch’ang, op. cit., p. 1689, p. 1766, p. 218r.
73 See footnote 58.
76 Ch’iin Ch’ien, op. cit., chüan 1:12a.
Wu Ch'i-chen had seen it in 1652. Figure 8 shows that on the right edge of the *ch'ien ko-shui* is the left half of a seal of Wu Chih-chü, of which there are several other impressions on the painting. This indicates that the strip of silk was already part of the handscroll even before Wu Hung-yü inherited the painting. Wu Ch'i-chen saw the painting in 1652, after the burning and before the remounting, and he mentions that there was a colophon by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang. These two points, considered together, seem to invalidate the suggestion that the original Tung colophon was burnt and to raise the possibility that the present Tung colophon was already on the handscroll before the fire, perhaps on the *hou ko-shui*, or on another strip of silk after one or a number of end papers, a not uncommon occurrence on handscrolls.

77 Wu Ch'i-chen, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
Fig. 11. — Wang Hui’s 1686 version of the Fu-ch’un; 475 cm. x 37 cm. (15 ft. 7 in. x 1 ft. 2.6 in.). Liaoning Museum.

Fig. 10. — Wang Hui’s 1672 painting after Huang Kung-wang’s Fu-ch’un shan-chii fu; 743.5 cm. x 38.4 cm. (24 ft. 5.3 in. x 1 ft. 3.1 in.). Freer Gallery of Art, 50.19.
THE CHAO TA-NIEN TRADITION

By ROBERT J. MAEDA

The monumental landscape of the Sung dynasty may be equated with the dominant style of the Northern Sung period (A.D. 960–1127), sustained by such artists as Li Ch'eng, Fan K'uan, Kuo Hsi, and numerous others. The time span of roughly a century (late 11th–late 12th), between the last flowering of the Northern Sung and the beginnings of the leading landscape style of Southern Sung (1127–1279), the Ma Yüan-Hsia Kuei school, has received little attention. Its artistic importance in the development of that school has been generally neglected. Richard Edwards dealt with it in "The Landscape Art of Li T'ang,"¹ his study of the reputed formulator of the Ma-Hsia style. He saw Li T'ang's innovations as being based primarily on "clarity and simplicity, elimination and circumscribed definition."² Although he did not neglect the "intimate lyricism" of Li T'ang, he stressed more his rational, ordered character. The present article is an attempt to identify another source for the lyrical bent of Southern Sung landscape painting: Chao Ta-nien.

As a painter of intimate views of misty river landscapes, and ink bamboo, Chao Ling-jang, better known by his ts'ou, Ta-nien 大年 (ca. 1080–1100)³ was perhaps too low-keyed and unassuming in his art to achieve great, lasting recognition.⁴ As a member of the Sung imperial family (5th generation descendant of T'ai-tsu), he grew up in an atmosphere of luxury and learning. Although his biography in the Hsüan-ho hua-p'u 宣和畫譜 and Hua-ch'i 青記 contains the usual laudatory adjectives, it also

³ Chao Ta-nien's dates are not exactly known. From biographical and colophon sources it is surmised that he was active from the end of Shen-tsung's reign (1068–86) to the end of Che-tsung's (1086–1101). Among his official titles: Kuang-chou fang-yü-shih 光州防禦使, Kuang-chou Regional Defense Commandant; Ch'ung-hsin chüeh-tu-kuan-ch'ü lu-tu-hao 崇信軍節度觀察留後, Ch'ung-hsin Army Deputy Regional Commandant and Supervisor. Primary biographical data can be found in Hsüan-ho hua-p'u 宣和畫譜, pref. dated 1120, ch. 20, and Teng Ch'un 鄧椿, Hua-ch'i 青記, pref. dated 1167 ch. 2 used: Hua-shih t'ung-shu, 9 vols., Shanghai, 1963 (Hsüan-ho hua-p'u, vol. 2; Hua-ch'i, vol. 1). Other information is contained in colophons by Huang T'ing-chien 黃廷堅 (1035–1105), critic and calligrapher, close friend of Su Tung-p'o. He meted out guarded praise for Chao and his painting. Some of Huang's colophons are translated by Sirén (cf. Osvald Sirén, Chinese Painting, 7 vols., London and New York, 1956–58, vol. 2, p. 72).

⁴ Yet, he won fame and high praise in his own lifetime. Che-tsung inscribed on one of his fan paintings: kuo-t'ai 國泰, "Glory of the Country." Cf. Hsüan-ho hua-p'u, p. 250.

---

¹ Richard Edwards, "The Landscape Art of Li T'ang," Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, XII, 1958, pp. 48–60. Sherman E. Lee and Wen Fong give a good survey of Sung landscape styles, particularly the Monumental, in Streams and Mountains Without End, Ascona, 1955. They recognize Chao Ta-nien's "low distance" as marking "a turning point in the development of landscape from the Northern Sung monumental style to the Southern Sung abbreviated and romantic style" (p. 26).

² Edwards, op. cit., p. 52.

⁵ Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Brandeis University.
includes some revelations which make Chao Ta-nien more human and approachable yet, to his critics, were flaws in his character. Human foibles such as gambling and an attraction to dancing girls in his youth were interpreted as contributing to a certain softness and weakness in his painting. Even his narrow range of landscape ideas was seen as a limitation on his talents; had he seen more of nature than he saw around the capital city (K'ai-feng) he might have equalled the masters of the past. In this context, Yonezawa points out that members of the imperial family led extremely restricted lives in terms of travel and that Chao Ta-nien probably had to make clandestine trips in order to see the countryside. These trips must have inspired the joke and play on his name recorded in the Hua-chi. Whenever he produced a picture with new ideas in it people would say: “This [picture] must represent another visit to the Imperial Tombs (ch'ao-ling 朝陵).” Yet, what was restricting to

5 It is reported in the Hua-chi that he saw only the scenery between K’ai-feng and Lo-yang, a distance which did not exceed 500 li (cf. Hua-chi, p. 6).

6 Yonezawa Yoshiho, “Den Chōrei jō shū-tō-zu ni tsuite” 傅超令模筆秋塘圖について (Apropos of the “Autumn Bank” picture attributed to Chao Ling-jang), compiled in Chōgoku kai ga-shi kenkyū 中國繪畫史研究, Tokyo, 1962, pp. 131-150. Ostensibly about the painting in the Yamato Bunkakan mentioned in the title (discussed in this article), this is actually an excellent monograph on Chao Ta-nien. Includes references to other paintings and much biographical information. On stylistic matters, Yonezawa and I occasionally disagree, but we concur in believing that Chao set a new direction in landscape painting.

7 Ibid., p. 143.

8 Hua-chi, pp. 5-6.

Sung critics was a symbol of strength to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636) who wrote on a picture by Chao Ta-nien: “One who carries the hills and valleys in his bosom does not need to travel ten thousand li by boat, nor does he need to read ten thousand volumes of books. If one wishes to become a great creative painter, how could one attain to it in that way? It depends on one's own efforts, and one should not pay any attention to common critics.”

Tung Ch'i-ch'ang's interest in and admiration for Chao Ta-nien undoubtedly stems in great part from Chao Ta-nien's reputation as a painter of ink bamboo and as a follower of Wang Wei (701-761), both distinctions of the ideal literati painter as outlined by Tung. Chao's contempo-

9 Sirén, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 73-74.

10 Tung Ch'i-ch'ang mentions in a colophon that he acquired Chao Ta-nien's copy of Wang Wei's painting, Hsi-ch'ung ch'īng-hsia t'un 漢莊清夏圖 ("Lake Village in Clear Summer") (cf. Huayen 畫眼, Mei-shu ts'ung-shu, 3, 1, reprint of 4th ed. [1947], p. 33). Yonezawa (op. cit., p. 132) infers that this painting may be related to the handscroll "River Village in Clear Summer" by Chao Ta-nien (signed and dated 1100) now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (to be discussed later). In one of its colophons Tung Ch'i-ch'ang states that the scroll perfectly follows the brushwork of Wang Wei. Chao Ta-nien was also said to have been a follower of Li Su-hsien (Wang Wei and Li Su-hsien were not considered contradictory tastes in Sung times; Su Tung-p'o himself, praised both equally), Pi Hung and Wei Yen, all of the T'ang dynasty.

11 From all of the literati tendencies exhibited by Chao Ta-nien and the attention paid him by later wen-jen hua advocates, one might conclude that he was a charter member of the late Northern Sung group of gentlemen painters. But this does not seem to be the case. While he helped revive T'ang painting he did not quite measure up to its highest standards in the eyes of critics, even Tung
rary, Mi Fei (1051–1107), wrote that some small snow landscapes by Chao Ta-nien were comparable to Wang Wei’s work, an opinion which is repeated in the *Hua-chi*. The connection between Chao Ta-nien and Wang Wei can be borne out by the stylistic similarities between paintings attributed to Chao Ta-nien and those given to the T’ang master. As for Chao Ta-nien’s ink bamboo paintings, although the compiler of the *Hsiian-bo hua-p’u* placed Chao Ta-nien in the category of Ink Bamboo painters, his Ch'i-ch'ang. Among painters of nobility, Chao Ta-nien was most notable. Yet, despite his fame, Chao was not taken seriously enough, apparently, to be a full-fledged wen-jen painter; an indication, perhaps, that aristocrats were considered dabblers in painting.


