THE MAQAMAT OF AL-HARIRI:
A Critical Study of the
Typologies in al-Wasiti's Version
(Bibliotheque nationale Ms. Arabe 5847)

A Thesis

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by

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* * * * *

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Persian and Arabic words appear in transliterated form in this text. I have followed conventions used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960, et seq.), with minor modifications. Diacritical marks have been omitted. Dates follow the system appearing in the same text and manifest themselves here with the A.D. date preceding the A.H. date.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It has been stated that the Magamat of al-Hariri is "... a masterpiece which for eight centuries 'has been esteemed as, next to the Quran, the chief treasure of the Arabic tongue'"¹ and that the stories it contains "... appealed to the taste of readers to such an extent that, after the Quran, children were made to memorize them ..."²

Certainly, the Quran is familiar to many as the Muslim Holy Scripture. But what about the Magamat? What is it? What does the name mean? Where did it come from? Why were and are the stories in it so popular?

The term magamah (pl. magamat) generally translates as "assembly" or "session."³ This translation derives from the


³Ibid., p. 107.
Arabic verb for "he stood" and so primarily signifies an occasion of standing or a place where one stands. The later usage of the term in literary works starting in the ninth and tenth centuries adds the notion of "discourse" to the sense of the term.4 Thus defined as to subject matter, maqamat must be viewed as a type or genre of literary work which emerged from modest beginnings to become a high form that enjoyed immense popularity.

As did much of Islamic art and literature, the form of the maqamat borrowed what it pleased from non-indigenous sources and transformed them into something new and different, something inherently Islamic. The origins and sources proposed for it are both varied and complex. G. E. von Grunebaum stated:

The maqama is first met with in Arabic, but it is not an offshoot of the classical Arabic heritage, nor can its growth be anticipated during the "Arab" empire of the Umayyads. The re-animation of a Hellenistic literary form by its acceptance as a frame within which to show characters and incidents as they could typically occur only in a Muslim metropolitan environment . . . reflects significantly in a restricted sphere that larger process to which Islamic civilization owes its origin and its fertility.5

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Both Prendergast and Bosworth, on the other hand, felt the strong influence of the Greek mimes at work in the formation of the magamat. Prendergast, for example, stated that the similarity between the magamat and the Greek mimes was so strong that either they must have had a common source or the same "informing spirit speaks to the nations irrespective of race, time, or place." Specifically, he saw the portrayal of daily life and the use of popular language as the two primary features taken over by the Muslims. Clifford E. Bosworth, on the other hand, saw the influence of the Greek mimes in the development of what was to emerge as the main character of the magamat, the "wise fool" who addresses the assembly of gathered people. He stated:

The character of the "wise fool" passed into Arabic literature as the agil al-majanin, the pretender idiot who usually appears dressed in ascetic garb and who often surprises people with his pearls of wisdom; frequently he achieves his aim by affecting this veneer of simplicity and innocence, in this way resembling the heroes of the magamat.

This same type of character is seen in one of the earliest surviving pieces of literature to which the term

---

7Ibid., p. 22.
maqamat was applied, Ibn Kutayba's Uyun al-akhbar of the ninth century. In it, Kutayba entitled a chapter "Makamat al-zuhhad ind al-khulafa wa 'l-muluk" in which he reproduced pious homilies designated by the term makam. The Encyclopaedia of Islam relates:

In the makamat described by Ibn Kutayba, it is often a Bedouin or a person of rather shabby appearance, although extremely eloquent, who addresses an aristocratic audience. Before an audience of common people, an analogous role was performed by the kass, who originally delivered edifying speeches but, as is well-known, in the course of time soon took on the dual function of storyteller and montebank whose activity was to a certain extent comparable to that of the mukaddi, the wandering beggar or vagrant who went from town to town and easily gathered around him an audience who rewarded him financially for the fascinating stories he told.

These urban characters of the Bedouin, the kass, and the mukaddi were not uncommon to daily life in the Islamic world. Bosworth, reviewing the growth of an interest in them during the ninth century, stated:

Whatever the root causes of this interest, there now appears a fascination amongst the intellectual classes for the Islamic underworld, its activities and its peculiar jargons, and absorption in the arcana seen in works like the Book of Misers of al-Jahiz . . . and in the globe-trotter and physician Abu Dulaf al-Khazraj's Qasida sasaniyya, a long poem describing the stratagems of beggars and swindlers, into which the author introduced specimens of

their peculiar vocabulary and argot.\textsuperscript{10}

In addition to this interest in the "Islamic underworld" and at about the same time as Ibn Kutayba was writing his \textit{Uyun al-akhbar}, public sermons (khutba, pl. khutab) given by the Caliphs and their viceroys were becoming increasingly popular. During the following century, the tenth, professional preachers and official secretaries further developed the work of public addresses. The rise of these public assemblies is tied to the appearance in official and intellectual circles of the saj', or rhymed prose. The saj' had had religious associations in pre-Islamic times but its use in the \textit{Quran} consecrated it for all Muslims.\textsuperscript{11} The saj', which fell between the prose and poetic styles, was also used increasingly during the tenth century for official correspondence, historiography, and other forms of prose composition.\textsuperscript{12}

The one individual who has often been credited with inventing the saj' but who was, rather, responsible for popularizing it was the Hafiz Ahmad ibn al-Husain ibn Yahya ibn Said ibn Bashar Abu'l-Fadl al-Hamadani, surnamed Badi'  


\textsuperscript{11}For further information regarding the history of the saj', see Nicholson, \textit{A Literary History of the Arabs}, p. 327.

al-Zaman (the Wonder of the Age). Born in Hamadhan in A.D. 967 (A.H. 358), he lived a short but extremely productive life, dying at the age of forty, in February 1008 (A.H. 398). Al-Hamadani's claim to fame was his creation of a series of magamat, said by him to be over 400 in number, although forty is probably more accurate. His innovations, according to Beeston, lay in two areas: first the adoption of the saj' as a vehicle for the entire composition, and second, the bold admission that all of the stories were fictitious, but nonetheless edifying.

Al-Hamadani also established certain characteristics within his maqamat which were to prove very influential to later writers. One such characteristic was the focusing of most of the stories around the person of Abu '1-Fath al-Iskandari. Although not assuming a primary role in all of the maqamat, this "unscrupulous vagabond" appeared as the central figure, the one who addressed the crowd, in a large

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14 Prendergast, Maqamat of Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, pp. 1, 7.


16 Ibid., pp. 8-9.

number of al-Hamadani's stories. As an inventive rogue, he appeared in many guises such as a preacher in the mosque, a blind man, a refugee from lands occupied by advancing Byzantines, a lunatic, an aged and decrepit man, and as a shaikh of the Banu Sasan in Damascus.\(^{18}\) In view of these many guises, it is not surprising that Abu 'l-Fath is not always described consistently.

\[\ldots\text{ Mostly he is a youth, often a man in the prime of life with young children, rarely old; in 'the Blind' he is 'short and portly,' in Jurjan 'neither tall and lanky nor short and stunted.'}\]

Appearing nearly as often is Isa ibn Hisham, who functions as a rawi, or narrator conveying information to the author who in turn conveys it to his readers.\(^{20}\) Such narrators were to become increasingly important with later writers of the maqamat genre.

It is clear as well that from early on the maqamat type narrative followed a more or less fixed pattern. An analysis by Abd 'l-Fattah Kilito of the maqamat of al-Hamadani, for example, reveals a general scheme that begins with an arrival in a city, followed by an encounter with the disguised hero, a speech, a reward for eloquence, the recognition of the hero, a reproach by the narrator of the hero's deception, the justification by the hero, and the

\(^{18}\)Bosworth, Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, p. 99.

\(^{19}\)Beeston, "Genesis of Maqamat," p. 11.

parting of the hero and the narrator.\textsuperscript{21} This series of events revolved around a similarly fixed set of subjects: criticism of ancient and modern poets and prose writers, exposure of the sexual slang and jargon of vagabonds, and the display of lexicographic knowledge.\textsuperscript{22}

Al-Hamadani's \textit{maqamah} did have partial precedents in prior literature and perhaps also in life.\textsuperscript{23} Nevertheless, his creation, as a whole, was something truly new and inventive. It inspired many emulators, none more famous than Abu Muhammed al-Kasim ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn al-Hariri al-Basri, known as al-Hariri.

Al-Hariri (1054–1122/446–516) was probably born to a landed family at al-Mashan, near Basra.\textsuperscript{24} Papadopoulo


\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23}The ninth century had seen a growing interest in intellectual circles in the use of the \textit{saj} as well as in themes from the Islamic underworld, two key components in al-Hamadani's \textit{maqamat}. For a full discussion, see Beeston, "Genesis of the \textit{Maqamat}," p. 2 and Bosworth, "Forward," in Prendergast, \textit{Maqamat of Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani}, pp. viii–ix.

But it was not only literature which seemed to play a role in the creative output of al-Hamadani. Bosworth reports that an actual person, one Saimari, "... an exponent for the life of vagrancy and of the underworld, ..." achieved perpetual fame when al-Hamdhani made him the narrator of one of his \textit{maqamat}, that of Saimara. For Bosworth's reference to Saimari, see Bosworth, \textit{Medieval Islamic Underworld}, p. 31.

stated that he became head of police and that this position gave him ample opportunity to study various criminal vices.25 But this seemingly revealing piece of information is unconfirmed by any other source. It has been reported by Ibn al-Tilmidh that al-Hariri began his Maqamat in 1101/495.26 Prendergast seems to confirm this, stating that al-Hariri was forty-eight when he started, which would place the event around 1102.27 But he also states that the Maqamat took the remaining twenty years of al-Hariri's life.28 This directly conflicts with the assertion that al-Hariri's Maqamat were already classics in his lifetime and the fact that he himself boasted of having personally authorized 700 copies.29

The complexity of his compositions made his compositions popular, so popular in fact that they cast his predecessor al-Hamadani's work into shadow.30 But in what ways was this the case? What did al-Hariri's version, completed some hundred years after that of al-Hamadani, possess that caused the latter to pale by comparison?


26"Hariri," Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 221.

27Prendergast, Maqamat of Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, p. 23.

28Ibid.

29"Hariri," Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 221.

In reality, there are many similarities between the two. Al-Hariri's preface, in fact, openly acknowledged his indebtedness to the maqamat of al-Hamadani, stating that he is "following the method of Badi [al-Zaman al-Hamadani]."\textsuperscript{31} Al-Hariri not only retained al-Hamadani's structure but he also preserved the idea of a hero and a narrator.\textsuperscript{32} Prendergast notes further that in addition to the structure and two-character staging, al-Hariri also borrowed specific ideas, themes, and language from al-Hamadani.\textsuperscript{33} But al-Hariri gave the content of the maqamat a secondary role and placed style above it, thereby giving the genre its classic form.\textsuperscript{34} Nicholson stated that while al-Hariri might have been less original than al-Hamadani, he went beyond him "... in variety of learning and copiousness of language ... ", giving the genre its "... consummate literary form--a point on which the Arabs have always bestowed singular

\textsuperscript{31} For information regarding this section of al-Hariri's preface see Beeston, "Genesis of the Maqamat," p. 1 and Prendergast, Maqamat of Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, p. 22.

\textsuperscript{32} "Makama," Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 109.

\textsuperscript{33} Prendergast, Maqamat of Badi al-Zaman al-Hamadhani, p. 22. To support his claims, Prendergast compared individual maqamah of the two authors and found strong similarities between certain maqamat of the earlier (al-Hamadani) with those of the later (al-Hariri), i.e. al-Hamadani's maqamah 5 with al-Hariri's 5th, the former's 22nd with the latter's 18th, the 23rd with the 12th and 39th, the 30th with the 30th, the 31st with the 8th, the 16th with the 3rd, the 43rd with the 47th, and the 41st with the 49th. Bosworth, Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, p. 102, would add each author's 29th to the list.

\textsuperscript{34} "Makama," Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 110.
This "consummate literary form" is comprised of verbal conceits—equivoques, paronomasias, assonances, alliterations, & c.—with which his pages are thickly studded, as in tours de force of composition which may be read either forwards or backwards, or which consist entirely of pointed or unpainted letters... Interestingly, these literary tours de force were not entirely intelligible to all readers. Sharishī (d. 1222/619), said to be one of the best commentators on al-Hariri's maqamat, admitted that he encountered passages even he could not understand. Ironically, it is precisely these qualities of difficulty and obscurity which made the compositions popular among the scholars and philologists.

The popularity of this genre quickly spread to literatures other than Arabic where al-Hariri's influence is clearly seen in a wide range of imitators.

One could perhaps go on enumerating the religious and other subjects for which the Maqama form was used, and perhaps mention also Al-Maqamat al-Mashiyya (The Christian

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36 Ibid., p. 336. Similarly, the Encyclopaedia of Islam reported that another such "verbal conceit" utilized by al-Hariri was "... in the two risalas called al-siniyya and al-shiniyya, [he employed only words containing respectively a sin and a shin ...]." For this, see "Makama," Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 112.


38 Ibid.
Magamas) written in Syriac, in the Arab East, in close imitation of Hariri. The language of these was in turn of such an artificial and ornate nature that the authors themselves had to elucidate it in commentaries. Their Arabic counterparts were Al-Maqamat al-Aliyya fi'l-Karamat al-Jaliyya in praise of the Prophet and his companions by Abu'l-Fath Muhammad ibn Sayyid al-Nas (d. 1334), and Al-Maqamat al-Falsafiyya wa'l-Tarjamat al-Sufiyya by Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Dimashqi, which like Hariri's Maqamat are fifty in number.39

At the time the commentator Sharishi was writing in Spain, al-Hariri's work was already being imitated there.40 Perhaps most enlightening is what Zamakhshari, a contemporary of al-Hariri, wrote:

I swear by God and His marvels, By the pilgrims' rite and their shrine: Hariri's Assemblies are worthy To be written in gold each line.41

In order to gain a better understanding of this, the most popular of works in the maqamat genre, it is necessary to look at it more closely. As stated above, al-Hariri retained many of the characteristics of his famous predecessor, al-Hamadani. Not only are the structure and certain ideas and themes borrowed, but also the device of relating the maqamat by the use of two primary characters: the hero and the narrator. In al-Hariri's case, the hero is

one Abu Zayd al-Saruji while the function of the narrator is taken up by al-Harith ibn Hamman.

Al-Hariri casts Abu Zayd as a travelling rogue whose literary abilities never fail to earn him some financial gain. Comparisons with al-Hamadani's Abu 'l-Fath al-Iskandari are inevitable. Bosworth related when looking at Abu 'l-Fath al-Iskandari,

... Abu Zaid is likewise a man of many roles: a limping cripple, a descendent of the princely house of the Ghassanids fallen on hard times, an old woman with a horde of miserable-looking children, a blind man, a refugee from the Frankish Crusaders who had captured his home town of Saruj, etc.