13 Cf. the painting *Chiang-ts'un chi'in-hsiao* 江村秋晓 (“Riverside Village on an Autumn Morning”) attributed to Chao Ta-nien in the C.C. Wang Collection (cf. Hsieh Chih-liu, *T'ang Wu-tai Sung Yuan ming-chi*, Shanghai, 1957, pls. 21 to 22) with the handscroll *Chiang-kan hsieh-i* 江干雪意 (“River Bank under Snowy Skies”) attributed to Wang Wei, Palace Museum Collection, Taiwan (cf. Ku-kung sbu-hua lu, 4, 12; Photographic Archive from the Chinese National Palace Museum, Univ. of Mich., nos. 5965–67 or TH. 6a–c). The latter is to be compared with the second half of the famous scroll *Chiang-shan chi-i hsieh* 江山雪 Idle (“Clearing after Snow on Hills and River”), attributed to Wang Wei, several versions of which exist (Ogawa coll., Honolulu Acad. of Arts and others). Although the writer has seen neither the C.C. Wang painting nor the Palace Museum scroll, on the basis of photographs (poorly reproduced in Hsieh Chih-liu, *op. cit.*) there is more than passing resemblance between the two. The C.C. Wang painting, however, is much looser in brushwork and uses more of a wash technique. The actual date of these paintings is open to question. Yonezawa suggests the Chao Ta-nien is a Yuan period copy (Yonezawa, *op. cit.*, p. 148). In my opinion, the “Wang Wei” may be a 13th-century copy. Others have suggested a middle Ming date for it and the other versions, all of them based on some lost Southern Sung handscroll of the Chao Ta-nien school. I am indebted to Professor James F. Cahill for some of the information in this note and in note 11.

14 Huang T'ing-chien wrote that Chao Ta-nien was influenced by Su Tung-p'o and Wen T'ung in his bamboo (cf. Yonezawa, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

15 These small landscapes (hsiao-ching 小景) were a large part of Chao's output (cf. *Hua-chi*, p. 5). Apropos of these small views, Yonezawa speculates that Chao may have been inspired by Hui-ch'ung 惠崇, a Buddhist monk-painter (early 11th c.) of Chien-yang, Fukien. According to Kuo Jo-hsü 郭若虛, he was a painter of water-birds “... but was particularly skilful in small landscapes and at doing wintry rivers and distant banks whose appearance of desolation and emptiness was difficult for others to achieve.” (Cf. *Tu-hua chien-zen-chih* 圖畫見聞誌, ca. 1080, *Hua-shih ts'ung-shu* ed., vol. 1, p. 61). There is no textual evidence to prove that Chao Ta-nien knew Hui-ch'ung's work, and the visual evidence is inconclusive. The Hui-ch'ung attributed paintings known to me are all late in date, and a number fall into a Chao Ta-nien school tradition. This tends to confuse the question of stylistic priority. Subject matter common to both painters, i.e. waterfowl and river views, may be one reason for some of these misattributions.

16 Sirén, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, Lists, pp. 40–41. Twenty-four of his pictures were listed in the *Hsüan-bo hua-p’u*, pp. 250–251.
more than a handful seem worthy of serious consideration. The most important of this group is unquestionably the handscroll now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Chiang-hsiang ch'ing-hsia 江鄉清夏, “River Village in Clear Summer” (fig. 12), in color on silk, signed and dated in correspondence with A.D. 1100. 17

17 Colophons by Tung Ch'i-ch'ang and others. Recorded in Shu-hua chien-wen-piao 畫畫見聞表 by Chang Ch'ou 張丑 (1577-1643); P'ei-wen-chai shu-hua-p'u 醒文齋書畫譜, 83:26, 100:2, 100:4; Kokka, 494; Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 132 f.; Siren, op. cit., vol. 3, pl. 226, vol. 2, Lists, p. 40 (A); Max Loehr, “Chinese Paintings with Sung Dated Inscription,” Ars Orientalis, vol. 4 (1961), pp. 236-237. Seiichi Taki gives the most complete discussion of the painting (see Taki, “Hokusō no gaseki” 北宋の絵画, Extant paintings of the Northern Sung period, Kokka, 494, pp. 3-14). He sees Chao’s inscription, yüan-jü keng-ch'en (1100) Ta-nien pi 元符庚辰大年筆, as “having the appearance of a Northern Sung style of vigorous writing” (p. 6). However, it must be noted that Chao’s script was supposed to have been small “like flies or mosquitoes” (cf. Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 142). The seal placed over Chao’s inscription reads Ta-nien t'iu-shu 大年圖書. Directly below it is another which, difficult to decipher, appears to read K'o-min hsi-tso 克氏戲作 (“K'o-min playfully executed”). If this reading is correct then it is speculated that K'o-min was probably Chao’s hao (Taki, op. cit., p. 6). The wording of the seal corroborates Chao Ta-nien’s literati leanings. Yonezawa questions the authenticity of this painting, believing it to be a close copy. He gives as internal evidence its heaviness of color and lack of spontaneity—in contrast to the freshness and stylistic consistency of the “Autumn Bank” picture attributed to Chao Ta-nien in the Yamato Bunkakan (see Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 137 and my discussion following). For external evidence he points out that the compilers of the Shib-ch'ü pao-ch'i 石渠寶笈 (Shib-ch'ü pao-ch'i, 31, where the painting is listed as Hu-chuang ch'ing-hsia t'ü 湖莊清夏圖, “Lake Village in Clear Summer,” Yonezawa uses this title in his article, see my note 10) rated this

It recalls features of Chao’s paintings which were noted in the Hsüan-ho hua-p’u: “In his paintings there are the charms of low embankments and lakes, shady groves, vaporous clouds, ducks, and geese: they have an air of spaciousness and ease.”18

The painting opens quietly, almost drowsily, upon a riverside embankment behind which thatched huts huddle together in the chill morning air. Four birds perch silently on the bare upper branches of one of three slender trees closely grouped before the huts (fig. 12a). A path leading from the houses draws the viewer into the painting along a gentle diagonal line, a movement reinforced by the slanting trunks and branches of three willow trees which are placed along the way (fig. 12b). Crossing over a narrow section of the river, the path disappears into a grove of leafy trees (fig. 12c) which is itself swallowed up in a trailing cloud of mist. Against this misty backdrop a thin stream winds its way into the foreground, slowly gaining in momentum as it feeds into the broad river. Yet the river is placid save for the waterfowl which swim along the shore. Three willow trees clustered together on an islet in the foreground subtly connect, through the graceful curves of their boughs, the preceding scene with that which follows. From out of the background mist, the grove reappears as a setting for another group of thatched dwellings (fig. 12d). Once again, the leitmotif of the path draws us through the landscape, over a wooden bridge and onto the islet in the foreground. A diver-painting tz'ü-teng ch'ün-i 次等辰一 (2nd class, 1st grade), a category which included good, close copies (cf. Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 132 f).

18 Hsüan-ho hua-p’u, p. 250.
gent path threads its way back among the distant trees and vanishes. The mist, too, drifts off along the line of the river into the distance (fig. 12e). Rather than let the scroll end in empty space Chao Ta-nien brings our attention back into the foreground where a grouping of trees on a spit of land echoes and balances the three tall trees with which the scroll begins (fig. 12f). As a final grace note to his composition he adds four ducks in flight—an effective contrast to the four inactive birds seen at the opening of the scroll.

A comparison of the 1100 scroll with an earlier handscroll attributed to Kuo Hsi (active 3rd qtr. 11th c.), “Clearing Autumn Skies over Mountains and Valleys” (fig. 13) in the Freer Gallery, suggests what is new and different about Chao Ta-nien’s approach to nature and the art of landscape painting. In the Freer scroll, close-up scenes alternate with distant views; masses of mountains are separated by winding river valleys; crisply delineated pine trees are contrasted with other trees whose foliage is done with flat washes. While there is a sense of spaciousness and recession in the painting, there is no easy transition between the carefully, sharply rendered foreground elements and those indistinctly seen in the distance. For this reason, focal points tend to shift, perhaps not so freely as in a monumental landscape done in hanging scroll format but enough to let our eyes wander over the landscape. In the Chao Ta-nien, however, we are led through space in a continuous, unbroken movement—no sharp breaks occurring between planes. The design is visually unified, whereas in the Kuo Hsi the composition breaks up into unrelated near and distant planes. Much of this is due, perhaps, to the difficulty of composing smoothly a panoramic scene within the more narrow confines of the handscroll. Lee and Fong state: “The monumental style of landscape had reached its peak toward the turn of the twelfth century.” The Freer handscroll, grounded in the monumental tradition, represents a direction away from strict verticality. But while the Kuo Hsi merely hints at new ideas, the Chao Ta-nien actually realizes them. His is a new concept. Rejecting grandiosity, he limited himself to a simple, almost mundane scene. Instead of heroically-scaled mountains unsuited to a handscroll schema he used motifs which stressed horizontal movement. Contour lines curve or gently slant. Brushwork is feathery and pointillistic in depicting foliage and grass. Washes are pale and transparent. Even more importantly for the formation of the Ma-Hsia style was Chao’s emphasis on an integrated atmospheric mood. For the first time in Chinese landscape painting, one is fully aware of a particular moment in time—the stillness of a misty morning.


21 In the Hsiian-ho hua-p’u (p. 250), it is stated that Chao “painted nothing more than views of embankments and islets outside the capital,” the implication being that these scenes were somewhat ordinary and less than impressive. But this may have been what Chao intended. His modest scenes marked a vivid contrast to those of the older, moribund landscape tradition.
transience of nature rather than its immutabilities had become the idea behind landscape painting. By suffusing his scene with atmosphere, Chao Ta-nien brought a new kind of pictorial unity and expressiveness to landscape painting.

An album leaf by Li An-chung (active first half of 12th c.) in the Severance A. Millikin Collection, Cleveland, called "Cottages in a Misty Grove in Autumn" (fig. 1), signed and dated 1117, is remarkably similar in composition to the middle section of the Boston scroll. It features the same type of sketchily rendered thatched huts within a forest "space cell" and a similar shore line which leads to a spit of land in the foreground. The willows at the lower right in the Boston scroll have here been replaced by two other trees—one leafy, one dessicated. It is almost as if Li An-chung had extracted the scene from the handscroll and set it in autumn instead of summer. There are differences in technique, but the motifs are the same. Chao Ta-nien’s feathery touch has been exchanged for one more rough in effect. The thin washes and dry "axe-cut" ti’un which delineate the land create a feeling of sparsity and desiccation in a landscape suffused with the nostalgia of late autumn.

Because of its subject, the painting seems atypical of Li An-chung whose specialty was mainly bird paintings. Sirén observed quite rightly that "...if it did not have the signature of Li An-chung, [it] might be classified as a work by the older master [Chao Ta-nien]." The possibility for such confusion strengthens the claim that Chao Ta-nien was a strong influence on early 12th-century painting.

A small landscape painting (fig. 2) attributed to Chao Ta-nien in the Yamato Bunkakan in Nara, Japan, closely resembles the Boston scroll; in composition, it is almost the reverse of the Millikin leaf. It, too, is a marshy river scene in morning mist with waterfowl swimming and feeding in the water and flocking in the sky above. The suggestion has been made that the painting is a fragment from a handscroll although the original must not have been much longer if we may consider the Boston painting as its prototype. Again, as in the Millikin painting the painter may have taken as model a portion (if not the whole) of the Boston scroll or a painting

25 This picture is not definitely titled but Yonezawa referred to it as the "Autumn Bank" picture (see note 6). He believes that it may be a section cut from either of two Chao Ta-nien handscrolls known in Ming times as Chiang-hsiang hsüeh-i 江鄉雪意 ("River Village under Snowy Skies"). One of these paintings belonged to Li Jih-hua 李日華 (1165-1635), the other to Yen Sung 嚴嵩 (died 1568) (cf. Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 135 f). If there is a weakness to his argument it is that he must rely solely on literary descriptions. The painting has been frequently reproduced: Tōyō Bijutsu Taikan, Tokyo, vols. 8-12 (1912), vol. 8, pl. 27; Kokka, 41; Shimbi Taikan, Kyōto, vols. 1-20 (1899-1908), vol. 19; Sirén, op. cit., vol. 3, pl. 225; Tōyō Bijutsu, Tokyo and Osaka, vols. 1-6 (1967), vol. 1, pl. 28.
27 See note 25; Suzuki Kei, Den Chōtainen bitzu sansui-zu 傳趙大年筆山水圖 (A Landscape attributed to Chao Ta-nien), Museum, no. 100, July 1959, p. 8. If it is a fragment then its lack of inscription and seals is more plausible.
close to it. If the mid-section of the Boston hands scroll were divided in two, the first part might well have served as inspiration for the Nara painting and the second as a source for the Millikin leaf. The season appears to be late autumn. The washes which define the shore line resemble those in the Millikin work, and the soft, crumbly line used for the trunks of the bending willows is like that of the two foreground trees in the Cleveland leaf.

Despite its probably fragmentary state the composition reads well. The viewer is drawn into depth through the diagonal line of the stream. The trees and bank of mist are arranged to assist in this movement much as they do in the Boston painting. Suzuki has mentioned the subtle rhythms which interplay throughout the painting—from the branches of the willow tree to the birds overhead—rhythms which enliven an otherwise ordinary scene. For that is the secret of these undramatic glimpses of nature; gently undulating rhythms underscore the muted tenderness of the scene.

The Boston painting, compared to these other two, reveals greater regard for detail. For example, trees are differentiated in foliage (deciduous and evergreen); yet their trunks are indistinguishable. The Nara painting and the Millikin leaf exhibit less variety not only in kinds of trees but in motifs in general. There is a sense now of the beginning of compositional conventions, derived perhaps from such a painting as the 1100 scroll. Where the latter scroll appears fresh and appealing, the Yamato Bunkakan work seems more calculated, less spontaneous. One feels that in the Boston painting, Chao Ta-nien identified closely with the landscape he portrayed and wished to communicate this rapport by depicting nature with care and affection.

Two other paintings reinforce the basis for a Chao Ta-nien tradition. One is a recently published album leaf (fig. 3) in the Liao-ning Museum and attributed to an early 11th-century monk-painter, Hui-ch’ung. It is a misty river scene painted in light colors on silk. The composition is now familiar to us from the paintings just discussed. It seems clearly derivative from them, thus creating doubt as to the validity of an early 11th-century date. The present painting, if one can safely judge from the photograph, seems inferior in quality to the others. The water-lily pads which hugged the shore-line and seemed indispensable to it in the 1100 scroll now appear arbitrarily placed—a pictorial convention rather than an integral part of the landscape. The mist which cuts rather harshly across the inexpensively rendered background trees has none of the atmospheric quality of our earlier paintings. It seems that this album leaf was the work of a lesser Southern Sung painter, one who was acquainted with Chao Ta-nien’s style but incapable of representing its spirit.

25 The season is sensitively and beautifully described by Yonezawa, op. cit., p. 135.  
26 Suzuki, op. cit., p. 8.
The other work, an anonymous fan painting (fig. 4) of a riverside village, is the first composition under consideration to combine river with mountain scenery. Reproduced in Sung-jen hua-ts’e 宋人畫冊, the painting is not as intimate in feeling as the others yet has motifs and traits common to them. The spatial expansion of the scene reminds us more of the monumental landscapes of Northern Sung despite its reduction to fan-painting size. Yet, the eye can take in the entire landscape at a glance; forms exist comfortably in a space continuum. Mist hovers over mountain and valley without calling attention to itself and for this reason does not serve quite the same expressive function as the mist in most of our previous paintings where it was an integrating as well as integral element in the expression of landscape mood. While this painting seems cool and distant in spirit and composition from our other works, it may represent a phase in Chao Ta-nien’s career when he was attempting to reduce the monumentality of landscape to more human scale. Seen in such light it suggests the beginnings of the later, more typical views of landscape attributed to Chao.

We have seen in the Millikin Li An-chung a landscape done in the Chao Ta-nien manner by a painter who was most renowned for his bird and flower paintings. Did painters famous for other specialties besides bird and flower show similar influence in their work?

It is my belief that the category of Sung buffalo paintings shows such evidence. Perhaps the earliest of our group is an anonymous fan painting (fig. 5) in the Seattle Art Museum. It shows a herd-boy trudging behind a buffalo alongside a group of heavy-trunked, slightly slanting trees. Cahill sees the painting as fairly unique for its genre, unrelated to the style of Li T’ang (ca. 1050–1130), the most notable Sung buffalo painter. However, outside the genre, it is worth noting its resemblances to Chao Ta-nien. The trees, for example, may be related to those in Chao Ta-nien’s Boston scroll in stance and placement along a diagonally receding line. Although the dots for foliage and grass are less realistically applied than in the 1100 scroll, they belong to that tradition. Beyond these stylistic similarities the paintings reveal a common bond of atmosphere, exemplified by the rusticity of scene and the artless, almost naive way of depicting it. The small, thin herder completes the pensive mood in his quiet, trance-like preoccupation, a characteristic of so many figures in Sung painting.


34 Idem.

35 Lee was first to see such a parallel between the Seattle trees and Chao Ta-nien’s trees. He compared the buffalo painting with the Yamato Bunkakan fragment (fig. 4). See Lee, “A Probable Sung…,” p. 295. I believe the comparison is even closer to Chao Ta-nien’s trees in the Boston scroll.
Fig. 1.—Cottages in a Misty Grove in Autumn. Signed Li An-chung, 1117. Courtesy, Mr. and Mrs. Severance A. Millikin Collection, Cleveland Museum of Art.
Fig. 2.—River Landscape in Autumn. Attributed to Chao Ta-nien. Courtesy, Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.
Fig. 3.—Sandy Beach and Misty Trees. Attributed to Hui-ch'ung. Liao-ning Museum.

Fig. 4.—Water-side Village under Cloudy Skies. Anonymous. Palace Museum, Peking.
Fig. 5.—Buffalo and Herdsboy. Anonymous. Courtesy, Seattle Art Museum.

Fig. 6.—Herder with a Pheasant Returning through the Snow. Signed Li Ti. Courtesy, Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.
Fig. 7.—Herder with a Hare Returning through the Snow. Signed Li Ti.
Courtesy, Yamato Bunkakan, Nara.

Fig. 8.—Illustration to the Mao Shih Odes, Ta Ya section. Attributed to Ma Ho-chih. Courtesy, Fujii Yūrinkan, Kyōto.
Fig. 9.—Lu Shan. Attributed to Yü-chien. Yoshikawa Collection, Tokyo.

Fig. 10.—Illustration to the Mao Shib Odes, Hsiao Ya section, “On the Southern Hills are the T’ai Plants.” Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 11.—Travellers by a Willow-shaded Pavilion. Attributed to Chao Ta-nien. National Palace Museum, Taipei.
Fig. 12a.—Detail of figure 12.

Fig. 12b.—Detail of figure 12.
Fig. 12c.—Detail of figure 12.

Fig. 12d.—Detail of figure 12.
Fig. 12c.—Detail of figure 12.