Both Abu 'l-Fath and Abu Zaid live off their wits, exploiting the gullibility of the masses; often they pose as travelling Sufis or ascetics, preaching hell-fire sermons and declaiming poetry on the virtues of withdrawal from the meretricious gauds of this present life.42

But, at the same time, there are many departures from the type of al-Hamadani's hero. While the adventures of Abu 'l-Fath and the narrator Isa ibn Hisham are often the focal point upon which al-Hamadani relates his anecdote, they are not always present.43 In al-Hariri's narrative, on the other hand, Abu Zayd and al-Harith are included in all fifty of the magamat.44

42 Bosworth, Mediaeval Islamic Underworld, p. 100.


In another major departure al-Hariri's Abu Zayd is intellectually a far more accomplished individual than Abu 'l-Fath, as is reflected in the verbal and literary character of each as set down in their maqamats. While Prendergast reported that al-Hamadani boasted

... of his abilities to employ no less than four hundred artifices in writing and composition, such as the writing of a letter, which, if read backwards, furnishes the required reply, or an epistle containing no dotted letters, ... or a letter which if read one way constitutes a eulogy, and, if taken in another, is a satire ... 45

he was forced to admit that al-Hamadani "... shows little disposition ... to make use of such artifices in the Maqamat ..." 46 It was, instead, al-Hariri who gave expression to these "artifices" through his hero Abu Zayd and who thus gained a popular following greater than that of al-Hamadani.

Despite the many sources proposed as models for al-Hamadani and al-Hariri 47, the immense popularity the

46Ibid.
47As in the case with al-Hamadani, more than one source has been suggested. With regard to the character of Abu Zayd, aside from al-Hamadani, scholars have suggested other possible sources. For an interesting discussion of the influences on the development of the character of Abu Zayd, see Bosworth, Medieval Islamic Underworld, pp. 100-101. One must consider, as was the case in al-Hamadani's use of Saimari, whether al-Hariri may have drawn on actual life for inspiration in the creation of the character of Abu Zayd. The Encyclopaedia of Islam states that when al-Hariri began his maqamat in 1101 A.D. (according to Ibn al-
latter's *magamat* acquired was a result of the literary feats contained therein. It is therefore perhaps surprising to find, during the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century flourishing of the Arab arts of the book, illustrated versions of a text which was primarily meant to be appreciated for literary accomplishments that by their very nature could not be depicted visually.

Tilmidh), he had already had some dealings with one Abu Zayd al-Mutahhar ibn Sallam al-Basri. Al-Hariri's character Abu Zayd al-Sarudji, (whose *nisba* or nickname implies that he was a native of Sarudj), would naturally have been a refugee from Sarudj which was taken by Crusaders in 1100 A.D. Perhaps the real Abu Zayd al-Mutahhar ibn Sallam al-Basri was originally from Sarudj, was forced to leave by the invasion, and adopted the name of "al-Basri" after the town of his relocation, Basra, where al-Hariri met him. In that way, al-Hariri may have based his character of Abu Zayd on an actual person. But the eloquence and verbal accomplishments of the character must be the result of al-Hariri's own education and abilities. For the taking of Sarudj by Crusaders in 1100 A.D., see "Hariri," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 221.

One final note, along this same vein, is the interesting similarity between the name of the author, al-Hariri, who relates his *magamat* to the reader via al-Harith, the narrator, who relates the adventures of Abu Zayd to the same audience. Could this narrator in the *magamat* merely be a surrogate for the author? The spelling of the two names seems similar enough to suggest this to be the case.
CHAPTER II
ILLUSTRATED VERSIONS OF THE MAQAMAT

Unlike other areas of art historical study, European scholars were not drawn to the art of Muslim painting until the later years of the nineteenth century. Almost immediately, however, they recognized the important place in early Islamic painting occupied by al-Hariri's Maqamat.48

The earliest publication of Maqamat illustrations was by Edgar Blochet in 1907 and by F. R. Martin in 1912.49 This alone allowed many scholars, both those specializing in Western art and those who dealt with Asian art, to view, most for the first time, these important illustrations and to publish their observations on them.

Blochet, in both his 1926 and 1929 books on Islamic painting, provided not only additional information on some of the various illustrated maqamat manuscripts but also


discussed some isolated illustrations and their links, as he saw them, to Christian painting.  

Kurt Holter's 1937 articles on early Islamic manuscripts in general and on the Vienna *Magamat* manuscript (Nationalbibliothek, A. F. 9) in particular, and the 1938 exhibition at the Bibliothèque nationale\(^5\) produced a round of commentaries, although they too were more Mediterranean oriented than Islamic-oriented in nature.\(^6\) Two of the most significant of these were articles published by Hugo Buchthal in 1940 and 1942. In them, the author conducted some stylistic comparisons between various illustrated versions of the *Magamat*, defined characteristics of style more precisely than had been done before, and suggested some possible origins for a few of these versions, some "Hellenistic" and others "Islamic."\(^7\)

Despite Oleg Grabar's claim that "Since the early 1940s... the *Magamat* miniatures have attracted no particular


\(^7\) Grabar, 1984, p. 1.

attention except insofar as they have been used to interpret newly discovered or reexamined manuscripts or to illustrate broader issues of medieval Islamic culture." 54 Two articles by D. S. Rice published in the 1950's each focused on a particular subject illustrated in some of the Maqamat and what that informs scholars about the society that produced them. In spite of his tangential purpose, Rice's informative discussions helped to securely establish the importance of the illustrations of the Maqamat in the development of the art of painting in the Islamic world. 55

Shortly thereafter, in 1962, Richard Ettinghausen published his important survey of Arab painting. In it, he remarked on the wide variety of locales as well as facial expressions that were illustrated in the various versions of the Maqamat. 56 In addition to reproducing illustrations not previously published, Ettinghausen's careful analysis allowed him to enlighten readers to distinctions made by certain artists regarding typologies that appear in some of the versions. 57 Ettinghausen, like Rice, isolated certain Maqamat scenes and went into detail regarding some of the


57Ibid., pp. 111-115.
versions' illustrations of them. Finally, by comparing the styles of several *Maqamat* manuscript illustrations with those of contemporary Arab painting, he placed the illustrations in the artistic milieu from which it emerged.

The next major art historical publications to deal with the illustrations of the *Maqamat* were Oleg Grabar's articles of 1963 and 1970. In the 1963 article, Grabar, agreeing with Ettinghausen, was able to distinguish by means of dress and facial expression between what he termed "Arab" and non-"Arab" figures in *Maqamat* miniatures. In his 1970 publication, Grabar focused primarily on the architectural edifices which appeared in some of the scenes of the various illustrated versions of the text. Throughout, Grabar's general comments regarding the illustrated *Maqamat* are both enlightening and thought-provoking.

In his 1984 monograph on the illustrations of the *Maqamat*, Oleg Grabar was able to develop fully ideas which he had advanced more tentatively with his 1963 and 1970 articles. In it, through an analysis of the thirteen

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58Ibid., pp. 115-123.


61See note 48 for the full bibliographic record.
surviving illustrated Maqamat manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Grabar was able to arrive at a number of conclusions having to do with the visual description of the characters that appear in the al-Hariri Maqamat as well as the settings into which those characters were placed. From his analysis, Grabar was further able to establish in general outline the typologies of the figures represented. Thus, with regard to the depiction of Abu Zayd, Grabar states that

... a rapid glance at his portrayals shows no facial or bodily characteristic, no attire, gesture, or attribute that clearly identifies him in all manuscripts. He is given no obvious iconographic type in the way Christian saints, antique gods, or Zal and often Rustam in the Persian epic [the Shah Name] acquired standard attributes.62

Grabar did, however, note that Abu Zayd "... is frequently shown with a large, generally black, cloak covering his head and shoulders and falling over his back."63 This article of clothing was identified by Grabar as being a taylasan or tarhah, an object usually associated with judges but also sometimes used by preachers in mosques.64 Beyond this, according to Grabar, the reader was not given much aid in identifying the main character. He concluded his discussion of Abu Zayd by noting that "... .

63Ibid., p. 106.
64Ibid.
an Abu Zayd recognizable by physical features, by costume or belongings, or by arbitrary colors or accessories did not emerge."65

Representations of al-Harith, according to Grabar, were no easier to distinguish:

Because al-Harith's function is so passive it is not always easy to decide whether he is really present in a miniature and, if he is, whether any particular visual feature distinguishes him.66

Other than "... as a typical 'Arab' with no specifically identifiable features. ...", Grabar stated that al-Harith can be recognized "... by his position or by his gestures. ..."67 But for Grabar, even the position and gestures of al-Harith were not always clear and, in many cases, they were also used by other characters as well.

These other characters might have been members of the crowd which often appeared in the illustrations. The crowds had general characteristics of their own. Grabar describes them as comprising a

... group of standing or seated men, all but one of whom are bearded, dressed in long robes, and wearing turbans. There are variations among the bearded figures--some are thick-jawed and rotund, others elongated and thin--but the emphasis is always on faces and facial expressions

66Ibid., p. 109.
67Ibid.
rather than on bodily features, with the occasional exception of the hands. Regardless of stylistic variations between manuscripts, these figures are consistent enough to justify being considered an urban "Arab" type.68

But on the specifics that serve to define this urban Arab type Grabar was silent. He does contrast this type with other figures which occasionally appear in the crowd. These figures included nomads, slaves, servants, officials, military personnel, women, and youths.

On these last two groups, Grabar had more to say. With regard to women, Grabar stated that there is . . . what can be regarded as the standard representation of women . . . It is on the whole used consistently throughout the manuscripts and shows a large figure, especially broad at the hips, wearing a long, often white wrap that is clearly the izar known from written sources. Women are not always veiled, but when they are . . . the veils belong to the so-called burqu type, covering the face up to the eyes . . . 69

Grabar also noted, however, that the earlier manuscripts avoid depictions of women altogether.70

Grabar also elaborated on the representations of youths. Here he separated "children" from "youths". Children are not often depicted but when they are, they are seen as "... small, thin adults in short robes and in a

68Grabar, 1984, p. 112.
69Ibid., p. 114.
70Ibid., pp. 114-115.
few manuscripts, odd pointed hats. . ." 71 Nonetheless, Grabar concluded that "While at least some models may well have existed for women, there were apparently none for children." 72 By contrast, he finds youths to be beardless, "... dressed like a full-grown man, at times with slightly fancier clothes." 73 But with these two descriptions, one could hardly differentiate between children and youths. Suffice it to say that in addition to women, adolescents also sometimes appeared in the Maqamat illustrations.

Besides women and children/youths, Grabar also noted differences between the occasional representations of the qadi, or judge, and the wali, or governor. The qadi, in Grabar's terms, "... is an Arab in a long robe with a very prominent white or black taylasan over his head and shoulders as befits his position and function. His beard is usually long and impressive. ..." 74 The qadi "... sits cross-legged, usually on pillows (at times on a pedestal), almost always with a curtain behind him." 75

By contrast, the wali or governor, although not clearly differentiated in all manuscripts, usually appeared with

71 Grabar, 1984, p. 115.
72 Ibid.
73 Ibid., p. 115.
74 Ibid., p. 116.
75 Ibid.
shorter coat, boots, fur cap with a triangular gold plate in front, often braids, and usually a shorter beard. Like the qadi, the wali was shown cross-legged but equally commonly has one leg extended and the other bent under his body. Above all, Grabar cited as the "most important characteristic" of the wali that he is almost always accompanied by attendants. who are always youthful and unbearded.

These typologies that Grabar distinguishes as descriptive of the various classes of people that appear in the magamat are general at best. In reviewing them, the question as to their actual usefulness in informing the reader as to what exactly is occurring in the individual maqamah quickly becomes apparent. But before one can actually address this question, the descriptions given by Grabar must be analyzed. How accurate are Grabar's conclusions? Are they valid in all cases? Are they the proper conclusions to be drawn from the extant data? These questions can only be properly answered by a close examination of the illustrations of the entire corpus of Maqamat. Since an analysis of all such illustrations is beyond the scope of this investigation, perhaps a closer look at one of the more important versions of the magamat

76 Grabar, 1984, p. 117.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid., p. 117.
would be instructive. For this, a logical choice would be the illustrated *Maqamat* currently housed in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Known as Paris 5847, it is, of the thirteen surviving illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqamat*, the one that contains the most representations, ninety-nine. Because of its relatively early date (1237) and numerous illustrations, it could have been a model for later versions of the *maqamat* cycle.\textsuperscript{79} In order to evaluate more precisely the typologies suggested by Grabar, this study will proceed to the analysis of the illustrations *maqamah* by *magamah*, just as the reader would have done.

\textsuperscript{79}Paris 5847 is signed by the scribe and artist, Yahya ibn Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn al-Hasan ibn Kuwwarîh al-Wasiti, known as al-Wasiti. It is also dated in the colophon to the sixth day of Ramadan in 634/Saturday, May 3, 1237. For more information regarding the background of this manuscript, see Grabar, 1984, pp. 10-11.
Its copying was completed by the poor slave [craving for] the mercy of his Lord, His forgiveness, and His pardon, Yahya ibn Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn Abi al-Hasan ibn Kuwwarih al-Wasiti, the writing and illustrations on the evening of Saturday the sixth of the month of Ramadan of the year 634, praising God Most High for His grace, praying for the best of His creatures, our Lord Muhammad the Prophet, his family, and companions, the best, the most pious, the purest, with honor, generosity and salutation.

--Colophon, Paris 584780

Introduction

Paris 5847, often called the Schefer Magamat because it was donated to the Bibliothèque nationale by Charles Schefer, has over time gained a considerable amount of fame. Oleg Grabar cites three primary reasons for this celebrity.

First, the manuscript's wide variety of images is notable. Despite the "many retouched, repainted, and damaged miniatures," these images run the gamut from rather simple to extremely complex compositions, some of which are

80 For this translation, see Grabar, 1984, p. 11.
spread over two adjacent folios as in a magazine's double-page spread.  

Also noteworthy is the fact that the manuscript is dated in the colophon, translated completely above, to the sixth day of Ramadan in the year 634 (Saturday, May 3, 1237) and includes the name of the scribe and artist, Yahya ibn Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn Abi al-Hasan ibn Kuwwarîh al-Wasiti, known simply as al-Wasiti. To clearly understand the significance of this point, it is important to realize that al-Wasiti is one of only two Arab painters securely identified in the early thirteenth century.

The third reason for the fame of this manuscript is tied to the belief that its illustrations are representative of the so-called Baghdad school of painting, although this point is far from certain. The assigning of these illustrations to the Baghdad school is based upon the similarity of style between Paris 5847 and the Cairo Kitab al-Baytarah whose colophon clearly indicates that it was completed in Baghdad in 1209.  

Despite the stylistic similarity, Grabar feels that "... it is safer at this stage simply to assume that we do not know where Paris 5847 was made."  

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81 Grabar, 1984, p. 10.  
82 Ibid., p. 10.  
83 Ibid.
Since the colophon clearly indicates that al-Wasiti was both scribe and artist of the manuscript and since the miniatures vary in compositional complexity and expressive character, Grabar surmises that al-Wasiti was commenting upon the text "... by interpreting its stories as satires or as capsule morality tales."  

To test Grabar's theories regarding the typologies he noted in his study of all the illustrated versions of the Maqamat, as well as some of the general conclusions he drew, we shall carefully analyze this important manuscript and determine if his assertions can stand the test of close scrutiny. The most sensible way to accomplish this is to proceed maqamah by maqamah, from the frontispieces through maqamah fifty.

Frontispieces (fols. lv, 2)

As the reader opened the book, he would first have encountered the frontispieces, two pages which face each other. These frontispieces are particularly significant not only for what they tell of with regard to typologies, but also for the fact that there are two here—the only instance of an illustrated maqamat with more than one. In 1962, Ettinghausen noted that the main figures were representations of two specific types. He stated that he thought fol. lv represented a Turkish official or prince.

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84Grabar, 1984, p. 11.
while fol. 2 was a depiction of an Arab dignitary. Aside from the distinctions of clothing, facial features, and headgear, he thought one of the most important differences between two representations had to do with the fact that the Turk was seen frontally and frozen, as an image of worldly power, while the Arab was much less formal, turned slightly, delivering some sort of speech as is indicated by his gesture.\textsuperscript{85} Grabar, elaborating on Ettinghausen's distinction, noted that the military fur cap worn by the figure in Fol. lv was characteristic of princes. He also suggested that the figure might be holding a cup and that the crowd surrounding him were not the usual courtiers, officials, and entertainers but rather soldiers and civilians. But exactly what identified these attendants as one thing or the other Grabar did not say. Fol. 2 depicted the central figure in a turban and robe and Grabar saw this distinction between Arab and Turk as central to the illustrated codices of the thirteenth century. Grabar also suggested that fol. 2 might be somehow connected with another thirteenth century theme, that of the author's portrait which was especially popular in scientific manuscripts. But exactly how this connection might be made was not made clear.\textsuperscript{86} What both authors seemed to overlook


\textsuperscript{86}Grabar, 1984, pp. 22-23.
is that in fol. lv, the central figure is depicted beardless. In that this criterion was used by Grabar so often, it is surprising that he made no mention of it here. His references to beardless individuals were almost always interpreted as youths. Additionally, the figure seems to have an oriental looking face, which would explain why he is beardless, and has his hand raised, perhaps also in the act of speechifying. Furthermore, the cup that Grabar referred to is, to this reader's eye, not seen. In contrast, in fol. 2 it can be noted that in addition to being more turned than the figure in fol. lv, he also appears bearded, more in keeping with what Grabar listed as an 'Arab' characteristic.

Maqamah 1 (fol. 3v)

This maqamah, "of Sana," relates the story of the poverty-stricken al-Harith who arrives in Sana, in the Yemen, to find a crowd gathered around a preacher who warns against self-indulgence. Al-Harith follows the preacher to a cave where he is found to be enjoying good food and wine, and begins to rebuke him, whereupon the preacher confesses to his device to obtain charity. Al-Harith asks the man's assistant what the name of the rogue is and is informed it is Abu Zayd of Seruj.87

This illustration depicts the argument between al-Harith and Abu Zayd, while the latter's assistant/accomplice looks on. Grabar noted that al-Wasiti interpreted the term magharah as cave and uses this as the backdrop to the figures' actions. Additionally, he noticed that Abu Zayd's assistant is not youthful as seen in ten other manuscripts, but rather appears bearded and more as a partner in crime which is truer to the sense of the story rather than its actual use of the term tilmidh or student (used only to rhyme with nabidh or wine). Even the most cursory glance at the illustration will reveal that al-Harith is probably the figure standing and that the two seated figures are Abu Zayd and his accomplice. Al-Harith, who is supposedly destitute, does not particularly look so. Aside from the fact that his robe does not have an intricate design like those of the other two figures, there is no way of deciphering his temporary misfortune. In this illustration, it is equally difficult to tell which seated figure is Abu Zayd and which is his accomplice. Both have dark beards and are dressed nearly alike. Thus in this, the first introduction to the two major protagonists of the *Magamat*, the reader is left with uncertainty as to what Abu Zayd looks like.

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88Grabar, 1984, p. 25.
Maqamah 2 (fols. 4v, 5v, 6v)

In this maqamah's story, al-Harith encounters a crowd in a public library in the process of discussing the beauty of popular poets when one of the assembled persons remarks on a poet who compared the teeth of a lady to pearls, hailstones and petals of a flower. This man, Abu Zayd, produces a number of comparisons in the same style and is rewarded by those assembled.89

Fol. 4v represents an episode from the beginning of the story in which al-Harith declares his attachment to Abu Zayd and described how he profited from the rogue's wit and "precious qualities".

Fol. 5v represents Abu Zayd reciting in a library. If that is the case, would he be the one holding the L-shaped object, probably an open book? If so, then are we to assume that this is Paris 5847's typical representation of Abu Zayd? If, as Grabar suggested, the crowd is responding to the beggar's talent, as indicated by their hands and faces, then the talent must lie in the interpretation of what has been read and not the reading itself. In that case, the figure with the text need not be Abu Zayd, as he could expound upon the text without being the one reading. He could therefore just as easily be the person to the extreme right of the composition, facing the others.

89Chenery, pp. 112-113.
Fol. 6v is seen by Grabar as being particularly innovative. In it he considered the standing figure to represent al-Harith looking after the now departed Abu Zayd. In addition, he detected a sense of sadness communicated through the gestures and the facial expressions. But Grabar had to admit that it was a weak representation of sadness for the same facial expressions and gestures are used elsewhere to represent completely different emotions.90

These three illustrations, when taken together, strongly suggest some alternative interpretations. First of all, in fol. 4v, if the figure to the left is al-Harith in the act of detaining another person, then we are given a fairly clear depiction of one of the main heroes of the story. Most interesting to note here is the fact that he is dark-bearded and has a fairly large hooked nose. In the next depiction, this figure reappears to the extreme left. None of the other characters have a nose quite like the crooked nose of al-Harith. The same figure recurs again in fol. 6v as the man seated to the farthest right. If indeed these are all the same person and that person is al-Harith, then the standing figure in fol. 6v could not be al-Harith, as Grabar suggested, but must be Abu Zayd in the act of departing. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the standing figure here wears a costume very similar

90On all three folios, see Grabar, 1984, pp. 26-27; for a discussion of just fol. 6v, see Grabar, 1970, p. 208.
to that of the seated figure to the extreme right of the previous illustration, fol. 5v, which, as has been pointed out, might indeed be Abu Zayd. Although the beards of these latter two figures seem to be very different with regard to fullness, it is generally accepted that fol. 6v was the victim, in Grabar's words, of "barbarous retouches" and even the most untrained eye can see that the beard of the standing figure, as well as those of some of the seated ones, lack the sensitivity in their execution that other beards in the same depiction possess.

Maqamah 3 (fols. 7, 8v)

In this maqamah, "of Kaylah," al-Harith is seated in a circle of scholars when a lame man enters. Al-Harith, taking pity, offers him a dinar if the lame man would improvise some lines in praise of it, which he does, and another if he would disparage it. Due to the eloquence of the verses, al-Harith recognizes the man as Abu Zayd and rebukes him. Abu Zayd, in turn, defends himself in some additional verses.

Fol. 7 represents the arrival of the lame Abu Zayd among a crowd already engaged in discussion. The seated figure to the left turns his head in profile opposite to the direction of his body to see who the visitor might be. Here

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91 Grabar, 1984, p. 27.

92 Chenery, p. 117.
clearly, Abu Zayd is represented as the old man referred to in the text. He holds a staff which signifies his deceptive lameness. Most important here is the fact that Abu Zayd now wears a white beard. The presence in the last folio of retouches might explain the seemingly sudden occurrence here of a white beard. If Abu Zayd had been represented all along in a white beard, then perhaps, with the passage of time and the wear on the illustrations in the book, the beard might have sustained enough damage that a retoucher believing it was damage to a dark beard, replaced the original white beard with a dark one. If such were the case, then the apparent lack of consistency between fol. 5v and fol. 7 is cleared up. That this is, in fact, probably what happened is suggested by the fact that Abu Zayd is described as being elderly and a dark beard does not make sense in the previous folio.93

This explanation would also account for the rendering of Abu Zayd in fol. 8v. Here the reader is witness to the two protagonists without the presence of other characters. Clearly, Abu Zayd is the older man on the left and al-Harith is the figure with the crooked nose on the right. Here one can see the damage to an originally white beard which might cause a retoucher to fill it in. Abu Zayd's face seems to dissolve into the white of the page, creating quite an

93Chenery, in his discussion of the second magamah, mentioned Abu Zayd's "gray beard" (p. 117).
unsettling feeling. It is interesting to note here that Abu Zayd, like al-Harith before him, does not appear in the tattered clothes required by the text. Also, Abu Zayd is not seen in the taylasan as Grabar noticed in other manuscripts illustrations pertaining to the same magamah.94

Maqamah 4 (fols. 9v, 10, 11v)

On a journey in a caravan to Damietta, al-Harith overhears one neighbor talking to another. The first speaks of the spirit of charity and generosity and the second rebukes him, extolling selfishness and worldly wisdom. The two individuals, who turn out to be Abu Zayd and his son, are invited by al-Harith to his quarters, are introduced to several people and sups with them. After procuring valuable presents, Abu Zayd asks permission to go to a neighboring village to bathe, promising to return. Waiting the better part of a day, they realize they have been deceived and when preparing to continue their journey, al-Harith finds a note on his saddle which alludes to a passage in the Quran in favor of separating after a meal.95

Folio 9v represents a caravan asleep with, according to Grabar, four "distinguished but slightly caricatured" figures as well as a servant, a groom, and three "grinning"

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94Grabar, 1984, p. 106.
95Chenery, p. 121.
camels. Directly opposite, on fol. 10, one sees a heavily retouched Abu Zayd and his son being approached by al-Harith, with the same gesture and crooked nose as in the last illustration of the previous maqamah. Fol. 11v, according to Grabar, represents the end of the story in which two men are looking at the saddle of a camel while a third throws up his arms at the discovery of Abu Zayd's trick. Grabar stated that in this illustration no clear sign identifies any figure as al-Harith. But is al-Harith not identified? Two figures in fol. 11v wear a costume similar to that worn by al-Harith in the previous depiction (fol. 10) and one of them, the figure leaning over the saddle, appears to have the same crooked nose as has been often employed in representations of this character.

Maqamah 5 (fols. 12v, 13v, 14v)

Maqamah 5 relates that al-Harith is engaged in conversation with some friends at Kufa, a seat of Arab learning, when a stranger knocks at the door, describes his want and weariness and gratitude for any favors he may receive. Invited in for dinner, he relates a story in which he met his long lost son but could not reveal himself due to his poverty, taking care to mention to those assembled that he is of the royal race of Ghassan. The crowd, moved by the tale, gave the man enough money to support his son and the

next morning, when al-Harith asks to see the son, the man, Abu Zayd, laughs stating he has neither wife nor son, leaving al-Harith mortified.97

Grabar stated that fol. 12v represents the arrival of Abu Zayd at the house where friends are assembled with the figure under the doorway representing a servant.98 It is more likely, however, that the illustration is from the story that Abu Zayd tells in which a young man knocks on the door, speaks eloquently, and says that his name is Zayd. In that case, the beardless, smaller figure under the doorway would be the son and the figure to the extreme left is probably Abu Zayd with a retouched beard. Since this is probably a representation of the story that Abu Zayd recalls and not an actual event, al-Harith need not be present. If Grabar's reading of the image is to be accepted and if al-Harith is depicted in the scene, then he would have to be the seated figure in the middle, but this seems to me hardly secure.

The story continues to the effect that Abu Zayd could not reveal his identity to his son for he was destitute and embarrassed by it. Fol. 13v represents his accompaniment of the boy to his house where one sees the boy's mother, who curiously does not recognize the boy's father, but rather looks at the visitor and continues her spinning. This is

97Chenery, pp. 126-127.

98Grabar, 1984, pp. 33-34.
Paris 5847's first representation of a woman and invalidates Grabar's claim that the earlier illustrated manuscripts of the *Maqamat* (of which Paris 5847 is one) avoid representations of women altogether. The female figure is seen in the act of spinning, a typical activity for a woman at this time.

Grabar was somewhat confused as to the figures represented here. He stated, in his discussion of al-Harith, that since there was not an established iconographic type for the character, that al-Wasiti could even "... transform him into a youth on folio 13 without a second thought." But knowing the story, and realizing that what al-Wasiti represents is the story recounted by Abu Zayd, there is no question that the youth represented here is Abu Zayd's son. Here it is clear that al-Harith is not present in the painting and probably was not present at the episode that Abu Zayd tells of. Fol. 14v depicts the departing Abu Zayd and the somewhat stunned al-Harith. Again, al-Harith is clearly identified by his gesture, beard, and crooked nose. Abu Zayd is seen with obvious retouchings which were necessary in someone's mind to finish off the lower portion of his face. Abu Zayd is also seen in a rather plain robe, perhaps a reference to his poverty which allowed him to tell his story so convincingly.

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Maqamah 6 (fol. 16)

In this maqamah, al-Harith arrives at Meraghah, in Iran, to find a group of literary men lamenting the decline of learning when a previously silent man (Abu Zayd) claimed he could rival any who had gone before. Another in the group, who had been attached to the governor, was charged with a task he was unable to fulfill: to compose an address in which the alternate words (i.e. first, third, fifth, etc.) should consist of pointed letters and the remainder (second, fourth, sixth, etc.) of unpointed letters. Abu Zayd immediately accomplishes this feat while praising the governor at the same time, causing the governor, who hears of this, to offer him the place of a public writer which Abu Zayd declines. When asked why by al-Harith, he answered that a life of freedom and poverty is preferable to that of dependence upon the great.100

In fol. 16, Grabar indicated that the figure in the center left dictating to an assistant was none other than Abu Zayd. Three others look on from the right while on the far left a pointing youth and two horses' heads appear, neither of which are called for by the story.101 If Grabar was correct in identifying the central left figure as Abu Zayd, then it must be assumed that there were substantial retouches here too, for in the text of this maqamah Abu Zayd

100Chenery, pp. 132-133.

101Grabar, 1984, pp. 35-36.
was referred to as an old man. The possibility that retouches have occurred is underscored by closer analysis which reveals that the face of the character in question not only has a dark beard unusual for al-Hariri's description but also a bulbous nose which appears to have been a later addition since it does not conform to any representations of noses seen thus far. Grabar did not mention al-Harith and, indeed, it would be difficult to pick him out. Perhaps he is the figure whose face is seen directly behind that of the scribe. The dark pointed beard is similar to other images of al-Harith seen thus far in this manuscript, but the nose and its possible crooked quality is not decipherable in the image. The figure to the extreme left and the horse and donkey do not seem to belong to the essence of the story and were perhaps a compositional rather than an iconographic device.

Maqamah 7 (fols. 18v, 19)

This narrative, "of Barkaïd," relates that while al-Harith was praying during Ramadan, he spied an old man with closed eyes being helped along by an old woman. The woman distributed papers full of verses with alliterations and plays on words. Al-Harith offers her a dirhem on the condition that she reveal the name of the author whom he discovers is from Seruj. Deducing he is Abu Zayd, al-Harith

102Chenery, pp. 132-133.
is distressed to see him blind. Al-Harith takes him home only to discover that Abu Zayd's sight is fine and, after feeding him, when he leaves for a moment to wash his hands, he returns to find Abu Zayd and his female companion have vanished.\textsuperscript{103}

In this \textit{maqamah}, the two illustrations, which face each other, represent two isolated events. In fol. 18v., the white-bearded Abu Zayd, standing behind and resting one hand on the shoulder of the woman, appears with his eyes open, and therefore hardly looks blind. Of course, there is always the possibility that these open eyes were drawn in later by a retoucher. The woman who leads Abu Zayd, as is indicated by the placement of his hand on her shoulder, is somewhat difficult to discern as a woman. Absent is the turban, which immediately distinguishes her as different from the other members of the assembled crowd. It is also interesting to note that at the edge of her face are a series of squiggly lines which might in fact denote curly hair which has escaped its covering. Naturally, the text itself would immediately clear up any confusion on the viewer's part.