Fig. 12f.—Detail of figure 12.
Fig. 12.—River Village in Clear Summer. Signed Chao Ta-nien. 1100. Height: 19 cm. (7 1/2 in.). Length: 1.63 m. (5 ft. 4 1/8 in.). Illustrated in proportional size to figure 13. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 13.—Clearing Autumn Skies over Mountains and Valleys. Attributed to Kuo Hsi. Height: 26 cm. (10 1/4 in.). Length: 2.06 m. (6 ft. 9 1/8 in.). Freer Gallery of Art.
Fig. 12.—River Village in Clear Summer. Signed Chao Ta-nien. Height: 19 cm. (7 7/8 in.). Length: 1.63 m. (5 ft. 4 1/16 in.). Illustrated in proportion to figure 13. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 13.—Clearing Autumn Skies over Mountains and Valleys. Attributed to Kuo Hsi. Height: 26 cm. (10 3/16 in.). Length: 2.06 m. (6 ft. 9 5/8 in.). Freer Gallery of Art.
Two album-sized buffalo paintings (figs. 6–7) signed by Li Ti (12th c.) in the Yamato Bunkakan are other examples of what must have been a popular theme at this time: cowherds returning home at dusk in snowy weather. Both paintings complement each other in composition, the ingredients being nearly the same in each: a herd-boy riding a buffalo in a leftward moving direction in one and an older man leading a buffalo rightward in the other. This horizontal movement is buttressed by the snow-laden trees which lean from bank or slope in the same direction in which the buffaloes and herders move. The boy, huddled over the back of the buffalo, his face cradled against the cold, holds a stick bearing a pheasant, while the figure in the other painting is carrying a rabbit. These figures, like the Seattle herder, are drawn simply and concisely. They firmly belong in their bucolic, workaday world; yet, over them hangs an air of melancholy, as if the painter wished to convey more than just the reality of his scene. By relying on gently curving lines to build up his landscape, Li Ti produced an effect of quietude and reverie in keeping with the bleakness of the season. These effects are similar to those produced by Chao Ta-nien, who, as we have seen, engendered a wholly new emotional response to landscape in his paintings.

We have so far dealt with paintings which are compositionally and expressively in the Chao Ta-nien tradition. But these paintings do not unduly emphasize Chao's technique of dabbing or flecking or using feathery strokes to indicate texture. Our final pair of paintings, however, seems largely inspired by the technique rather than by the compositions of Chao. Generally, the brushwork becomes looser, more impressionistic in effect, tending to stress the ephemeral in nature. Lines and silhouettes are softened by washes. Dots are sprinkled over the painting as accent markers. It is conceivable that these paintings belong to a Mi Fei tradition since Mi has long been credited for similar innovations (the "Mi dot" and wet ink technique). But if the work of his son, Mi Yu-jen (1086–1165) is any indication, those innovations were none too different from those practiced by Chao. While the problem seems ultimately insoluble, the fact remains that technical and stylistic changes did occur in landscape painting in the late eleventh, early twelfth centuries, and that these changes are linked with the names of both Chao and Mi.

A fusion of the Chao Ta-nien style and the so-called Mi style can be seen in some paintings attributed to Ma Ho-chih (active 1127–1189). Little is known about Ma's life except that he was from Ch'ien-t'ang in Chekiang and was active during the reigns of Emperors Kao-tsung and Hsiao-tsung. Chou Mi (1232–1308) mistakenly

36 The most recent Western evaluation of these two works is Richard Edwards' Li Ti (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Paper, vol. 3, no. 3). Washington, 1967, p. 25 f. The reader is referred to his monograph for source material. Included is a careful study of Li Ti's dates. Sherman Lee also briefly discussed these works in "A Probable Sung Buffalo Painting," calling them "mood paintings concerned with the gloom and chill of winter" (p. 298).


placed him at the head of his list of Hangchou painting academicians\(^\text{39}\) although he was not in the Academy nor did his painting style have anything to do with it, being essentially archaistic in flavor.\(^\text{40}\) Ma Ho-chih is best known for his illustrations of the Odes from *Mao Shih* 毛詩. The earliest source for this information is the *Hua-chi pu-i* 畫詶補遺 (preface dated 1298) in which it is stated that each time Emperor Hsiao-tsung copied the *Mao Shih* Odes he ordered Ma Ho-chih to paint illustrations.\(^\text{41}\)

Two handscrolls of the Odes attributed to Ma strongly suggest in their landscapes a Chao-Mi stylistic basis. The first to be

\(\text{39}\) Chou Mi 周密, *Wu-lin chiu-shih* 武林舊事, contained in *Ting-ching meng-hua-lu* 東京夢華錄 by Meng Yuan-lao 孟元老, Shanghai, 1962, p. 453. Chuang Su 莊緒 in *Hua-chi pu-i* 畫詶補遺 (pref. dated 1298) includes Ma Ho-chih in his section on literati painters (p. 4), and oddly enough, Chao Ta-nien in his section on Academy painters (p. 18). See *Hua-chi pu-i* in an edition including Teng Ch’un’s *Hua-chi*, compiled by Huang Mao-tzu 黃茂子, Peking, 1963. I am indebted to Susan Bush for this information.

\(\text{40}\) See Chuang Shen 莊申, *Ma Ho-chih ti yen-chiu* 馬和之的研究 (A Study of Ma Ho-chih), compiled in *Cheng-kuo hua-shih yen-chiu* 中國繪史研究, Taiwan, 1959. In this article Chuang discusses the antique aspects of Ma’s style, principally in figure painting, and its origins in the painting of K’uei K’ai-chih, Wu Tao-tzu, and Li Kung-lin. The landscapes with which we are concerned are the most progressive and, thus, the most stylistically revealing of Ma’s attributed works. Interestingly, Tung Chi-ch’äng in one of his colophons appended to the Boston 1100 scroll writes that “of Sung painters Chao Ta-nien and Ma Ho-chih can be designated *i-p’in* 逸晶 (untrammelled).” See Taki, op. cit., p. 13.

\(\text{41}\) *Hua-chi pu-i*, p. 4. This information is repeated in the *T’u-hui pao-chien*, p. 95, but with the inclusion of Kao-tsung as another emperor who ordered Ma Ho-chih to do illustrations for the Odes.

considered is in the Fujii Yurinkan in Kyōto\(^\text{42}\) and illustrates the Twelve Odes of T’ang in the Ta Ya 大雅 section (“Odes for Grand State Occasions”) of the *Shih-ching* (Book of Poetry). The landscape paintings reveal an indebtedness to Chao Ta-nien by virtue of technique and motifs. One of these (fig. 8)\(^\text{43}\) has furry spruce trees, a winding stream with finger-like shoals and an enveloping misty atmosphere. It is a painting which compares favorably with the work ascribed to Chao Ta-nien in the Yamato Bunkakan (fig. 2). The background mountains with their tall peaks are perhaps less reminiscent of Chao Ta-nien than of the monumental tradition of Northern Sung, particularly Kuo Hsi and Hsü Tao-ning. Yet, their technique of soft washes and broken ink is compatible with the innovations carried out by Chao and presumably Mi. Similar mountain peaks done in the same technique will become, in the next century, the subject of the painting, floating in mist like some disembodied phantom (fig. 9).\(^\text{44}\)

Another illustration of the Odes (fig. 10),\(^\text{45}\) also attributed to Ma and in the Boston museum, reveals a lighter touch than that seen in the Yurinkan painting. The illustration is to the Ode *Nan-shan*
THE CHAO TA-NIEN TRADITION

yu-t'ai 南山有霧 ("On the Southern Hills are the T'ai Plants") from the Hsiao Ya 小雅 section ("Odes Presented and Sung at Court Entertainments") of the Mao Shib. The scene, brought up close to the viewer, is that of a valley between rolling verdant hills. No attempt at a literal illustration has been made. The landscape imparts a wondrous sense of vibrancy and charm. Flecks of pale ink tones sprinkled over thin washes, feathery texture strokes, and short, staccato dark ink strokes combine to give an impressionistic vision of nature. The airiness of the scene is complemented by Ma Ho-chih’s buoyant brush technique.

Now the threshold of what will become the dominant landscape style of Southern Sung has been reached. Landscape has become intimate in scale, yet spatially expansive; there is an emphasis on atmosphere and pictorial unity; a de-emphasis of literalness, and the rise of an impressionistic and wet brush technique. Most of these features can be seen in their fullest development in an album leaf called "Travelers by a Willow-shaded Pavilion" (fig. 11) which was recently published by the Palace Museum. The design and motifs are familiar to anyone acquainted with the Ma-Hsia style: the composition weighted in one corner, the willow trees bending in wind, the distant mountains done in graded washes, and the lone pavilion set on the water’s edge. What raises the painting above the level of stereotype is its freshness and conviction. The painting does not seem to be earlier in date than late 12th century yet it is attributed to Chao Ta-nien. When compared with the Chao Ta-nien Boston handscrew (fig. 12) or the Yamato Bunkakan fragment (fig. 2), it exhibits certain stylistic similarities such as horizontality, curving diagonal lines, unified space, dot technique for foliage; and overall it shares their lyrical mood. There is nothing here of the famous Li T'ang inspired "axe-cut" ts'Un which forms the basic brushwork pattern of many Ma-Hsia paintings—an indication that Li T'ang's style should not be considered the sole source for Southern Sung academic landscape painting. That this album leaf, so clearly Ma-Hsia in style, bears so much of the characteristics and mood of our late Northern Sung master that it was once attributed to him underscores our theme—that some of the credit for the Ma Yüan-Hsia Kuei style belongs to that gentle revolutionary, Chao Ta-nien.