Grabar mentions that al-Harith is present here and is to be identified with the figure standing behind Abu Zayd. Grabar continues that al-Harith is represented here as an observer rather than as the active participant called for by

\textsuperscript{103}Chenery, pp. 139-140.
the story. In fact, to this reader, al-Harith's function within the story is not all that participatory. Rather, he functions passively as one of the people who is characteristically duped by Abu Zayd.

A number of authors have commented on the illustration on fol. 19. Ettinghausen describes it as depicting horsemen readying for a major Muslim feast, with a vivid genre adjunct of mounted musicians and flag bearers. But such an illustration would not be logical opposite the representation of a crowd gathered in a mosque in observation of the same feast. Ettinghausen, realizing this same problem, explains that the depiction was probably not created for this volume but was copied from another manuscript. But Ettinghausen offers no explanation for how or why this would have been done.

Grabar, on the other hand, states that it represented a procession at the end of Ramadan and is to be read with the other illustration as a sort of summary frieze. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory either. A quick review of the text reveals two other possible explanations. The first comes from the opening line: "Al-Harith, son of

105Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 117.
106Ibid.
Hamman, related: I had determined on journeying from Berkaid; but now I noted the signs of the coming feast . . ."108 But since this occurred before the episode in the mosque, and its representation would therefore be placed before the mosque scene, this reference can be ruled out. Later, after Abu Zayd's disappearance from the mosque, al-Harith related: "Then was I extreme in anger at his deceit, and I pressed on his track in search of him. . ."109 Although the magamah does not say how al-Harith followed Abu Zayd, whether on foot or by horse and donkey, this representation might well relate to those lines. Even if such is the case, however, it does not explain the presence of the musicians, some blowing horns while another plays the drums, or the individuals holding the flags and banners. In any case, it is impossible to be completely certain of exactly what this depiction referred to.

**Magamah 8 (fols. 21, 22)**

This magamah, "of Maarrah," finds an old man and his young son before the qadi of that city. The old man claims his son borrowed an attractive and active slave girl and returned her in an infirm state. The son replies that although he offered sufficient compensation, his father still detains a male slave of his. The qadi, when he asks

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108Chenery, p. 140.

109Ibid., p. 144.
the litigants to refrain from using enigmatic language, discovers that the son actually borrowed a needle and broke it when threading. The male slave turns out to be a pencil or stylus. The old man explains that he is so poor he cannot bear the loss of even a needle. The qadi takes pity and bestows a trifle on each. Almost immediately, however, the qadi suspects deception and has these two returned to him. Abu Zayd admits his deceit but his great literary skill allows him to leave with only a warning.\textsuperscript{110}

Grabar stated, with regard to both of the illustrations that accompanied this magamah, that in each, Abu Zayd was seen with a secretary and that al-Harith played a minor role.\textsuperscript{111} While one would have to agree with the latter observation, the former is undoubtedly incorrect. In both depictions, Abu Zayd is not seen with a secretary but rather with his son. This is especially obvious in fol. 21. In fol. 22 the figure of the son seems to have sustained substantial damage and the face and perhaps even the garment has been completely retouched. Grabar also notes that the scribe seen in fol. 21 was a typical attribute of a qadi and that the qadi here was seen in a white taylasan.\textsuperscript{112} While the scribe and the taylasan are, according to Grabar, 

\textsuperscript{110}\textit{Chenery, pp. 145-146.}

\textsuperscript{111}\textit{Grabar, 1984, pp. 38-39.}

\textsuperscript{112}\textit{Ibid., for scribe, see pp. 38-39; for taylasan, see p. 116.}
attributes typical of the representation of a gadi, he does not here seem to be bearded and does not assume the standard profile or frontal pose. While the latter characteristic can only be explained as an invention on the part of the artist, al-Wasiti, the former can, upon close inspection, be seen as an effect of bad retouches. Certainly, the face of the gadi in fols. 21 and 22 does not conform to other unretouched facial depictions seen in the manuscript. When the retoucher worked on the face, he did not realize that the dark area below the chin was actually a long, pointed dark beard. The retoucher obviously interpreted this area as the opening of the taylasan which revealed a dark garment underneath. But careful analysis shows that the dark area actually overlaps the taylasan in the same way as a beard would. This then would more closely approximate the representation of the same gadi in the following illustration.

Here the gadi is again seen in a white taylasan with a dark beard, and in addition is this time seen in profile. The story which serves as context for this painting relates that Abu Zayd and his son visited the gadi twice and so the gadi in both representations should look alike. These two separate visits also explain why the scribe that was seen in fol. 21 is not present in fol. 22, which relates to a moment some time after the former.
In this magamah, al-Harith finds himself in Alexandria and, as is his custom, makes the acquaintance of the qadi whom he finds to be good-natured and benevolent. One evening, a handsome woman brings an old man before the qadi and accuses him of marrying her on false pretenses. The woman explains that he claimed to be a pearl merchant when he had no trade at all. Additionally, he sold all her furniture and clothing and now she and her son are starving. The qadi, threatening to send the man to prison, requests an explanation. The old man, in eloquent verse, admits the poverty and selling of possessions, but not the claim of "pearl-stringer" for the pearls are of thought which he strings into poems making an income from the noble and rich. Of late, however, war, trouble and a race of "niggards" has succeeded the patrons of old. The qadi accepts the excuse, bids the woman to be obedient to her husband, and gives them alms.113

Here, Grabar noted, was represented a sort of summary of the story, placed at the end when half of the figures are no longer mentioned, simultaneously showing the pleading woman, Abu Zayd thanking the judge by kissing his hand, the qadi admonishing the woman, and al-Harith as an observer.114

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113Chenery, pp. 151-152.
represented: Abu Zayd sports a white beard, al-Harith assumes a typical gesture and possesses the crooked nose, and the qadi is seen in a white taylasan, a long beard, seated on a pedestal, and with some sort of curtain behind. The woman here is the third representation of a female in this manuscript and the first one in which one is able to see the broad hips that Grabar referred to as typical for such a depiction. Interesting here are the pointed boots worn by the woman. Grabar made no mention of women's footwear but their relatively good state of preservation and the way in which they seem to jump off the page at the viewer seem rather suspicious and suggest they might actually be the work of a retoucher.

Maqamah 10 (fols. 26, 27)

Al-Harith arrives in Rahbah, a town on the Euphrates, to find a crowd gathered about an old man who is dragging along a handsome youth. The old man is accusing the youth of killing his son and is going before the governor. In court, since there is no witness, the youth is allowed to simply swear an oath. The old man dictates an oath enumerating all the beauties of the boy and invoking destruction of them if the truth is not told. The handsome boy refuses to swear such an oath. But during this trial, the governor comes to desire the boy and promises 100 dinars

to the old man for him, which the governor requires some
time to assemble. The old man watches the youth all night
and he is visited by al-Harith who inquires the identity of
the youth. The old man, Abu Zayd, states the youth is his
son and accomplice and that they are planning their escape
in the morning after they retrieve the promised money, which
they do.116

In this maqamah, instead of the qadi, the reader is
presented with a wali or governor. And indeed, a different
type of character is seen. Grabar noted that the figure
conforms in general terms to his definition of this type:
military man with fur cap, boots, a shorter beard, the
characteristic pose of one leg bent over the throne, and an
attendant seen to the side. But he also noted that, as a
"satirical note," the fur cap was changed into a "high,
somewhat foppish turban."117 Ettinghausen said that this
idea was even further underscored by giving the wali a red
beard which imparted to him a foreign appearance, thus
making specific that the satire was at the expense of the
foreign, probably Turkic ruling political-military elite.118
Indeed, the actual text places a great deal of emphasis on
this point.

116Chenery, p. 158.
117Grabar, 1984, pp. 41-43.
118Ibid.
Now the boy, while thus resisting, captivated the Governor by his motions, and made him covet that he should belong to him; until love subdued his heart and fixed in his breast;—And the passion which enslaved him, and the desire which he had imagined tempted him to liberate the boy and then get possession of him, to free him from the noose of the old man, and then catch him himself.\textsuperscript{119}

Since the money takes time to retrieve, Abu Zayd guards his prisoner and that is what is depicted on fol. 27. The viewer sees Abu Zayd, who holds his son with both hands, looking at the entering al-Harith who is in the process of enumerating the arguments against the full completion of Abu Zayd's deceit. Here, as in the previous illustration, Abu Zayd is depicted with the traditional white beard and again, al-Harith appears much as the reader would by now expect. The son generally conforms to the adolescent type and as noted above, the wali certainly falls within described typologies. It is interesting to note here that in fol. 26, the boy, as if to even further underscore the meaning of the image, is seen in the process of lifting up his robe. What was actually seen below it is no longer apparent due to the filling in of the area by a later retoucher, as is fairly obvious upon close inspection.

\textbf{Magamah 11 (fol. 29v)}

In this \textit{magamah}, al-Harith, full of religious zeal, goes to a burial ground for contemplation. In doing so, he

\textsuperscript{119}Chenery, p. 160.
comes upon a funeral in progress. When it ends, an old man "with his face muffled in a cloak" stands atop a hillock and delivers a discourse on the certainty of death and judgement. The crowd is moved and gives the speaker abundant alms, which infuriates al-Harith. Al-Harith rebukes the old man, Abu Zayd, and they separate angry.120

Funerary scenes, such as the one depicted here, are, as Rice notes, rare at this time and this image is, therefore, an exception in the context of its time. Although his major concern was the architecture illustrated in the painting, Rice stated that neither Abu Zayd nor al-Harith were represented.121 Grabar, too, asserts that the two main characters of the Maqamat are absent and concerns himself with the individualized gestures and expressions of the figures represented.122 In the painting, the men are rather restrained and some of them appear to have their faces covered, perhaps as a sign of mourning or perhaps as a reaction to the stench. The women, on the other hand, display strong emotions, tearing at their hair or faces as a sign of mourning. The characteristic typology of women as described by Grabar is not readily apparent here due to the placement of the female figures behind architectural

120Chenery, pp. 163-164.
122Grabar, 1984, p. 44.
members. The fact that the main character Abu Zayd is apparently not present is somewhat odd. In fact, Abu Zayd may indeed be present for the text tells us al-Harith found a funeral in progress, and when it is over, an old man, with his face muffled in a cloak, took his stand on a hillock. Since Abu Zayd's face was cloaked and some of the men represented are so depicted, why couldn't the figure at center, to the right of the man who supports the legs of the deceased, be Abu Zayd before he took a stand on a hillock? It certainly is possible that he is present but not readily apparent.

Magamah 12 (fols. 30v, 31, 33)

This magamah finds al-Harith wealthy and he travels to Damascus to enjoy the luxury of that city. When he has had his fill, he joins a caravan about to cross the desert between Syria and the Euphrates but the caravan is delayed by the inability to find a guide. An old man comes forward and states he has a safeguard for the group, a magic form of words revealed to him in a dream, which turns out to be a prayer full of assonances. While they are skeptical, they find the charm works and when they take sight of the first town, they reward him with gold and jewels. The old man takes his leave and is reported to be drinking in the town, a fact that shocks al-Harith who finds it unbecoming of a
"pious" man. He goes to town to rebuke the man and finally discovers him to be Abu Zayd. 123

According to Grabar, fols. 30v and 31 were meant to be read as a continuous scene, the first being of a caravan about to start its journey. Leading the caravan is a man in a beggar's garb. Although Grabar does not mention it, this must be the figure of Abu Zayd in his role as guide. Because of Abu Zayd's mentioning of a strange talisman, the members of the caravan are somewhat skeptical and look to each other. This is what Grabar saw on both folios. 124 Here, the white-bearded Abu Zayd is seen walking with a staff, perhaps a visual reference to his function as a guide.

Although not explicitly mentioned in the text in connection with these scenes, al-Harith must be there to relate the occurrences. Might he be the first mounted figure on folio 30v or the third mounted figure in fol. 31? Both these figures seem to have the same facial appearance as encountered in previous representations of this character.

Also absent from discussions of this maqamah is reference to the figure to the extreme right of fol. 30v. This youth, with his hair in what appears to be a braid, is wearing an extremely unusual hat. Considering the state of preservation, it might be that this entire figure is a later

123Chenery, pp. 168-169.
124Grabar, 1984, pp. 47-49.
addition to the composition. The same curious qualities of the clothing are encountered in the figure to the far left in fol. 31. Here, however, at least the lower portion of the figure adheres closely to typical representations of clothing. The upper part might have been redrawn at a later date. The face of this figure certainly looks heavily repainted. In addition, the type of garment that he wears, with its upper half held closed by a series horizontal fastenlers, has not previously appeared in the manuscript. Could this detail also be a product of a retoucher's brush?

The tavern scene on fol. 33 has been the subject of a considerable discussion. In 1958, Rice referred to this image as a genre scene of Mesopotamian life. He identified the characters as Abu Zayd seated cross-legged in a throne-like chair being addressed by al-Harith while a man to the left plays an eight-stringed lute and the men to the right are actively involved in wine-making, one stomping grapes, the other straining the wine into a cup. In the balcony above, Rice was primarily concerned with the representations of the amphora with handles which are similar to a number of terracottas found at Samarra and are the raison d'être of his investigation.

In 1970, Grabar covered much the same ground as Rice but added that in this representation Abu Zayd takes on the

character of a prince since the depiction reminded him of common scenes of drinking princes. In 1984, the same author further noted that in this unified composition Abu Zayd is seated in a throne before a curtain and holds a cup in one hand and a napkin in the other. With regard to the other figures, Grabar stated that they all support the general theme of drinking rather than al-Harith discovering Abu Zayd.

Although this literature explains most of the elements present in the illustration, there remain some unanswered questions. The character in the process of stomping grapes is a type completely different from those seen previously in the manuscript. Is this a representation of a slave? Is it a servant? What does the figure grasp? A rope suspended from above so that the figure might steady himself?

Finally, turning attention to al-Harith, it should be noted that he is here represented in the same costume as in folio 31 (third mount) and again, much less clearly portrayed, in fol. 30v (first mount).

Magamah 13 (fol. 35)

In this magamah, "of Baghdad," al-Harith is seated with some poets when an old woman, followed by lean and feeble children, enters soliciting alms by way of a poem. This

127Grabar, 1984, pp. 47-49.
poem, describing former prosperity and present distress, introduces various parts of the body, intelligible only when taken in another sense. For example, her reference to the eyeball can also be read as "he who looks upon one with respect" or the reference to an eyebrow can also mean "attendant." At the close of the poem, the poetess refers to the colors which also have references outside the literal meaning. The old woman receives the alms requested and al-Harith follows only to find that the old woman is actually Abu Zayd in disguise.128

In this illustration the viewer is confronted with a representation of Abu Zayd in the guise of a woman with three children coming upon a gathering of men. Grabar indicates that the woman conforms to the general type he described, a large figure, especially broad at the hips.129 The hips are somewhat hard to see due to the fact that the figure is hunched over, which in its own way betrays the elderly aspect of the character and clues the viewer into the fact that it is actually Abu Zayd. With regard to the children, Grabar described them as "mere shadows in long robes."130 It is surprising that these children have neither the pointed hats or short robes that Grabar later stated to be typical of representations of young people.

128Chenery, p. 170.
129Grabar, 1984, p. 50.
130Ibid.
The extreme attenuation of the children is readily explained by the text which describes them as "thinner than spindles, weaker than the young doves." Unaddressed by Grabar was the identity of al-Harith. Might he be the second seated man from the right? The image does not allow his nose to be seen clearly. Or perhaps is he the fourth seated figure from the right? Again, the image is not clear enough. In this situation, where al-Harith is difficult to pull out from the crowd, it must be remembered that in maqamat where this is the case, his role is not nearly so vital as it is in other maqamat.

Maqamah 14 (fols. 37v, 38)

In this maqamah, al-Harith travels to Mecca on a pilgrimage and after rites, several gather in a tent when an old man and a boy make an appearance. The old man laments, in verse, that his camel broke down and he will have to return from the pilgrimage by foot, after which the boy recites verses asking for food. Both are given what they desire. On a final note, the old man, Abu Zayd, begins to recite a verse on Seruj and its destruction by invaders but is unable to finish, being prevented by his tears. This maqamah poses some serious visual problems. Grabar noted that the depiction was placed at the end of the story and

131Chenery, pp. 176-177.

132Ibid., p. 181.
yet illustrates the arrival of Abu Zayd and his son.\textsuperscript{133} Moreover, it is curious to observe that although folio 37v shows Abu Zayd and his son moving to the left, folio 38, opposite it, represents a tent-full of people all turned to the right. Abu Zayd is seen with his typical white beard and his son conforms to the general paradigm established by previous representations. Al-Harith appears to be the fourth seated figure from the left for none of the other figures look close enough to the type already established. Puzzling is the standing, white-bearded figure to the far right of the tent scene. Who is he? He is not explained by the story and wears an unusual, somewhat elaborate type of turban. He too seems to be facing the approaching Abu Zayd and son but who he is and what his function might have been remain a mystery.

\textbf{Magamah 15 (fols. 40, 41)}

Al-Harith, spending a sleepless night, wants for a companion when a wanderer knocks on the door. Upon opening it al-Harith sees Abu Zayd who, after entering, begins to relate the events of the day. Destitute and hungry, Abu Zayd had spied a man weeping over the deacy of learning since no one was able to solve his riddle: how a man, dying childless, could leave a brother competent to inherit, and yet his property went to his wife's brother. Abu Zayd,\textsuperscript{133}Grabar, 1984, p. 51.
knowing the answer, demanded dinner first, after which he explained: the deceased man had a son, by a former wife, who had married the mother of his, the father's, second wife and then died, leaving a son who would be the brother of the second wife, and the grandson of the deceased in question. After the explanation, Abu Zayd had been abruptly turned out into the rain and wandered from house to house for shelter until he found al-Harith.134

This maqamah, too, raises some interesting questions. Both illustrations represent episodes set against the same architectural background. In 1970, Grabar calls it the shop of a milk- and date-seller.135 But in 1984, he states that the text described the house of a shaykh to which Abu Zayd was brought to solve a riddle.136 The smallness of the structure, as with the figures of the children in maqamah 13, is a specific reference to the text which describes the house as "narrower than the ark of Moses, more fragile than a spider's web."137 In fol. 40, Abu Zayd is seen in the interior of the house with the shaykh, eating heartily. Folio 41 represents the moment after Abu Zayd had solved the riddle and was rudely turned out into the rain. It is interesting to note here that al-Wasiti made no effort to

134Chenery, pp. 185-186.
136Grabar, 1984, pp. 54-55.
137Ibid.
represent this latter circumstance. It appears simply as if Abu Zayd is departing. Curiously, Grabar seems mistakenly to assert that Abu Zayd is depicted here as a mendicant, as the text demanded, and he is seen wearing a black taylasan. In fact, he seems to be wearing a typical, ankle-length cloak in no way particularly distinctive from that worn by the shaykh and frequently encountered elsewhere in al-Wasiti's images.

Maqamah 16 (fol. 42, 43v, 44)

In this story, al-Harith meets four scholars in a mosque and they take up the task of creating sentences which preserve their identity when read in reverse. The longest sentence the group can form is made up of seven words when an old man who has joined the group improvises five lines of poetry, each with the same property. Al-Harith recognizes Abu Zayd, introduces him to the group and asks him to spend the evening with them in conversation. Abu Zayd pleads that his hungry children are expecting him and promises to return. The scholars send a servant with him to carry the gifts he received from them but the servant returns alone, relating that Abu Zayd refused to return and dismissed him with some moral verses.

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138 Grabar, 1984, pp. 54-55.
139 Chenery, p. 194.
Grabar, the only author to discuss the illustrations of this *maqamah*, notes that the figures on fol. 43v were turned toward fol. 44 which depicted Abu Zayd taking his bag from a servant boy. He explains this as an attempt on the part of the illustrator to depict the servant boy's recounting of the episode with Abu Zayd and that the gathered men were witnessing an episode from this account.

In this connection, Grabar fails to mention fol. 42. This represents Abu Zayd, clearly distinguishable with his white beard, entering a mosque with five men, three bearded, one clean-shaven, and one al-Harith, who is probably the figure to the extreme right, with the typical gesture and crooked nose. The next illustration includes the same four men, although the clean-shaven one looks retouched, with al-Harith standing behind them again with the same gesture. Folio 44 represents Abu Zayd and the servant before the former's "ruined hut." 140 It was at this point that a struggle ensued and Abu Zayd "pulled away from me his wallet." 141 Although the beard of the servant boy looks to have been retouched, al-Wasiti has successfully translated the text's demand for a struggle. Here again, one witnesses a careful reading of the text by the illustrator and an accomplished rendering as the end-product.

140 Chenery, p. 199.
141 Ibid.
Maqamah 17 (fol. 46v)

In this maqamah, called "the reversed," the storyline is essentially the same as the last except that instead of sentences which can be read in reverse, the words themselves are reversed.\(^{142}\)

Grabar notes that this maqamah did not easily lend itself to illustration. Nonetheless, within the depiction that al-Wasiti gave, Grabar saw a fairly standard representation of a crowd, framed on both ends by profile figures, one of which he describes as showing amazement,\(^{143}\) apparently the figure on the left. He identifies the standing figure in the center as al-Harith and, although he believes that al-Wasiti omitted the figure of Abu Zayd, asserts the former is shown looking after the departed Abu Zayd.

Why, however, could not the old man Abu Zayd be the figure on the far right? The story of the maqamah stated that he joined the group.\(^{144}\) And one figure, third from the right, actually points at the elderly gentleman. Also of note is the fact that the text refers to the men that al-Harith, and later Abu Zayd, came upon as a group of "youths" in debate.\(^{145}\) Al-Wasiti has apparently taken liberty with

\(^{142}\)Chenery, p. 200.
\(^{143}\)Grabar, 1984, p. 57.
\(^{144}\)Chenery, p. 200.
\(^{145}\)Ibid.
the term of "youths" and represented them as bearded young men. Given al-Wasiti's careful attention to the text, it seems clear, nonetheless, that the painting depicts, in fact, Abu Zayd in conversation with the group of young men, observed by a standing al-Harith.

Maqamah 18 (fols. 47v, 48, 50v, 51)

This maqamah finds al-Harith and Abu Zayd in a caravan journeying from Damascus to Baghdad which halts at Sinjar. A merchant is giving a wedding feast, traditionally open to all, and al-Harith and Abu Zayd attend. When a glass vase of sweetmeats is produced, Abu Zayd jumps up and leaves the assembled circle. When asked the reason, he states he is bound by oath not to remain in the vicinity of anything that is transparent and thus betrays what is held within. Zayd relates that he had once revealed a secret to a false friend who betrayed it to the governor. He vowed he would never remain in the company of anything that could not keep a secret. The host orders the sweetmeats put in silver vessels and gives the vessels to Abu Zayd as a gift.146

Although Grabar admitted that he wasn't able to resolve the iconography of the pictures of Paris 5847 as they relate to this maqamah, he suggested that the same building was seen twice in fols. 47v and 48. In fol. 47v, one sees a series of figures about tables with food. A servant brings

146Chenery, pp. 206-207.
in a glass dish and Abu Zayd jumps up to complain about it. Folio 48 is less clear to Grabar. He hypothesizes that the dish is being taken away and that Abu Zayd is asking for its return. He concedes that such a sequence of different moments is not characteristic of the manuscript. In addition, he notes that the figures in fol. 47v are facing in the wrong direction and away from the main event. 147

To this reader, another hypothesis is much more likely. First of all, where is Abu Zayd in fol. 47v? Does Grabar mean to imply that he is the standing figure without the dish? Although this is possible, the presence on the following folio of a man whose typology is so clearly that of Abu Zayd casts doubt on this interpretation. Why could not the two images be read continuously? The two buildings are not exactly alike in that the one on folio 47v has two small domes. Could these not then be two connected chambers of the same structure--a dining room and the antechamber before it? When the glass dish is brought in, "Abu Zayd starts up and quits the circle of guests." 148 It would make more sense in terms of the text of the story if the paintings are understood as depicting him having gotten as far as the antechamber where he is detained by al-Harith who is shown (far left of fol. 48) kneeling before and pleading with him. The "host respects this somewhat fanciful

147Grabar, 1984, p. 59.

148Chenery, p. 206.
scruple, and in the end orders sweetmeats to be brought in silver vessels, and presents Abu Zayd, not only with the contents of the vessels, but the vessels themselves.  

The connection between these two illustrations is even further underscored by having Abu Zayd directly pointing at the glass vessel in the preceding folio. The silver vessel is making its entrance from the right of fol. 48.

Folio 50v, according to Grabar, clearly represented Abu Zayd leaving, followed by a boy carrying his gift of silver vessels.  

Folio 51, which Grabar chose not to discuss, represents yet another close reading of the text by al-Wasiti. The text reads: "Then he mounted his beast to return on his track, to bend his course to his people.--And when his strong camel. . ." Here one is clearly confronted with a specific visualization of the text. It might be noted that Abu Zayd here wears a darker garment than he does in the other images of this maqamah. This might be explained by either a later retouching or perhaps the presence here of an overgarment, since now he is outdoors.

149Chenery, p. 207.
151Chenery, p. 214.
This maqamah, "of Nasibin," a town in northern Mesopotamia, finds Abu Zayd in the unusual role of benefactor. Abu Zayd is spending time in Nasibin when he is taken ill. His friends hasten to his house and find him prostrate but talkative as ever. He entertains them and bids his son to bring food. The assembled partake and leave rejoicing in his recovery and grateful for his hospitality.152

In fol. 52v, Grabar sees the crowd as "awkwardly" spread over two pages and explains that the main focus was the gathering of the crowd around the sick man, Abu Zayd.153 Of course, there exists an alternative explanation. Fol. 52v could refer to the passage where friends gathered in Abu Zayd's courtyard to hear news of his condition:

Said the narrator: Now I was of those who joined to his comrades and hastened to his gate.—and when we had arrived at his courtyard and assayed to scent the news of him, his boy came forth to us, his lips parted with a smile.——154

Al-Harith could then be the figure in the front of the row, although both the gesture and nose are difficult to discern. A personage in this same costume reappears in the following

152Chenery, pp. 214-215.
153Grabar, 1984, p. 60.
154Chenery, p. 216.
folio on the figure—almost certainly al-Harith—standing at the foot of Abu Zayd's bed.

Folio 53 is much as Grabar described with regard to the action of the scene and Abu Zayd is here again seen in his typical white beard.

Maqamah 20 (folis. 55v, 56, 57)

The maqamah "of Mayyafarikin," again a town of northern Mesopotamia, has Abu Zayd lamenting the decay of his strength and his advancing age, metaphorically as a mighty and valiant hero. He asks the assembled company to provide a shroud for a friend out of their bounty. Having received the funds he seeks, Abu Zayd leaves. Al-Harith catches up to him and asks to see the corpse in need of shrouding, whereupon Zayd lifts his robes and points to himself.155

With regard to folis. 55v and 56, Grabar found this representation of the meeting between an old man (Abu Zayd) and a crowd to be unsuccessful. Especially noted by Grabar was the figure on the far right of fol. 56 pointing to the right which is usually meant to tie together the two sides of a double-page spread. If Abu Zayd was to be seen on fol. 55v, then he should be the standing figure to the right. But this figure is dark-bearded. Looking at the quality of the beard, it is possible that this is the result of repainting although this is not nearly as obvious as it is.

155Chenery, p. 220.
in most other cases. Folio 56 then is seemingly unrelated to the previous representation and the pointing figure does create quite a problem. A possible explanation might be that it is a reference to the section of the text which reads: "Then he went off, running straight forward and trotting his trot as of old." In that case, the pointing figure would be making a reference to the departed Abu Zayd. If this is not so, then one must agree with Grabar regarding the "curious"-ness of fol. 56; a situation whose only other explanation is that the illustrations somehow got mixed up and should have been on the opposite pages.

Paris 5847 is one of only four illustrated manuscripts of the *Magamat* which represent the event late in the *magamah* in which Abu Zayd shows his penis to al-Harith (fol. 57). Abu Zayd's deception in this story revolved around a "shrouded corpse" and when al-Harith followed and detained Abu Zayd, asking him to show the corpse in question, Abu Zayd did:

> Whereupon he pointed to himself; and I [al-Harith, the narrator] said, "God fight against thee; how playful art thou in craft, how wily after the grist!"

The figures represented here not only conform to the story but also follow the convention established in this manuscript for representations of these two characters.

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156 Chenery, p. 222.

157 Ibid., p. 223.
Magamah 21 (fols. 58v, 59)

In this story, al-Harith, at Rayy, joins a crowd of people flocking to hear a preacher of great eloquence and hears a discourse delivered by an old man in ecclesiastical garb. One of the assembled, who could not get the governor to hear his complaint against an official, asks the preacher to help. The preacher, Abu Zayd, immediately delivers another discourse in reproof of the governor. The governor is moved and hastens to do justice, rewards Abu Zayd, and solicits acquaintance with him.158

Although these two folios have the same general arrangement, Grabar noted that they are in no way linked to one another. He suggested that the event on fol. 58v took place in a mosque and that that in the one opposite was perhaps set in a suq. The presence of an upper story in each, with on the one hand a series of veiled women and on the other a princely figure with four soldiers, tended to visually unite the two compositions.159

Folio 58v probably does represent the episode in the mosque. The women are not only seen veiled but also segregated from the rest of the congregation. The preacher in front of the crowd was probably, as the text informs, Abu Zayd, although later retouchings are readily apparent. Al-

158Chenery, p. 223.

159Grabar, 1984, pp. 64-65.
Harith is probably the figure furthest to the right on the small platform. Chenery noted that Abu Zayd, in the guise of a preacher, was represented in ecclesiastical costume. But what the nature of that costume might be and whether it is depicted here is not made clear. Indeed, the costume is here particularly difficult to discern, but from what can be seen, it looks as if Abu Zayd is shown in a costume similar to that which he wears elsewhere in this manuscript. With regard to the women in this folio, one is struck by the elaboration of their costumes, a circumstance difficult to explain either in terms of text or setting.

Concerning folio 59, Grabar correctly refers to the centrally seated figure on the upper level as being a prince or a wali. And, indeed, the text mentions a prince who was so moved by Abu Zayd's eloquence that he rewarded him. In general, the figure depicted does conform to Grabar's description of the wali's traits: seated cross-legged, he wears a fur cap with a gold clasp, and is accompanied by unbearded attendants with swords. Curiously, however, the figure appears beardless, probably the result of mishandling on the retoucher's part.