47 However, one resemblance to Li T'ang occurs in the repeated wave patterns which parallel the waves in a handscrew attributed to Li T'ang called "River and Mountain Scenery" in the Palace Museum, Taiwan. See Edwards, "The Landscape Art of Li T'ang," p. 51, for discussion of this motif. The technique is looser here.
THE PEARL ROUNDEL IN CHINESE TEXTILE DESIGN

BY MICHAEL W. MEISTER

Sir Aurel Stein's discovery early in this century of Chinese and Iranian-Central-Asian textiles at Tun Huang and Astana in Central Asia raised important questions concerning the interaction between Sasanian Iran and T'ang China. Though Stein called fabrics showing a pearl roundel motif "Sasanian" pattern (always qualifying "Sasanian" with inverted commas), he emphasized how complex such interaction must have been:

While it is thus certain that specimen of decorative textile art as then produced in Persia and the adjoining regions must have already reached China in early T'ang times, many interesting questions remain open as to the territories from, and the routes by, which these Western figured fabrics were introduced; the conditions which led to the reproduction of their designs, apparently for export, etc. He further qualified this "Sasanian" category by stating these Han period textiles, also excavated by him, were "likely precursors and harbingers of the features we have so far been accustomed to treat as originating in 'Sasanian' textile style." He goes on:

Thoroughly Chinese in origin and style and showing remarkable perfection in technique and artistic taste, those figured silks afford ocular proof of the powerful influence which the products of early Chinese textile art must have carried Westwards.... Designs are frequent which clearly foreshadow features characteristic of the decorative style prevailing in Iran and adjoining regions during the Sasanian period.

Despite the discovery by French archaeologists at Palmyra of a Chinese damask of the Han period using the roundel motif in a rudimentary form (fig. 5) and despite work done by Pfister and by Otto Maenchen-Helfen to show the roots of that fabric's roundel pattern in Han mirrors,

3 Ibid., p. 912. His comments on Chinese textiles are found in Serindia, chapters 24-25 and notes to plates, and in Innermost Asia, Oxford, 1928, chapter 19 and notes to plates.


---

the lack of evidence connecting that textile to high T'ang exotics (as the Shomu Banner, fig. 1) has led many scholars since Stein, both in the West and in the East, to mark only the exoticisms of high T'ang designs and their parallels in late Sasanian and early post-Sasanian fabrics. These later scholars repeat Stein's "Sasanian" category without his reservations and ignore the possibility of a Chinese tradition for such a motif.

With the publication of the vast collection of early Chinese textiles in the Shosoin in Japan and with the recent discovery of textiles in dated caves at Astana by Chinese archaeologists, it becomes essential that we reassess the possibility for such a pre-T'ang tradition in China.

First, it is now possible to construct a sequence of monochrome damasks to connect the Han fabric from Palmyra (figs. 5 and 6) to those early T'ang fabrics which use the pearl roundel. The Palmyra damask, dated no later than the sacking of Palmyra in A.D. 273, and two damasks from Toyuk and Astana, dated to the first half of the sixth century by tomb inscriptions, give us fixed points by which to date this sequence.

In addition, two polychrome fabrics from caves dated to the mid-sixth century.


6 Concerning the use of the dates of these caves to date the textiles found in them, Pauline considerably improve our knowledge of the vocabulary of textile designs in China between the Han and T'ang periods and fix motifs in a clearly Chinese context which are found later in polychrome fabrics associated with the pearl roundel.

A small group of fabrics, from caves dating to the early seventh century, with patterns of confronting celestial horses in pearl roundels—patterns developed from our earlier sixth-century examples—gives us our first evidence of Sasanian elements introduced into a Chinese design and helps to illustrate the technological shift in pre-T'ang China from a warp-faced compound tabby (Han weave) to a warp-faced compound twill technique.

One fabric (fig. 29), found by Stein, and paralleled in the Horyuji collection, which in design elements is linked to our sixth-century examples and in its weave is connected with a group of Sui period textiles, raises interesting questions about the group of seventh to ninth (?) century Eastern Iranian fabrics now identified as "Zandaniji."

Two further groups of textiles can be considered. The first, beginning in the Sui period, illustrates the development of the lotus-in-pearl-roundel motif which later finds its place in the interstice motif of Simmons, in a letter to the author, has pointed out: "Unlike in-situ carved rock sculptures and wall paintings in these caves, which, it can be safely assumed, were created no more than two or three years before the cave was completed and inscribed, the textiles deposited therein may very well have been no less than half a century earlier in origin, the ancient Chinese penchant for saving bits of precious silk being what it was."

the Shomu Banner. The second contains additional fabrics, both in Han weave and warp-faced compound twill, with patterns of confronting animals in pearl roundels.

Only with such background can the exoticism of those late seventh- and early eighth-century display fabrics with large roundels, woven in weft-faced compound twill (of which the Shomu Banner is but the most exotic example), be properly assessed.

The Ito fabric (the Horyuji or Shomu Banner) in the Horyuji temple in Nara (Figs. 1 and 2), woven in weft-faced compound twill, its large pearl roundels enclosing confronted and addorsed horsemen, has become the most celebrated example of Sasanian influence on T'ang China. Exotic elements seem obvious in details: the stiffly-posed lions, so different from those fierce, friendly cats, wild-maned, tails twisted and floating, who romp and claw their way through T'ang decorative fantasy; the bearded and mustachioed horsemen, their faces from the frescoes at Old Samarkand, armored, with Sasanian crowns; the horses, with beribboned hoofs, their wings sectioned by a pearl band, pinions upfurled, shoulders honeycombed, a pearl band across their necks, paralleling with knowing precise-ness the Sasanian pegasus textile from Antioch. But no horse of the royal Sasanian kings stood on such spidery legs or pranced under such a tree. No fabric of the Sasanian court, emblematic as they had to be, had such mixed fantasy of multiple horse-

men. At the center of the interstice motif is the lotus bloom. The filigree surrounding it is drawn with a tentacular freedom and a sense of delicate abstraction not found in the heraldic floral patterns of Sasanian Iran.

The overall patterning of medallion and lozenge is as typical of high T'ang decoration in all its forms as it is rare in the decorative patterns of Sasanian Iran. Yet in spite of this overall arrangement the Shomu Banner retains a suggestion of roundels in rows (each roundel is closer to those at either side than to those above and below, the interstice motif is slightly more elaborated horizontally to fill the extra space), which perhaps can be explained by the post Han development of the roundel pattern discussed below.

**Chinese Roundels—Third to Sixth Centuries**

The roundel motif appears first in China in damasks—monochrome fabrics with the pattern effected by warp threads on a tabby ground (perhaps the oldest patterning technique used in China)—and in conjunction with a pattern of broken lozenges which has its origin in pre-Han fabrics.

It is worth noting that Chinese monochrome damasks are throughout conservative in design and technique—high T'ang twill on twill damasks are still warp-faced, in contrast to the high T'ang weft-faced

---

8. 45 cm. in diameter.


10. The oldest patterned Chinese fabric, found at Ch'ang-sha and believed to be at least as old as the 3rd century B.C., is published by Jean Mailey and Calvin Hathaway, "A Bonnet and a Pair of Mitts from Ch'ang-Sha," *Chronicle of the Museum for the Arts of Decoration of Cooper Union*, vol. 2, no. 10, 1958, pp. 315-346.
polychromes. Where high T'ang damasks have pearl roundels, they do not contain motifs of Sasanian origin. Most often roundels in high T'ang damasks contain paired phoenixes (feng huang 羽毛 , fig. 18); and the finest of the Shosoin's early eighth century damasks, 11-54 (fig. 17), made perhaps slightly before the Shomu Banner on the basis of the development of its interstice motif, contains not Western motifs but marvelous writhing Chinese dragons.\(^1\)

The Han fabric from Palmyra (figs. 5 and 6), the first of our sequence, has a pattern of "broken" or stepped lozenges in rows. Set between are unpeared roundels, formed by a single solid narrow line, containing four stylish rearing lions, foot to foot horizontally, vertically paw to paw, arranged around a circular "knob" containing a small hexagon set within a circle of pearls. This fabric, dated no later than 273, is paralleled by a second fabric, also with broken lozenges and quatrefoils formed of heart-shaped leaves but with no roundels, which was found at Niya and which must antedate the abandonment of that city in A.D. 269.\(^2\)

\(^{11}\) All references to Shosoin textiles are by volume and number in the Shosoin Office publication noted in note 5. Thus 11--54 means vol. II, pl. 54. Hereafter Shosoin references will appear in figure captions only.


\(^{13}\) Kaogu Xuebo, 1, 1953, p. 51.

A white monochrome damask in the Shosoin (fig. 7) has rows of much reduced lozenges; the stepped outline of each is barely indicated at the upper and lower tips. The rows of roundels now contain designs of compound lozenges—each roundel, formed by a single solid line, surrounded by a circle of pearls interlocking with those of the roundel next in line.

A second Shosoin damask (fig. 8) duplicates this design, but with stylized paired birds, feng huang, substituted within the roundels.

A third damask (fig. 9), found by Sir Aurel Stein at Toyuk, near Turfan, consists of rows of roundels linked horizontally but not vertically. Each roundel is formed of two solid lines with an angular cloud scroll or curved vine motif between. Within each roundel is a peculiar hexagonal grid motif, and between the rows of roundels are diamond fill patterns, unconnected to each other, formed by four heart-shaped lines. Compared to the previous damask from the Shosoin (fig. 8) the interlocked roundels have taken on a double outline, filled with cloud scrolls but no pearls, and do not merely intersect but are linked to the next roundel by a clasp motif. The rows of compound lozenges have disappeared, replaced by a simple interstice motif.

In the same cave at Toyuk, Stein found a second damask which he did not illustrate but which he describes as follows: "Two other fragments, crimson, show parts of roughly drawn cartouche composed of broad outer and narrow inner band; within, pair of confronting standing birds (phoenixes?) with a pair of scrolled pointed leaves in profile below. In spandrel, rosette composed of probably four fleur-de-lis
Fig. 1. — Shomu Banner. T'ang period (ca. early 8th c.). Horyu-ji collection.

Fig. 2. — Shomu Banner, detail (roundel diameter: 45 cm.).
Fig. 3.—Han dynasty gauze with lozenge pattern. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Fig. 4.—Han dynasty polychrome. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Fig. 5.—Han dynasty damask from Palmyra. Before A.D. 273.

Fig. 6.—Drawing of Palmyra damask (fig. 5).
Fig. 7.—White damask. Shosoin collection, II–59.

Fig. 8.—Damask. Shosoin collection, II–58.

Fig. 9.—Drawing of damask found by Stein at Toyuk (Toy. III. 033).
Fig. 12.—Han weave polychrome with confronted Feng huang. Shosoin collection, II–35, left.

Fig. 10.—Damask from Astana Cave 303. Dated before A.D. 551.

Fig. 11.—Yellow damask. Shosoin collection, II–56, 57.

Fig. 13.—Polychrome with confronted animals. Shosoin collection, II–35, right.
Fig. 14.—Polychrome. Warp-faced compound twill weave. Shosoin collection, II–36, left.

Fig. 15.—Polychrome. Warp-faced compound twill. Shosoin collection, II–36, right.

Fig. 16.—Polychrome excavated at Mt. Mug.
Fig. 17.—T'ang damask with confronted dragons. Shosoin collection, II-54.

Fig. 18.—T'ang period damask with confronting Feng huang. Shosoin collection, II-text fig. 55.
Fig. 19.—Damask from Astana Cave 306. Dated before A.D. 541.

Fig. 20.—Damask from Astana Cave 303. Dated before A.D. 551.

Fig. 21.—Drawing of damask, (fig. 20).

Fig. 22.—Drawing of Han weave polychrome recovered by Stein from Astana Cave. Cave dated A.D. 625 (Stein, Ast. IX. 3.02).
Fig. 23.—Polychrome recovered by Otani Mission at Astana.

Fig. 24.—Polychrome from Astana. Han weave. Cave dated A.D. 653.

Fig. 25.—Polychrome from Astana, warp-faced compound twill weave. Cave dated A.D. 653.
Fig. 26.—Polychrome, warp-faced compound twill weave. Recovered by Otani Mission at Astana.

Fig. 27.—Polychrome, weft-faced compound twill weave. Recovered by Otani Mission at Astana.

Fig. 28.—Polychrome, warp-faced compound twill. Astana (Stein, Ast. ix. 3.03).

Fig. 29.—Polychrome, "Transition" weave. Sui period (A.D. 581–618). Astana (Stein, Ast. i. 8.02).
Fig. 30.—Boar’s-head polychrome, weft-faced compound twill. Astana (Stein, Ast. i. 5.03).

Fig. 31.—Boar’s-head polychrome, weft-faced twill from Astana. Cave 325 dated A.D. 661.

Fig. 32.—Polychrome from Astana. Cave 332 dated A.D. 665.

Fig. 33.—Stag polychrome from Astana. Cave 322 dated A.D. 663.
Fig. 34.—Painted stucco images on wall of ruined shrine near Mayaklik.

Fig. 35.—Detail from cushion on which Buddha sits in figure 34 (Stein, Mi.xiii. 2).

Fig. 36.—Painted stucco from toyuk (Stein, Toy. V. 068).
Fig. 37—Buddha's Image. Tun Huang, Sui period (A.D. 581–618).

Fig. 38—Buddha's Nirvana. Tun Huang cave 158, Late Tang.

Fig. 39—"Sash" cloth. Horyuji collection. "Transition" weave.

Sui period (A.D. 581–618).
Fig. 40.—Lotus pattern polychrome, warp-faced compound twill from Astana (Stein, Ast. ix. 2.022).

Fig. 41.—Lotus pattern polychrome from Astana, Cave 325. Dated A.D. 661.

Fig. 42.—Lotus pattern polychrome, han weave. Astana (Stein, Ast. 2.01).

Fig. 43.—Rhinoceros fabric, Reconstruction. Weft-faced compound twill. Shosoin collection, II-4,5.
Fig. 44.—Stein deer fabric, weft-faced compound twill. Astana (Ast. i. 3. a. 01).

Fig. 45.—Otani deer fabric, from Astana.

Fig. 46.—Interstice motifs. Shomu Banner (left) and Otani deer fabric (right).
shaped arms extending from corners of curved-sided lozenge.\textsuperscript{14}

This description almost exactly parallels a large damask fragment (fig. 10) recently excavated by Chinese archaeologists at Astana in a cave dated A.D. 551.\textsuperscript{13} The lower row of roundels contain phoixies; the upper, lions. The “paired profiled leaves” which Stein mentions as below the phoixies appear also inverted above. As in the previous damask the roundels are in rows, linked horizontally; the clasp motif is here slightly more elaborate. The interstice motif seems a close forerunner of that in our next damask.

A yellow damask from the Shosoin (fig. 11) separates the roundels, now formed of two solid lines with pearls between, and introduces a second row of pearls dotted at the center. There are now, between the roundels, patterns of four honeysuckle sprays radiating from small circles, within which still appear the motif of compound lozenges. This interstice motif, in relation to that of the previous damask, has two additional petals on the four arms and has introduced a circle around the central lozenge.

Our sequence thus consists of the following: the Palmyran fragment from the second or third century (figs. 5 and 6); the two compound lozenge and pearl ring damasks from the Shosoin (figs. 7 and 8); the fragment from Toyuk with roundels linked in rows but with no stepped lozenge pattern (fig. 9); the Astana fragment with lions and phoixies (fig. 10), dated with the Toyuk piece to no later than A.D. 551, where the crossed honeysuckle interstice motif first occurs but the rows of roundels are still interlocked; and the Shosoin damask (fig. 11) where the roundels have been separated and the honeysuckle interstice motif has become slightly more developed but still contains the compound lozenge motif at its center.

To complete this sequence we may look at several fragments of polychrome textiles in the Shosoin, all of which contain small-scale roundels. The first (fig. 12), woven in a warp-faced compound tabby (Han weave), shows pearl roundels with confronting feng huang. The fragment is much mutilated. Figure 13, however, is interesting. Its roundels, containing confronted animals standing above inverted leaf scrolls, are, as in the last damask in our sequence, arranged with four-pointed honeysuckle motifs between. Here, however, the circle at the center of the four fronds of the interstice motif is made up of a small pearl roundel, the first step leading to the complex interstice motif of the Shomu Banner. The interstice motifs are crossed by a band of white with a pattern of red circles containing green hearts which realigns the roundels into rows.

The second two polychrome fabrics (figs. 14 and 15), woven in warp-faced compound twill, consist of pearl roundels with crossed honeysuckle interstice motifs, the roundels enclosing a floral motif consisting of an eight-pointed star (turned squares) with a \textit{fleur-de-lis}-like frond at

\textsuperscript{14} Stein, \textit{Innermost Asia}, vol 2, p. 621.

\textsuperscript{13} Hsia Nai, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 45 ff. Fixing the approximate date of the Toyuk fabrics by comparison with this dated Astana find helps in a further way to suggest an early date for some of the Shosoin damasks. Also found at Toyuk was a simple damask with a design of nested lozenges paralleled closely by a yellow damask, II-71, in the Shosoin. Several other damasks seem also to form a style group with the damasks found at Toyuk.
each point. This pattern closely parallels fabrics found at Mt. Mug by Russian archaeologists (fig. 16) and at Astana by Chinese archaeologists in caves dating A.D. 653 and 661 (fig. 41).  

**Sixth-century Chinese Polychromes**

Chinese archaeologists have also found at Astana two textiles which give us our only evidence for the patterns of polychrome fabrics in the late fifth and early sixth centuries (figs. 19 and 20). In order to explain their patterns, however, a short digression to the nature of their weaving technique in necessary.

In the fabrics of Han weave (warp-faced compound tabby), the pattern, frequently turned at right angles to the warp threads which form it, is usually not more than 8 inches wide (on the weft direction) and not more than 2 inches deep (on the warp direction—the direction in which the fabric is woven). This makes the maximum width of the symmetrical motif, in which the pattern is woven up the cloth then reversed to form the second half, no more than 4 inches. If the pattern was oriented parallel to the warps and such a reverse was used, parts of the pattern became inverted (as in the Philadelphia museum Han textile, fig. 4, which has two birds standing feet to feet). If the pattern was woven at right angles to the warp, a vertically symmetrical pattern was produced with one element of the pattern reversed on the opposite side of the repeat. This expedient was widely used in China as a means to increase the apparent size of their patterns. Such a technical requirement is sufficient explanation for the appearance of confronting animals and other symmetrical motifs in Chinese textiles.

The fabric from Astana cave number 306 dated to before A.D. 541 (fig. 19) has a symmetrical repeat, slightly less than an inch across, making the full pattern a little less than two inches in width. Confronting *feng huang* appear below paired deer which face each other but with their heads turned back; an eight-pointed floral motif appears between. Above the deer are confronting *kinnaras* (human-headed birds), and above them is what appears to be a human figure, three quarter length, over an abbreviated floral pattern. Distributed on all sides are “scrolled, pointed leaves in profile” such as Stein described in his discussion of the Toyuk damask with confronting lions and phoenixes which we have dated to before A.D. 551 (fig. 10). In relation to these leaf forms it is worth noting the free, curling, tentacular leaves found decorating Pelliot’s cave number 120N at *Tun Huang* dated A.D. 538–539.