160Chenery, p. 223.
161Grabar, 1984. for prince, see pp. 64-65; for wali, see p. 117.
162Chenery, p. 223.
163Grabar, 1984, p. 117.
Particularly interesting is the fact that all of the figures are facing to the right. One wonders what are they looking at? Might it be the plaintiff that has left or perhaps it is Abu Zayd whose presence is nowhere else discernible in the illustration?

Maqamah 22 (fol. 61)

This maqamah's narrative relates that al-Harith is with some official scribes in a boat on the Euphrates when they meet a person in shabby garb whom they treat poorly. This poorly dressed man, Abu Zayd, displays his eloquence and they seek to reconcile but he leaves them in anger after reciting some verses on the injustice of judging by appearances.164

Grabar states with regard to fol. 61 that the viewer is presented with a boat filled with figures, none of whom is identifiable.165 Close observation, however, suggests that Abu Zayd might, in fact, be the white-bearded figure seated second from the right? The text does not, it is true, state whether Abu Zayd actually got into the boat during his oration but the typology of the figure in question seems to match that of previous representations of Abu Zayd.

Curiously, although the text would seem to call for it, the figure does not appear shabbily dressed, an inconsistency

164Chenery, p. 229.

165Grabar, 1984, p. 66.
noted elsewhere in al-Wasiti's cycle of illustrations as well.

Grabar also noted that the text specifically asked for a black sailboat and while all of the manuscripts depicted a black boat, only a few of them actually included sails. That is, of course, the case here. Al-Wasiti has taken some liberties in that respect and has portrayed a black boat with three rowers. Possibly, al-Wasiti is here using a generic composition that fit, in general terms, the sense of the story.

Magamah 23 (fols. 63v, 64, 67v)

The story of this magamah relates that Abu Zayd brings his son before the governor of Baghdad and accuses him of the theft of two-thirds of his verses, an accusation which the son denies. The governor tests the two to see if the son is as good a poet as the father and finding such to be the case bids them to reconcile. Abu Zayd pleads poverty as the reason for refusing to support his son and the governor relieves their necessities. Afterward, the governor realizes he has been duped and swears al-Harith, who has observed the events, into secrecy.

With regard to the badly damaged fols. 63v and 64, Grabar stated that they are representations of a general

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166Grabar, 1984, p. 66.

167Chenery, p. 234.
scene whose purpose was to suggest the gathering crowd.\textsuperscript{168} Although possibly correct in this interpretation, the representation might also illustrate al-Harith's rough journey:

\begin{quotation}
And I traversed in my journey rough places which no steps had smoothes, to which the kata would not find its way;--\textsuperscript{169}
\end{quotation}

In this case, which figure would be that of al-Harith? A likely suspect is the figure in the dark garment, although his face has been so heavily retouched that it is impossible to determine with assurance. Curiously, as a result of the heavy handed later repainting of the scene, we again see in this composition a costume type encountered earlier (fol. 31, \textit{maqamah 12}) consisting of long, perfunctorily rendered robes closed in front with horizontal fasteners.

Folio 64 depicts Abu Zayd before the governor accusing his son of stealing his verses. Due to the damage, it is extremely difficult to make out the characters in the scene. The wali is the clearest and possesses many of the attributes normally associated with this type: he sits cross-legged on a raised platform, sports a short beard, wears a head covering (here a turban in place of the more frequent fur cap) with a gold clasp and is accompanied by a beardless attendant who, in this case, holds a spear.\textsuperscript{170}

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{168}Grabar, 1984, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{169}Chenery, p. 235.
\textsuperscript{170}Grabar, 1984, p. 117.
\end{footnotes}
would seem as though the two figures to the right would be Abu Zayd and his son while the remaining figure to the left represents al-Harith. But due to the damage and the obvious repainting, it is impossible to be certain.

Fol. 67v gives the reader a much clearer view of the protagonists of the story: al-Harith, Abu Zayd, and the latter's son. Here again are the suspicious horizontal fasteners on the chest of the son's garment. Clearly reworked by a later hand, the smooth upper portion of the drapery contrasts incongruously with the richly folded lower portion of the same garment.

**Magamah 24 (fol. 69v)**

In this magamah, Abu Zayd joins a group of twelve refined persons in a suburb of Baghdad. At first, they dismiss him for the shabbiness of his garb and continue their discussion of the intricacies of the Arabic nominative and accusative cases. Zayd gives his opinion and when they try to argue, he puts them down by presenting them with twelve enigmas which none can solve. Zayd refuses to give the answers to the puzzles until each has given him a present and, after each has fulfilled its side of the bargain, he leaves.171

Beyond noting that all twelve figures called for by the text appear, Grabar has little of significance to say about

171Chenery, pp. 243-244.
the elaborate and complex composition which is filled with genre details.\textsuperscript{172} Abu Zayd can be seen standing on the far right with his by now typical white beard. He is, according to the story, supposed to be shabbily dressed but as in previous illustrations, he appears in his usual rather elaborate costume.\textsuperscript{173} Al-Harith, on the other hand, is not readily distinguishable.

Although the right hand side of the depiction has been somewhat retouched, one can make out next to Abu Zayd the figure of a man whose gesture implies that he is explaining what Abu Zayd has said. Not called for by the text and having a face which has been heavily repainted, one wonders what his function in the drama was. Likewise extraneous is the beardless youth in the background who drives oxen powering a water pump. A lower class figure, he wears an unusual headgear and a short tunic. A fascinating bit of genre, the passage provides an interesting glimpse into the world of the humbler classes in al-Wasiti's Iraq.

\textbf{Maqamah 25 (fols. 74v, 75, 76)}

This story relates that al-Harith is in Kerej in winter when he sees an old man, naked and shivering, crouching on the ground and surrounded by a crowd. The old man recites some verses on his unhappy state and the members of the

\textsuperscript{172}Grabar, 1984, pp. 68-69.

\textsuperscript{173}Chenery, p. 243.
wealthy crowd, al-Harith among them, take pity on him and give him their furs and cloaks. Al-Harith finally discovers the old man to be Abu Zayd and follows him to know the meaning of a particular phrase.174

With regard to fols. 74v and 75, Grabar curiously notes that they depict a crowd and an almost naked man.175 Where? Certainly the crowd is obvious enough, but where is the naked man? Abu Zayd, the figure in question, does not even appear until fol. 76. And while his observations regarding the details of the two facing folios are accurate, Grabar nonetheless failed to explain what is occurring within the illustrations.

Admittedly, the two are somewhat confusing and one must read carefully the magamah in order to gain clues. Fol. 74v, referring to a passage early in the magamah, depicts a group of men standing before an architectural feature, apparently the gate of the city of Kerej. Folio 75, in turn, appears to refer to a part of the text that comes only slightly later, in which al-Harith is described as being forced to leave his shelter on business upon which he encountered an "old man, bare of skin, showing his nakedness," meaning he was turbaned and in a loincloth.176 Although the latter figure is not represented in fol. 75,

174Chenery, p. 253.
175Grabar, 1984, pp. 69-70.
176Chenery, p. 254.
al-Harith, mounted on a mule, in the process of attending to his business obligation, is clearly depicted. The naked figure of Abu Zayd is not shown in this folio, but rather is seemingly implied by the fact that all the figures face towards the right, anticipating the turn of the page. When the reader does turn the page, he is confronted with the depiction of al-Harith and Abu Zayd with his bag, now filled with gifts. Although the figure of Abu Zayd is badly damaged (and the outline of the bag is later redrawn), his "nakedness" is certainly still readily discernible. So although the interpretation of the illustrations might have begun tenuously at best, it is clearly resolved by the end.

Magamah 26 (fols. 77, 79)

In this story, al-Harith, finding himself in poverty in Ahwaz, decides to seek his fortune elsewhere. While on the road, he comes upon the tent of a wealthy man and discovers him to be Abu Zayd. When al-Harith inquires as to the source of Abu Zayd's wealth, the latter responds that an elegant address, a eulogistic composition which alternates pointed and unpointed letters, gained him the funds for his current lifestyle.177

In this magamah, the tables are somewhat turned. Here, al-Harith is practically destitute and it is Abu Zayd who is living in the lap of luxury. Grabar accurately summarized

177 Chenery, p. 258.
the meanings of the two illustrations: the first depicts al-Harith and Abu Zayd in the latter's tent and the second shows Abu Zayd finally telling al-Harith the source of his wealth. In folio 77, Abu Zayd, elaborately dressed, is seated in his tent surrounded by the attributes of his wealth: a bowl of fruit on a table, servants, and horses, whose heads frame the two edges of the tent. Similarly elaborate in treatment is the youthful figure seen to the far right, who wears a costume of roughly the same pattern as that of Abu Zayd. Might this be his son? Although he is not specifically mentioned in this maqamah, he has been seen with increasing frequency in this manuscript. Folio 79, as was correctly noted by Grabar, was heavily retouched on its left half. It is supposed to represent Abu Zayd dictating the composition he created for the governor of Tus to al-Harith. The figure of al-Harith is obvious enough but this folio clearly demonstrates the extent to which a retoucher can change a composition for the figure of Abu Zayd has been completely transformed by the "restorer." Not only has the garment been drastically changed, but Abu Zayd himself has now had a severe facelift, which seems to have taken fifty years off his appearance.

Maqamah 27

This maqamah was not illustrated by al-Wasiti.

Magamah 28 (fols. 84v, 86)

The twenty-eighth magamah, "of Samarkand," finds al-Harith arriving in that city on a mercantile journey and proceeding to the mosque. Once there, he listens to a sermon on the instability of human destinies and on the certainty of the terror of death. Al-Harith, impressed because all the words are without diacritical marks, finally recognizes the preacher as Abu Zayd. Al-Harith accompanies other invited guests to Abu Zayd's dwelling whereupon the latter shocks all the guests by bringing out decanters of wine. Abu Zayd, however, convinces all, including al-Harith, to partake of the wine through a series of verses.179

All that Grabar noted was that two scenes were depicted: a mosque scene and two individuals drinking.180 Folio 84v illustrates the moment when al-Harith went to a mosque in Samarkand. The preacher standing on the minbar is obviously Abu Zayd. But where is al-Harith? The man seated directly under the central arch would logically be some important character. According to Grabar's typologies, he is not a qadi or a wali. He lacks the long, impressive


180Grabar, 1984, p. 75.
beard and *taylasan* of a *qadi* and the fur cap with a gold plate, boots, attendants, and shorter beard of a *wali*. Although it is true that the beard looks rather suspicious, suggesting the work of a retoucher, even disregarding it totally does not solve the problem. Might this be al-Harith? It is possible but unlikely. The strong centrality of the figure in the composition as well as his placement under a second smaller arch strongly indicates an individual of some status. Nonetheless, on purely visual grounds, al-Harith would seem to be the figure whose face appears from behind a column, and is in the process of pointing at the figure of Abu Zayd. Who the figure under the arches is must, for the time being, remain a mystery.

Folio 86 represents al-Harith and Abu Zayd at the latter's residence. While the two main figures appear as the reader would certainly expect them to by now, al-Harith does not seem to display any sort of shock. It may be that a later moment, after al-Harith gave in, is here represented. Beyond this, not much more can be said.

**Maqamah 29 (fols. 89, 90)**

In this *maqamah*, al-Harith overhears, while in a *khan* or inn at Wasit, a neighbor in an adjacent room tell his son to go to the market with one person and come back with another. Al-Harith, curious, watches the lad leave alone, follows the boy to the store and witnesses the youth change
a loaf for a flintstone. The riddle suddenly dawns on al-Harith and he realizes the author of it. Upon his return to the khan, al-Harith seeks out Abu Zayd and relates his state of desperate destitution. Abu Zayd proposes a marriage to a family also in the khan with a dowry of 500 dirhems and with Abu Zayd giving the wedding address. Anxious to hear Abu Zayd's oratory, al-Harith lends himself to the scheme. Abu Zayd gives the speech, performs the wedding, and passes around sweatmeats which have been drugged. Abu Zayd offers to drug al-Harith too, to avoid accusation, or to accompany his son and him but al-Harith chooses neither and goes his own way.181

As early as 1970, Grabar noted that the setting for this magamah is a khan and that this coincides with the first architectural evidence of caravanserais from Iran to Anatolia and Syria.182 In 1984, however, he further explained what was depicted, writing that the main episode of the story deals with the swindling of travellers and that al-Wasiti's illustration, like those of all the other manuscripts, show them drugged and sleeping.183 Although Abu Zayd's beard has been retouched (the damage to the adjacent neck area is still apparent), he is seen in the

183Grabar, 1984, pp. 76-77.
process of handing some object to his waiting accomplice, his son.

The following illustration is one of only two in the corpus of illustrated versions of the *Maqamat* which depict the two rogues, Abu Zayd and his son, taking leave of al-Harith, who is deeply disappointed in them. Here Abu Zayd appears with the expected white beard and stretches out his arms in the act of explaining. Al-Harith also has his arms extended and his expression, while by no means demonstrative, does seem to be somewhat unhappy. The son, meanwhile, stands between the two with the booty perched atop his head. In this instance, Grabar's assertion that children were depicted in short robes might seem to be borne out were it not for the fact that Abu Zayd also is seen in an equally short robe.

Despite this seemingly obvious interpretation of the figures represented, Grabar cited this folio in particular to illustrate his point of how secondary in role the illustration was to the text. In his discussion of al-Harith's typology, for example, Grabar stated that:

> He can be recognized by his position or by his gestures, but in a miniature like folio 90 of Paris 5847 there is no way of knowing whether al-Harith is the older man on the left or the one on the right. One can only deduce his identity by figuring out that the man on the left is about to depart with the

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184Grabar, 1984, pp. 76-77.

185Ibid., p. 115.
youth in the center (who is certainly Abu Zayd's son); therefore, by elimination, the figure to the right must be al-Harith. Once we know the details of the story the identification is confirmed by his gestures, but the gestures are rather difficult to interpret by themselves. Other examples confirm that al-Harith did not acquire a fully defined iconographic form within any one manuscript.186

While this reader would agree that gestures themselves are not an identifying factor throughout Paris 5847, the typologies seen thus far would have caused no confusion for the medieval reader, just as they need not for today's reader. In this illustration, the text is not required to merely identify the figures; to decipher what the dialogue is, yes, but not to identify.

Maqamah 30 (fols. 91v, 92)

This maqamah, "of Sur," is so named because al-Harith wishes to pay tribute to her due to the prosperity he had there. The real action, however, occurs at Cairo where al-Harith encounters a troop of horsemen on their way to witness a wedding feast. Following them, al-Harith finds a grand mansion but with the odd adornments of ragged clothes and beggar's baskets. The place, it turns out, has no particular owner but is a gathering spot for strolling people. While there, al-Harith witnesses the chief of the begging fraternity officiating at the ceremony and just as

al-Harith is about to leave, the chief, who turns out to be Abu Zayd, asks him to stay and to join the feast.187

In his discussion on sources for the depictions within the *magamat*, Grabar stated:

In Ibn Jubayr's account of his travels beginning about 1180, he tells about the arrival of a Seljuq princess at Mosul. His description of the domelike litter with its heavy ornamentation and of the bewildered animals is reminiscent of the bridal procession depicted in Paris 5847 (thirtieth *magamah*).188

Even the quickest look at the two illustrations of this *magamah* reveal absolutely no trace of a bridal procession. To what specific parallels Grabar was referring is utterly unclear.189

In his discussion of these two representations earlier in the same book, he described the activity depicted only as the speech of Abu Zayd.190 Even this is unclear. The two miniatures, although facing each other, may have no unified activity. The architecture of the two illustrations is somewhat different, perhaps suggesting two separate buildings or locations. But when the two illustrations are

187Steingass, pp. 24-25.
188Grabar, 1984, p. 146.
189It may be that Grabar meant to refer to folio 94v of the thirty-first *magamah* in which there was represented a "dome-like" object and animals but this was, by his own discussion, the representation of a group of people making a pilgrimage to Mecca with a mahmal. See the discussion of "Magamah 31" for more information. It seems most likely that the confusion is a result of a misprint.
190Grabar, 1984, p. 78.
read together with Steingass’ summary relating the wedding in which the chief of a begging fraternity (Abu Zayd) made a speech, the discrepancies in the architecture become negligible, for the viewer is presented with a double-page spread of the speaker and his listeners.