The leaves in the woven fabric are not so plump, of course, and have been symmetrically repeated in the process of weaving.

A second fabric, from Astana cave number 303 dated before A.D. 551 (figs. 20 and 21), has a similarly narrow repeat,
forming a pattern of wandering pearl chains, intersecting to form ovoid shapes containing three paired sets of animals: confronting feng huang, confronting heavenly horses, and Han bears feet to feet. Each row of these ovoids is connected to the next by an eight-pointed flower motif. Between each are groups of four human figures, one hand raised, face to face and feet to feet.

These two dated sixth-century textiles give us a touchstone for the later fabrics found at Astana by Stein and by the Chinese archaeologists. Paired deer, feng huang, and heavenly horses, ovoids and pearl chains linked by flowers here appear without the degree of alien flavor found in some of the seventh-century textiles we shall discuss below.

The Seventh Century

In a cave at Astana dated by the Chinese to A.D. 625, Stein found a Han-weave polychrome fabric with pearl roundels containing paired horses (fig. 22). Stein’s published drawing seems somewhat romantic, but from it we can guess that it resembles closely another fragment recovered by the Otani mission and published by the Japanese (fig. 23). Four-inch pearl roundels are linked to each other by large flowers, as were the ovoids in the fabric dated before A.D. 551 (fig. 21). In Stein’s example the upper roundels contain prancing heavenly horses above a platform of inverted leaves related in concept to the symmetrical leaves under the feng huang in the fabric dated before A.D. 541 (fig. 19). The interstice motif is a crossed honeysuckle pattern paralleled late in our sequence of damasks (figs. 10 and 11).

Two further examples of this pattern, however, have come to light: one woven in Han weave and one in warp-faced compound twill (figs. 24 and 25), recovered by Chinese archaeologists at Astana from a cave dated A.D. 653. In these we see for the first time some overlay of Sasanian details in an otherwise Chinese design. The horses have become more stiff. Most noticeably the head and neck no longer have the high heavy arch of Han horses, an arching still quite noticeable in the heavenly horses on the A.D. 551 fabric (fig. 20) discussed above and still suggested in the Stein and Otani fabrics of this same pattern. Floating ribbons have been added to the necks of the horses, which no longer prance but stand stolidly. Triangular ribbons are attached to their ankles, and peculiar stepped triangles are added to their flanks. Here clearly we do have Chinese imitation of details from the Iranian world, but these details are tacked on to an already developed Chinese design.

Two further fabrics recovered by the Otani mission illustrate this point. The first, woven in warp-faced compound twill (fig. 26), shows small roundels enclosing heavenly horses; the interstice motif is the same crossed-honeysuckle form we have seen before. The two horses show no Sasanian details. They prance lightly over a


19 Hsia Nai, op. cit. Color plate III shows the Han-weave fabric; black and white plate XI shows the warp-faced compound twill. The article contains a discussion of the two weaves with diagrams.

floral motif, partly paralleled in Stein’s heavenly horses fragment (fig. 22) and in the small Shosoin polychrome of figure 13. A sense of elegance and lightness, unknown to Sasanian Iran, controls the design.

In the second Otani fragment (fig. 27), woven in weft-faced compound twill and perhaps as late as the Shomu Banner itself, a single winged horse stands firmly, its wings hexagonally gridded. It has still an airy quality denied the heavy-limbed creatures of Sasanian Iran (note the thickset limbs of the Antinoe horse fabric); yet unlike the early seventh-century fabrics from Turfan it parallels the exotic feel of the Shomu Banner.

**Warp-faced Compound Twill**

The use of two separate techniques to make fabrics of this pattern raises an interesting question concerning the development of textile technology in China. It now seems clear that in pre-T‘ang China there was a shift from Han-weave (warp-faced compound tabby) to a warp-faced compound twill weave.\(^{21}\) The main advantage provided by the latter technique was a greater flexibility in the use of color, allowing the designer to carry a greater number of different colored warp threads within the body of the cloth.\(^{22}\) Stein had noticed this shift but drew no distinction between the warp-faced twill common early in the seventh century and weft-faced twill, a Western technique allowing for much greater motif size (about 18 inches in the rhinoceros fabric, fig. 43) introduced perhaps no earlier than the latter part of the seventh century. Though the use of Han weave in fabrics clearly of the late sixth or early seventh centuries would seem to locate this as the period of transition, it is not at all clear that we can be so certain. One warp-faced compound twill fabric in particular, perhaps the earliest fabric in this technique so far discovered (fig. 28), seems to this author to be of the sixth century. This fabric, discovered by Stein at Astana, is particularly well-woven. Its pattern—a row of small pearl roundels containing lotuses, separated by a checkered band from confronting feng huang with scrolled leaves above and below them—harks strongly back to the designs from the early part of the 6th century which we have already discussed.

Miss Pauline Simmons, who has studied the techniques of these fabrics and the fabrics in the Shosoin at first hand, writes that “the assured perfection of many of the seventh century examples of warp-faced compound twill convinces me that these represent the end result of a long period of manipulating this particular technique.”\(^{23}\)

A small group of fabrics does exist in a technique Miss Simmons calls “complex warp-faced compound tabby”—a technique basically the same as Han weave but which introduces slight touches of twilling.

---


\(^{22}\) In any case, warp twilling, used in China for centuries for damask patterning, must have been introduced into polychrome cloth to improve color effects from a natural growth of Chinese weaving technology, not from Western influence. See Simmons, *Recent Developments*, p. 22.

\(^{23}\) Miss Simmons, in the articles noted in note 21, suggests a 5th or very early 6th-century date for the beginning of this technique.
in the areas of transition between colors. Such a technique either was a transitional one between warp-faced compound tabby and warp-faced compound twill or may have been a provincial expedient.

The Japanese identify these “transition weave” fabrics as of the Sui period (A.D. 581–618) by both design and technique, and indeed the pattern of two of the pieces in this weave preserved in Horyuji⁴ seems comparable to the fabric patterns painted on images in Sui period caves at Tien Huang. The more famous of these two fabrics (fig. 39) is reputed to have been the sash used by Princess Kashiwade, consort of Prince Shotoku who ruled from A.D. 575 to 622.

Zandaniji

One further “transition weave” cloth, found by Stein at Astana and paralleled by a textile in Horyuji,⁵ is of particular importance (fig. 29). Its design consists of medallions with a border of tiny fleur-de-lis and a ring of tiny dots outside. The upper roundel contains feng huang between furl-ed leaves below and cloud forms (?) above; in the lower roundel are confronting Chinese lions, paws and tails raised. In the interstice are confronting deer, their heads turned back as in the Astana damask dated to before 541 (fig. 19). The leaf scrolls under the lions and the feng huang are still separated as in the 541 fabric, not linked as in the later fabrics with confronting horses.

The links between the motifs in this fabric and those in our early sixth-century
dated fabrics help confirm a dating for this fabric in the Sui period. To date it so early, however, raises significant questions about a group of Western textiles, identified as “Zandaniji,” from eastern Iran. These textiles are placed no earlier than the seventh century and are perhaps as late as the eighth or ninth. Though their style is distinctly not Chinese, their overall design would seem to reflect Chinese influence, an influence beyond the use of imported Chinese fabrics that Dorothy Shepherd has pointed out.⁶

The arrangement of roundels in rows, the use of racing animals between the roundels,⁷ the floral and dotted borders of the roundel itself, the confronting lions on floral bases, all strike this author as indicative of an attempt at some point in the development of this Western pattern to translate onto Western looms Chinese patterns of the sort seen in our Sui period fabric. Even the striping of colors in these fabrics may reflect an attempt to produce in a weft weave the stripes of color noticeable in Chinese warp-faced fabrics where the patterning warps, fixed as they were to the loom, produce constant color effects throughout the length of the fabric (noticeable in our Sui period fabric as in Han fabrics).

That the Zandaniji fabrics had their own development through time and over much territory is evident from the number of different examples which have been pre-

---

⁵ Art Treasures of Ten Great Temples of Nara, vol. 10, The Horyuji Temple, Tokyo, 1933, pl. 67.
⁷ Stein found a small fragment of a fabric woven in Han weave (Ast. i. 5b. 01) which has flying cranes paired in the spandrel.
served, but the origin of the design in the competition between Chinese and Iranian merchants and weavers in Central Asia seems likely.

Seventh-century Western Roundels

Western fabrics to which reference can be made are very few: primarily the Antinoe horse fabric of unixed date and the famous boar’s head fabric found by Stein at Astana (fig. 30).28 It must be noted that these fabrics show roundels interlocked by small pearled circles enclosing crescents. Each contains a single, heraldically treated animal. Very similar fabrics, also joined by small circles enclosing crescents, can be seen in the frescoes at Old Samarkand (Af raisab) as well as in the famous fresco of birds holding pearl chains at Kizil (Ming-oi).29 These crescent-linked roundels seem stylistically and statistically Western, perhaps Iranian, but of uncertain date.

A number of other textiles of Central Asian origin and several series of frescoes—most notably the pearl roundels with birds and boars at Bamiyan—show roundels which are not linked together on all sides but which are characterized by squared gems at the quadrants of the roundel, a feature used, it seems, primarily in Western textiles of Central Asian origin.

The date of these fabrics, all woven in heavy weft twill, can be suggested by the find of recent examples at Astana in tombs dated A.D. 661, 665 and 663 (figs. 31–33).30 These fabrics parallel the possibly Iranian fabrics in the use of pearl roundels enclosing a single heraldic animal but are more crude in design: the pearls flattened and stepped; the single animals within sometimes poorly rendered. The boar’s head and stag roundels recently found at Astana (figs. 31 and 33) seem to be linked horizontally to their neighbors by small circles of pearls; above and below they are not connected but are marked by square-cut gems. In size they exceed the Chinese roundels we have so far discussed (8 to 10 inches in diameter as compared to the 1 to 3 inches of the Chinese warp-faced fabrics).

Wall Paintings

Some wall paintings in Western Turkestan seem surely to show Iranian fabrics (Af raisab); some portray fabrics made in Central Asia by the eastern Iranian kingdoms; and others (as at Kizil) portray fabrics (small scale roundels in particular) probably of Chinese manufacture.

In addition to these sites, a number of sites in Eastern Central Asia near Turfan and north of Khotan have paintings which show fabrics with pearl roundels. At Mayaklik (figs. 34 and 35) the cloth on which the Buddha is sitting has small-scale pearl


29 A few photographs have been published from Af raisab in Isskutso, 1966. For Ming-oi see Ernst Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien, Berlin, 1920, pl. LXIII. Herzfeld gives also a long discussion of the reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan, the most precise evidence we have for Sasanian textile design. See also Belemtisky, Central Asia, for the recently discovered Central Asian material.

30 Hsia Nai, op. cit., pl. XII, and Wen Wu, 1962, 7–8, pls. 3, 5, 6, 17.
roundels containing lotuses. A figure standing next to him has a robe, rather like that shown in the Kizil paintings, with small-scale, solid line roundels perhaps like those we have seen in sixth-century damasks.

These frescoes seem to indicate a complex Iranian, Chinese, and possibly even Indian use of pearl roundels in the seventh century. A painting from Balawaste, near Khotan, dated by Bussagli to about A.D. 600, shows a worshipper painted in Indian style wearing a dhoti with roundel designs formed of tiny dots, probably representing an Indian cotton cloth. Similar dotted roundels are shown in a fresco from Toyuk (fig. 36) along with larger pearl roundels containing lotuses.

At Tun Hwang the pearl roundel pattern appears on images in two caves, one of the Sui period and one of the early eighth century. First, a bodhisattva image from a Sui period cave has a dhoti with unlinked 4-inch pearl roundels with hunt scenes painted on it (fig. 37). The hunt itself, so far as poor photographs can show it, seems more in the style of Han hunt scenes than in that of Iranian royal hunts.

Second, in an early eighth-century cave, the painted pillow cover for the Buddha in a Nirvana scene has on it lotus forms within an overall floral medallion and lozenge pattern (fig. 38); but forming the heart of each lotus is a small pearl roundel. Within is a single bird, a chain of pearls in its beak and its wing sectioned and gridded, which closely parallels birds in the well-known roundel painting from Kizil.

Perhaps these two illustrations can serve again to reinforce our conclusion that, though the Chinese had used the pearl roundel as a small-scale motif in textiles for centuries in a design context strictly Chinese, alien details of design began to be incorporated early in the seventh century; and the roundel, used to frame designs of detailed exoticism, is found only toward the end of that century or early into the next.

The Lotus, India, and Chinese Fabrics

At the interstice of the Shomu Banner's pattern are lotuses within roundels of tiny pearls, surrounded by foliage interlace which is, perhaps, a fuller development of the crossed honeysuckle motif we first saw in the lion and phoenix damask dated to before A.D. 551 (figs. 46 left and 10). This interstice motif in effect combines into one motif both the lotus-in-pearl-roundel and the crossed honeysuckle motifs of a small warp-faced twill fabric found by Stein and paralleled by fabrics found by Chinese archaeologists at Astana in caves dated A.D. 653 and 661 (figs. 40 and 41).

Stein, Serindia, chap. XXXI, Section iv, text pls. 325–326.
F. W. Andrews, Wall Paintings from Central Asia, Oxford, 1948, pl. VIII.


Francis Fourcade, La Peinture Murale de Touen Houang, Paris, 1962, p. 17, pl. 2.

See note 29.
We have seen the lotus in a pearl roundel before in an early warp-faced compound twill fabric (fig. 28); it is found as well in a fabric woven in Han weave (see fig. 42) where the roundels also are separated into rows by decorative bands.

The Sui period "sash fabric" at Hor-yuji (fig. 39), though the pattern is embedded in a lattice of square panels characteristic of Sui decoration, has double layered lotuses surrounded by small pearls with honeysuckle patterns set between—a pattern which seems the clear forerunner of the two warp-faced twill fabrics from the seventh century discussed above (figs. 40 and 41).

A number of wall paintings, both Chinese and Eastern Iranian, from the seventh and eighth centuries, show small-scale roundels, undivided by square-cut jewels and unconnected to each other, containing lotuses.

As a major motif in Indian Buddhist art, the lotus is seen in conjunction with tiny pearl-dot roundels widely in Gupta-Vakataka decoration and at least as early as the Andhra carvings at Amaravati. It appears in Chinese decoration at least by the sixth century in jewelry on a Northern Chou image, from Ch'ang An, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. To trace back this motif from China to India cannot be done here, but I do suggest that this element of Indian Buddhist decoration was grafted onto an internal development of the roundel within China.

*T'ang Exoticism and Frontier Trade*

In the seventh century, the frontier post of Kao Ch'ang 富昌 (Kocho; Turfan) was the farthest outpost of Chinese civilization. Even the T'ang dynasty did not wrest the area away from the local Kiu rulers until after A.D. 640. To the people of Kao Ch'ang, early in the seventh century, the West was next door, not exotic. If their hearts were Chinese, much trade and many objects of daily life were not. Edward Schäfer remarks of Liang-chou, half-way back toward Ch'ang-an from Turfan: "[It] was a true melting pot, a kind of homely symbol of the exotic to the Chinese, as Hawaï is to the American of the 20th century." How much more was Turfan the frontier.

Buried in Kao Ch'ang's cemetery, these frontier Chinese clothed their dead in Chinese metaphor: "Chih... of Hsien... was a native of... His character was lofty and distinguished... His heart was the abode of ice and jade... One day the fate of the candle in the wind suddenly overtook him." Yet many are found with Western as well as Chinese woven roundels covering their faces, Sasanian and imitation Byzantine gold coins covering their eyes. They must have traded as much with their Western neighbors as with their fellow Chinese. To use Iranian floating ribbons in Chinese cloth, as in the horse roundels discussed above (figs. 22–25), may have been good for trade (as must have been the sale

of Chinese dyes to the weavers of “Zandaniż” without teaching such competitors how to fix the color.\(^{42}\)

The high T’ang roundel fabrics in weft-faced compound twill, however, dating from the late seventh or early eighth century, show a different sort of exoticism (figs. 43-45). At a time when Iranian luxury goods were reaching Chinese markets by way of refugees fleeing into China, they seem to reflect in some part a high T’ang reversed “Chinoiserie” — an attempt to be enough exotic to suit a particular Chinese market, not a foreign trade.\(^{43}\)

For T’ang China, the West had taken on something of the fascination that the East now holds for the modern West, a fascination not merely for the “exotic,” however; for the West, to China, was a land not merely of exotic things but of the important Buddhist “Western paradise.” The Otani deer fabric (fig. 45) — its deer having gridded flanks, pearled bands across their necks, sharp fluttering ribbons (scarves) flaring out behind — seems even to have a “grape” tree, a single leaf set like a diagram in the center, to mark the exoticism.\(^{44}\) The rhinoceros fabric has a similar tree (fig. 43), but the tree in the Stein deer fabric differs: its grape-like clusters are set more like flowers than fruit, its leaves are a confusion between single five-pointed leaves and clusters of ovoid leaves set around the “flower.” Perhaps grape clusters and clusters of flowers were confused, and the flowering tree was given grape leaves to mark its “Western” origin (fig. 44). The flowering tree in the Shomu Banner, with clusters of simple ovoid leaves (fig. 2), is an exotic symbol, not like its royal hunters of Iran, but of the Western paradise.\(^{45}\) The same tree appears in the Boston museum’s tomb slab showing scenes from Western China, and as the canopy of the Tuan Fang altar.\(^{46}\)

Thus the pearl roundel seems to have had its own development from Han times to the sixth century in Chinese damasks. If, in the few sixth-century Chinese fabrics we have discussed, there is any Western underlay it is by way of Han China, not Iran. However, in certain early seventh-century fabrics made perhaps in Western China and before the fall of the Sasanian Empire, some small overlay of Iranian details does appear, perhaps from the necessities of trade. Only in the late seventh century, after Iranian and Central Asian refugees fleeing the Arabs had flooded the towns of T’ang China, bringing with them their luxury goods, does a knowing exoticism appear, an intentional exoticism made up in T’ang taste from T’ang fantasy. In textiles, such exoticism appears most grandly, indeed, in the ta-ji-chin 大瑞牆\(^{47}\) — those wide breadth, weft-faced fabrics with patterns of sacred animals of which the Shomu Banner is the most exotic example.

\(^{42}\) Dorothy Shepherd, op. cit., points out the possibility of such a trick having been played by Chinese merchants on the weavers of eastern Iran.

\(^{43}\) See Schaefer, op. cit., chap. 1, for a discussion of T’ang exoticism.

\(^{44}\) Tatsumura, op. cit., text pls. 16-17.

\(^{45}\) Symbol of the bhodi tree in India, perhaps. See Schaefer, op. cit., pp. 126-27 for a description of the “Buddha’s Land Leaf.”


\(^{47}\) Textiles in the Shosoin, vol. 2, p. VII.