The source of the problems in interpretation is the fact that so much of these two miniatures has been lost. There exists a great deal of retouching and areas of actual loss. For example, the entire right fourth of fol. 91v was damaged. Although one figure’s face has been retouched, another figure, the bottom of whose costume is still slightly visible, is completely lost. Folio 92 also shows extensive damage. The upper portions of the bodies and the faces of the three seated figures all look like they have been retouched. The upper portion of al-Harith’s garment also appears redone. With so much lost, it is truly difficult to reconstruct what was actually represented in these illustrations.

Magamah 31 (fols. 94v, 95)

In this maqamah, “of Ramlah,” al-Harith makes the pilgrimage to Mecca where he finds Abu Zayd preaching on the duties of true religion. Al-Harith approaches him afterward and Abu Zayd states he has taken a vow not to associate with anyone nor make gain during his pilgrimage.191

191Steingass, p. 31.
The earliest analysis of these illustrations was that of Ettinghausen, who stated that a caravan of pilgrims on its way to Mecca was what is represented.\textsuperscript{192} Grabar noted that these two depictions were linked in a number of ways. First of all, the \textit{mahmal}, the wooden structure covered with a cloth and brought from Egypt and Syria to Mecca, appears in both folios. Secondly, the contrast of the great movement in fol. 94v and the quietude of the holy subject in the following folio established a link, not only between the two images but also with the text in which Abu Zayd recited a poem that stated a pilgrimage should remain unspoiled by worldly trappings.\textsuperscript{193}

With specific reference to fol. 94v, Grabar noted only that the two footmen appear with strange leggings and pointed hats. What this is to signify, he did not say. Nor did Grabar attempt to identify al-Harith in the ensemble. It seems likely, nonetheless, that he is the figure in the center, mounted on a camel and wearing a white sash. Also worth noting is the fact that the entire composition moves towards the left, leading the viewer to the adjacent folio.

In folio 95, Grabar noted a series of innovations on al-Wasiti's part which resulted in the enhancement of the overall unity of the composition. First, rocky masses have replaced the grassy lines al-Wasiti usually used to show

\textsuperscript{192}Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 120.

\textsuperscript{193}Grabar, 1984, p. 80.
spatial depth. Second, visual depth is further underscored by the grouping of figures. Somewhat odd is al-Wasiti's use of framing figures who here face away from the action. Grabar was at a loss to explain this phenomenon. \(^{194}\) Abu Zayd, seen elevated in the center of the composition, is seen wearing the *taylasan*, or cloak, popular garb of judges, beggars, and preachers. Grabar stated that fol. 95 is one of the two representations of Abu Zayd as a mendicant in Paris 5847 and mentioned that this one was especially curious because the text specifically demands that the hero be half-naked. \(^{195}\) Here, as often in other illustrations, al-Harith is difficult to distinguish from the crowd. Of course, as this depiction was primarily concerned with illuminating Abu Zayd's delivering his poem, al-Harith's role was minor. Interesting to note are the fur caps of the two figures in the front right. Grabar mentioned the caps and explained them by stating that they may be later retouches. \(^{196}\) If not, these figures might represent people of different ethnic groups, one type of the many one would be likely to find in Mecca during a feast.

\(^{194}\) Grabar, 1984, p. 80.

\(^{195}\) Ibid., p. 108.

\(^{196}\) Ibid., p. 80.
Maqamah 32 (fols. 100v, 101)

This *maqamah* picks up after the pilgrimage of the previous *maqamah*, when al-Harith visits Muhammad's tomb at Taybeh. On the road, al-Harith meets Abu Zayd in the guise of a *mufti*, or jurisconsult, adept in the sacred and secular law of Islam. In the homestead of an Arab tribe, a group gathers and Abu Zayd is queried with 100 questions from a person planted in the audience to make Abu Zayd especially good which results in better monetary gain.197

Published discussions of the illustrations of this *Maqamah* tended to concern themselves in particular with the representation of the drove of camels and the girl who prods them in fol. 101. While the two authors who wrote on these paintings are both impressed with the camels, Ettinghausen describes the woman simply as a "female herder."198 Grabar, on the other hand, looked more closely at the text and realized that she was supposed to be a singing girl.199 But he too was forced to state that she appeared "more like a shepherdess than a singing girl." This raises an interesting question. Ettinghausen's description seemed only to be tied to her function in the illustration, as a female herder. Grabar's seemed to imply that this was her station in life. How does one tell the difference between a

197Steingass, pp. 37-38.
198Ettinghausen, 1962, p. 120.
199Grabar, 1984, pp. 81-82.
shepherdess and a singing girl? By the way she dresses? On this point, Grabar was mute.

In the text, al-Hariri writes that for his brilliant legal discourse,:

> the people brought him [Abu Zayd] a drove of camels together with a singing girl, and begged him to visit them while after while. Then he rose to go, making them longing for his return, and carrying off the slavegirl and the drove.200

It is implied here that the woman, through the reference to her as both a singing girl and slave-girl, served a variety of functions. She was, then, what was needed of her, at times a singing girl and at other times a shepherdess. So through this apparent difference of opinion between Ettinghausen and Grabar, a keen insight into the roles of women has been revealed.

Although they have not been seriously discussed as a whole, the two miniatures work very successfully together. The whole depiction moves to the left and rather than proceeding off the page, Abu Zayd is shown in the act of turning his head back to al-Harith, or perhaps the drove of camels. This type of careful arrangement on the part of al-Wasiti strongly argues against the presence of the accidents and confusions seen by Grabar in other illustrations.

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200Steingass, p. 56.
Magamah 33 (fol. 103)

In this magamah, al-Harith joins a congregation in Tiflis for prayers. A mendicant afflicted with a paralytic contortion of his face makes an eloquent appeal which yields a liberal supply of alms. Al-Harith follows this mendicant, who turns out to be Abu Zayd, and stays with him for two years.²⁰¹

Grabar's only major comment on this illustration is that al-Wasiti eliminated the background of the mosque that was called for by the text of the magamah.²⁰² The miniature raises other issues as well, however. Steingass' summary of the tale states that Abu Zayd presented himself as a mendicant who was afflicted with a paralytic contortion of the face.²⁰³ Neither the contortion of the face nor mendicant's dress appear as attributes of Abu Zayd in the illustration. Grabar notes that Abu Zayd was represented as a mendicant only twice in Paris 5847, in the fifteenth and thirty-first magamat.²⁰⁴ Thus it must be assumed that Grabar does not think this depiction is of a mendicant. But all Grabar's description of a mendicant entails is the presence of a taylasan. Is Abu Zayd wearing a taylasan? Since the simplest definition of a taylasan is as a cloak,

²⁰¹Steingass, p. 58.
²⁰²Grabar, 1984, p. 82.
²⁰³Steingass, p. 58.
²⁰⁴Grabar, 1984, p. 108.
this reader would be forced to say yes. The piece in question seems to come up his back and rest over his shoulders. But here there exists an interesting anomaly: the piece coming over his left shoulder seems to fall over his right arm. This was probably the fault of a retoucher. The part of the taylasan which proceeds over the right sleeve is not nearly as sharp-contoured as that with which it merges. Al-Wasiti probably originally represented all of the taylasan that is seen in front of Abu Zayd as being overlapped by the right arm. The retoucher misunderstood and painted in the section from his neck to the bottom of his right sleeve.

Maqamah 34 (fols. 105, 107)

This story, "of Zabid," finds al-Harith, having lost a slave to death, going to the market to get another. There, a muffled slave dealer offers him a youth which he purchases. No sooner has the dealer left than the youth states he is a free man. They proceed to the qadi who confirms the youth's assertion for the father had visited the qadi the day before to declare such an oath. Requesting the father's name, al-Harith discovers it to be Abu Zayd.205

In this maqamah, the reader is presented with a genre scene from medieval Near Eastern life: the slave market. Present are a variety of figures: slaves, the muffled man, 205Steingass, pp. 62-63. 
the beautiful boy, and money weighers. Grabar states, with respect to the representation of al-Harith, that:

.. . regardless of how one interprets the scene, al-Harith is not the figure in the upper left corner pointing to the main scene.206

Certainly, this must be the case for Al-Harith is an active participant in this magamah, and therefore is probably to be identified with the large standing figure to the right. He is in the process of pointing to, or rather selecting, the beautiful "slave." Also present here are other slaves. They are realized as very dark skinned and rather simply dressed.

With regard to folio 107, Grabar stated that the central figure, the gadi, is represented as a turbaned Arab seated on a high platform in front of a curtain of authority.207 He is wearing the taylasan and has a the long beard, typical of representations of such figures.208 In addition, Grabar mentions the curiousness of the pointing figure to the right. He concluded that it was a reference to the iconography of the role of al-Harith as narrator.209 Curiously, although both al-Harith and Abu Zayd are seen in this composition, the text indicated that only al-Harith was before gadi. What this probably represents, then, is al-

207 Ibid., p. 84.
208 Ibid., p. 116.
209 Ibid., p. 84.
Harith imagining a scene in which Abu Zayd presented his son before the qadi the day before, a mental image conjured up by the qadi's explanation of the circumstances whereby he could verify the boy's status as free.

Maqamah 35

This maqamah was not illustrated by al-Wasiti.

Maqamah 36 (fol. 110)

In this maqamah, "of Maltiyah," Abu Zayd proposes twenty riddles "which consist in finding a word resembling a given short sentence in such a manner that its component parts are synonymous with the members of the phrase in question." For example, to the question of what is like an-naum fat (sleep has departed), the answer is al-karamat (wonder, miracle) where the initial part, al-kara, can also mean "slumber," and the final syllable, mat, can mean "is dead."210

All Grabar had to say about this representation was that the carpet-like ground and decorative trees were characteristic of Paris 5847.211 Admittedly, it is a rather straightforward depiction. Abu Zayd is clearly the figure on the far left, the object of the crowd's gazes. Could al-Harith be the first seated figure after Abu Zayd? The state

210Steingass, pp. 74-75.

211Grabar, 1984, p. 86.
of the miniature does not allow certainty. Here again, the reader is witness to al-Wasiti's tendency to literalness in handling the text which specifically calls for al-Harith to be one of ten assembled men, which is exactly what we have here.

Magamah 37 (fols. 114v, 117v)

This magamah, "of Sadah," finds al-Harith in the service of the qadi of Sadah to occasionally help with law case decisions. One day, an old man complains that his son is disobedient, whereupon the son responds that his father forces him to beg. In his defense, the old man states that necessity knows no law. The qadi, known for his generosity, bestows his bounty on them. Suspicious, al-Harith follows and discovers the old man to be Abu Zayd.212

As in the last magamah, Grabar was exceptionally brief in his analysis of this scene. He stated that al-Wasiti gave a standard qadi scene with al-Harith as an observer.213 Fol. 114v represents the episode where Abu Zayd disclaimed his son before the qadi for not begging well enough. After some assistance from al-Harith, the qadi gave them some money. Abu Zayd, his son, and the qadi are easily recognizable. Al-Harith, who is not as involved as he sometimes can be, is seen to the far left. The figure

212 Steingass, p. 83.
213 Grabar, 1984, p. 87.
before him, whose function is not clear, looks directly at him, placing some additional visual emphasis on him. Likewise, there is a pendant figure who looks directly at Abu Zayd. The qadi is seen with the characteristic attributes: a taylasan and a rather long beard.

Folio 117v, which Grabar overlooks, represents al-Harith catching up to Abu Zayd before the latter gave him the slip. Unfortunately, almost all of Abu Zayd has been retouched. But this does provide an interesting comparison to al-Wasiti's representations of this character. Here, the figure wears the typical costume of the restored individual, with its horizontal fasteners. His face seems extraordinarily flat and his left arm appears long and limp. The figure is, in its whole, strikingly different from what al-Wasiti's original must have looked like.

Maqamah 38 (fol. 118)

In this story, "of Merv," Abu Zayd addresses the wali, or governor, of Merv in verses praising liberality to men of genius. As if on cue, the wali gives him money.214

Grabar stated that all the manuscripts represented Abu Zayd before the governor who was usually shown as a military prince in full regalia.215 Indeed, the figure does seem to possess many of the attributes Grabar indicated belonged to

214 Steingass, pp. 89-90.
215 Grabar, 1984, p. 87.
the wali: seated cross-legged on a platform, with a short beard and boots, he is in the presence of beardless attendants.\textsuperscript{216} Also present here is the gold plate, but the fur cap has been changed to a dark turban. Other than the wali and his attendants, the other two figures that complete the composition are Abu Zayd and al-Harith. Abu Zayd "... rose to sight in the rags of one poverty-stricken ..."\textsuperscript{217} Here, as in previous illustrations, Abu Zayd is shown as poor by having a simple costume. There is no elaborate patterning or multiple layering as is seen on the costumes of the other figures. Its simplicity of form alone speaks to his status. Curious here is the right hand attendant. He turns away from the action and looks off the page. All the while, he is pointing, either to the wali or perhaps even to the text that appears above his head. What he is actually doing and thus what his function might be is not entirely clear.

\textbf{Maqamah 39 (fols. 119v, 120v, 121, 122v)}

This \textit{maqamah}, "of Oman," finds al-Harith called to Oman on business. He is about to cross the Persian Gulf when an old man begs to board at the last minute. In return for passage, he will give a magic spell against the dangers of sea. Discovering the old man to Abu Zayd, al-Harith is

\textsuperscript{216}Grabar, 1984, p. 116.

\textsuperscript{217}Steingass, p. 90.
delighted to have him along for the journey. At the start, all goes well. But later, a violent storm, probably due to a "counter-spell" on board, forces the ship into the port of a mysterious island. Abu Zayd and al-Harith go onto the island in search of provisions when they encounter a mansion whose servants are in grief for the lady of the house is in the throes of a difficult childbirth. Abu Zayd claims to have a charm for the situation which takes the form of verses on a piece of meerschaum, wrapped in a piece of silk, perfumed, to be tied to the limbs of the laboring woman. The charm works and the lord of the mansion is so overjoyed he gives Abu Zayd tokens of appreciation and attaches him to his household with uncontrolled supervision of all his wealth. Al-Harith tries to persuade Abu Zayd to continue the voyage but he refuses.218

This magamah, the most profusely illustrated in Paris 5847, has been the subject of much scholarship. Despite this fact, Grabar was the only one to discuss the first folio in any great depth. He stated that fol. 119v represented the voyage aspect of the story. The reader was presented with a large seagoing vessel in which the raising of the sails was emphasized. The crew and servants, two of which throw refuse into the water, were seen in totally different dress, hair, and color as compared with the

218 Steingass, pp. 93-94.
figures seen thus far in the manuscript. Grabar further suggests that there is a difference between the crew and the servants. How exactly do they differ? He did not mention that the heads seen in the "portholes" were those of "typical" Arabs nor does he explain why they are all seen below. Also interesting to note is the fact that Abu Zayd is not depicted in the miniature although he is supposed to have been on board. Especially curious is the man in the crow's nest. What is he holding?

Folio 120v was also discussed only by Grabar. He mentioned that it was a representation of the arrival of Abu Zayd and al-Harith at the gates of a mysterious palace (the palace they stumbled across when they landed on an island in search of food). Although he concentrated his discussion largely on the architecture, Grabar did mention that there were three "strangely attired dark servants in poses of grief." With their dark complexion and knee-length, dhoti-like drapery, they are apparently Indians in contrast to the dark complected, curly haired figures in fol. 105 who must be seen as of African origin. Grief is expressed by anguished facial expressions and violent physical movement. Although somewhat damaged, Abu Zayd and al-Harith, the two foragers, conform to the standard typologies used by al-Wasiti for their representation. To further underscore his

220Ibid.
role as a seeker of food, al-Wasiti has given Abu Zayd a basket with which to carry the fruits of his labors.

Folio 121, which faces the previous illustration, is, according to Ettinghausen, a representation of exoticism. As if to emphasize the locale, al-Wasiti has depicted here a strange bird with a golden crest, a monkey, a harpy, and a sphinx.²²¹ Grabar mentioned that only Paris 5847 devoted an illustration to the representation of the mysterious island itself.²²² Raised by none of the scholars is the question as to why is this miniature placed here? It would seem so much more logical to have this illustration and the one that precedes it reversed. That is, first represent the boat in its voyage, next the discovery of the mysterious island, and then Abu Zayd and al-Harith on the island in search of food and coming across the palace. This ordering would seem even more appropriate when one considers that the next folio is a representation of the inside of the palace. For this miniature to occupy this particular place in the sequence of illustrations, then, seems unusual.

As just indicated, fol. 122v represents the interior of the palace. On the upper level is the master, enthroned as a gadi or wali might be, and accompanied by two attendants whose heads appear from behind the back of the throne. To the left is Abu Zayd and to the right is al-Harith. The

²²¹Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 120-123.

²²²Grabar, 1984, pp. 88-89.
lower level is given over to the representation of the master's wife in the throes of a difficult labor. Ettinghausen suggests, apparently on the basis of skin complexion and hair style, that the master and his attendants were Indian and that the master is a holy man and not a ruler.\textsuperscript{223} Grabar, on the other hand, referred to this same figure simply as a foreign king.\textsuperscript{224} These two authors also disagree as to what Abu Zayd is doing. Ettinghausen stated that he is shown with an amulet while Grabar said he is writing a note. To this reader's mind, the latter is the obvious and more accurate description for it closely coincides with the text of the story. Steingass related that Abu Zayd wrote verses to be tied to the woman's limbs as a talisman to help her through her difficult labor.\textsuperscript{225} Al-Harith, on the other hand, is consulting an astrolabe. But what significance could it have for the story? The text makes no reference to such an astronomical instrument.

The central portion of the lower level is occupied by the large figure of the wife, a midwife and a servant who is supporting the former. One female appears in each of the two flanking arches. Ettinghausen stated that one of the servants holds an incense burner while Grabar merely stated that one servant carries items probably to be tied to

\textsuperscript{223}Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 120-123.
\textsuperscript{224}Grabar, 1984, pp. 88-89.
\textsuperscript{225}Steingass, p. 94.
woman's leg while the other servant looks on. The servant on the left does seem to be carrying an object which resembles an incense burner while the other seems to be holding some sort of cup whose lid is barely visible. What these items might have to do with the story is unclear.

Maqamah 40 (fols. 125, 126)

This maqamah, "of Tabriz," finds Abu Zayd and his young wife before the qadi, each accusing the other of wrongdoing. The miserly qadi is reluctantly coaxed and partly frightened into an act of generosity, with lamentations over the loss of his gold coins, almost as if he were a prototype of Shakespeare's Shylock in the Merchant of Venice.226

In maqamah forty, the reader is once again confronted with a scene before a qadi. In fol. 125, Abu Zayd is depicted before a qadi with three wives, only one of which, however, is actually involved in the action. The reason for the inclusion of all three wives here, according to Grabar, is that the text specifically stated that al-Harith first saw Abu Zayd with a bevy of wives.227 In actuality, Steingass' translation does state that al-Harith met Abu Zayd amongst women but it doesn't specifically say he left all but one behind.228

226Steingass, pp. 101-102.
227Grabar, 1984, pp. 89-90.
228Steingass, p. 102.
are all represented in a typical fashion. The three women, all veiled, are broad at the hips and two of them wear the dark boot-like shoes as was noticed earlier (fol. 25, maqamah 9) and as there seem somewhat heavy-handed in treatment.

With regard to fol. 126, Grabar writes that al-Wasiti's aim appears to have been to express an overall state of bewilderment. He states that al-Harith points in the wrong direction, which probably means he was copied from some model. He also believes that the wife has been transformed into a youth.\textsuperscript{229} Is this truly the case? The pointing figure to which Grabar refered is the figure to the left. Is this al-Harith? This reader thinks not. Rather, al-Harith seems to occupy the same position in the composition he did in the previous miniature, that to the right. Even his costume is the same. The figure to the left is probably none other than Abu Zayd, whose beard has seen the hand of a retoucher. The transformation of the wife into a youth is also probably the result of retouching. The expression of bewilderment described by Grabar is probably the reference by the artist to the text which described the qadi's agitation at having to choose between the two litigants. This type of sensitivity on the part of al-Wasiti has been seen many times before in this manuscript.

\textsuperscript{229}Grabar, 1984, pp. 89-90.
Maqamah 41 (fols. 130, 130v)

In this story, "of Tanis," al-Harith goes to the mosque and finds a preacher with a large crowd about him, encouraging them to give money to the poor. When the preacher has finished, a half-naked youth comes forward and reaps a plentiful harvest. The preacher turns out to be Abu Zayd and the youth his son.  

With regard to this maqamah, Grabar stated that the illustrations represented respectively the meeting and parting of Abu Zayd. While he felt that fol. 130 was typical of al-Wasiti in its arrangement of the two men about a tree, fol. 130v in which one man walks away and the other watches agape is seen to be atypical. Folio 130 does present a rather straightforward image. It depicts the moment after Abu Zayd has amazed the congregation of an Egyptian mosque with his literary abilities. Folio 130v represents Abu Zayd departing the congregation. Here, however, his face and beard, and in fact most of the garment, have been repainted. Al-Harith looks on with a stereotyped gesture indicating a state of emotion or agitation and in fact the text indicates that al-Harith felt grief at Abu Zayd's departure.

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232Steingass, p. 113.
This maqamah, "of Najran," finds al-Harith encountering an assembly of people engaged in proposing riddles. An old man, who has joined them, taunts the crowd with the futility of their pursuit but gives them ten riddles to confound them. He then fixed fee every riddle a fee and claimed it in cash.233

Although Grabar felt that the elements of the story did not lend themselves to illustrations of originality, he stated that all the manuscripts represented the theme of the individual and the crowd. With regard to Paris 5847, he saw very composed crowds placed within a minimal setting (the text does not specify one).234 Abu Zayd is the isolated figure, his beard having been darkened by a retoucher. Al-Harith is probably present but he is less easy to identify. Indeed, no one individual in the crowd stands out with the characteristics seen associated with al-Harith. This was probably deliberate. It underscores al-Harith's primary function, that of being one of the members of the crowd and later recording his observations of Abu Zayd's literary prowess.

Folio 133v is more difficult to explain. With its grouping of five figures on the left, it might be a

233Steingass, pp. 113-114.

reference to five quotes spoken by Abu Zayd, after which occurred:

Now, when he had launched forth the five which he had strung together he said: "O my good people, ponder these five and close your five upon them ... 235

Is al-Harith still among them? One would think so. Indeed, he would seem to be the figure to the far right in the crowd. The beard, however, seems unusually long for representations of al-Harith and so such an attribution is tenuous. In actuality, he might be any member of the crowd, for the attitudes in which their heads are positioned obscures the profiles of their noses. Abu Zayd, with the white beard, on the other hand, is clearly seen isolated on the right hand side of the composition.

Maqamah 43 (fols. 134, 138)

In this story, Abu Zayd relates to al-Harith that he had once met someone to rival him in gift of speech. Abu Zayd embarks on a long story which makes al-Harith suspicious that Abu Zayd is really speaking of himself.236

Like the thirty-ninth maqamah, this maqamah has been the subject of considerable scholarship. Unfortunately, it has been largely reserved for the second illustration only. With regard to fol. 134, only Grabar had something to note.

235 Steingass, p. 117.

236 Steingass, pp. 119-120.
Explaining it represents a conversation between Abu Zayd and al-Harith, he concluded that it conformed to representations of this subject in other contemporary *maqamat* manuscripts, with the exception that only Paris 5847 depicted Abu Zayd propped up fairly restfully.\textsuperscript{237} In addition, one might note that the translation spoke of a camel:

\begin{quote}
... whose resting master was wrapped up in his striped cloak and drowned in sleep. So I [al-Harith] sat beside his head until he awoke from his drowse...\textsuperscript{238}
\end{quote}

The illustration then is an accurate and sensitive rendering of the text by al-Wasiti. Abu Zayd is indeed seen sleeping and wrapped in his striped cloak while al-Harith is stealing up, careful to avoid disturbing him. Both characters are seen with their normal attributes and aspects.

Folio 138 has fascinated scholars due to its rendering of a village scene. Ettinghausen briefly mentioned the subject as al-Harith meeting a man near a village. Then he plunged into a description of the village: a mosque with a minaret, a domed bazaar with people, and a fortified wall with a gate. The sensitive rendering of the animals, such as a cow, goats, hen and rooster, and of the woman with a spindel led him to conclude that this was an image of a living village.\textsuperscript{239}

\textsuperscript{237}Grabar, 1984, pp. 93–95.
\textsuperscript{238}Steingass, p. 121.
\textsuperscript{239}Ettinghausen, 1962, pp. 115–117.
In 1970, Grabar refined these observations somewhat. Referring to the text, he noted that it was a representation of a Beotian village of stupid people. Grabar then went on to attempt to identify what it was that marked the inhabitants as stupid. He concluded that al-Wasiti sought to convey the text's intent by representing the villagers as simple people occupying themselves with primitive activities like spinning, and surrounded everywhere by animals.\textsuperscript{240} In 1984, he further elaborated his views. Identifying the foreground figures as al-Harith and Abu Zayd, who arrive in a village and are met by a young man. Although not saying much more than that, he did note that the grass carried by the young man, as called for by the text, had been omitted and that his beard was added later (after all, youths are supposed to be beardless).\textsuperscript{241}

But is this necessarily the case? Although one can see that the image has been retouched due to the presence of the dark beard on Abu Zayd (the mounted figure closer to the center), does that necessarily mean that the same has occurred to the man he is addressing? Further calling his assertions into question is the large damaged area once apparently occupied by some object held by the standing figure at the left. Could it have been a bundle of grass

\textsuperscript{240}Grabar, 1970, p. 214.

\textsuperscript{241}Grabar, 1984, pp. 93-95.
perhaps? Certainly, the text specifically calls for its inclusion:

... before a lad met us, who had not known yet sin, with a bundle of grass on his shoulder.\textsuperscript{242}

While the now missing burden does not actually appear on his shoulder, knowing al-Wasiti's sensitivity in rendering the text, one would expect to see it included in the composition.

On the whole, Grabar stated that the foreground scene's subject matter was overwhelmed by the background's view of a village panorama, full of identifiable buildings, none of which, however, are called for by the text.\textsuperscript{243} To the far left, one sees a man who is obviously involved in some activity which is now too damaged to decipher. Next to him is a representation of bull or water buffalo (?) occupying a space of his own. A third arch is occupied by a woman and her daughter. The fourth opening reveals a man and a woman in some sort of discussion. This is followed by a bay occupied by what appears to be the figure of a woman, although it is difficult to be certain. The last opening contains a man carrying a shovel which extends beyond the arch. To the far right is the woman with a spindle. Animals are seen all about the composition, probably much in the same way as they were present in daily life in most

\textsuperscript{242}Steingass, p. 130.

\textsuperscript{243}Grabar, 1984, pp. 93-95.
villages. On the whole, the illustration presents the reader with an interesting representation of genre subjects.

Maqamah 44 (fols. 139v, 140, 143)

In this maqamah, Abu Zayd is in a circle of guests who warm themselves at a fire on a cold winter night. He poses a series of puzzling statements full of double meanings of terms. He promises an interpretation in the morning but steals away during the night.244

Grabar was the only author to comment on these illustrations and then only cursorily. On fols. 139v and 140 he stated that one saw animals being slaughtered, cooked and served by "huge female servants." And while his specifics dealing with fol. 139v were restricted to the architecture, all he said concerning fol. 140 was that it contained a "humorous youth blowing on the fire."245 He failed to discuss the fact that these two illustrations seem as though they need to be reversed. In fol. 139v, the food is being received from the left while in fol. 140, a woman exits with food to the right. Also, it would seem logical to have a representation of the slaughtering and cooking before the feasting since that is the way it occurs in reality. Both illustrations are heavily retouched as can be seen, for example, with reference to the figure, in fol.

244Steingass, p. 132.

245Grabar, 1984, pp. 96-97.
139v, seated on the far left. He has clearly been given a sort of goatee and an additional point on the top of his headgear. Similarly, Abu Zayd should be seen and if he is, he too has been restored, here to the point of non-recognition. Interesting to note is the figure to the far right who is seen in the process of lifting up his robes to warm himself by the fire and thereby receiving a curious look from the man opposite him.

The graphic slaughter scene on fol. 140 again indicates al-Wasiti's careful observation of actuality. The representation illustrates either a conflation of events or a second camel being slaughtered while the first is still cooking, some of which the servant removes from the pot to be served.

Grabar stated that fol. 143 depicted Abu Zayd departing on a camel and felt that this "extraordinarily expressive" representation was the best portrait of the hero in any of the stories. However one feels about this judgement, it is clear that the painting has been retouched by a later painter. Certainly, the hand holding the reins is so unsuccessful as to hardly be within the realm of al-Wasiti.

Maqamah 45 (fol. 146)

In this story, Abu Zayd and his wife are again before a qadi, on the plea of seeking redress for their matrimonial

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246 Grabar, 1984, pp. 96-97.
grievances. The gadi, impressed with their language, rewards them both.247

In this badly damaged illustration, Grabar only referred to al-Harith and then only to state that he was an observer with traditional gestures.248 A reading of the story again demonstrates al-Wasiti's sensitivity to the text. Abu Zayd is in a court of justice with his wife. The translation stated that "Then she removed from her face the flap of kerchief..."249 The reader is presented with the wife's face uncovered. Again, the woman's boots look heavy-handed. But otherwise, the three male figures all appear as the reader would by now expect. Abu Zayd is seen with his apparently original white beard, although al-Harith's beard, composed of a series of heavy straight lines, seems to have been retouched. Obviously, there was enough of the original in Abu Zayd's beard to discourage a retoucher from filling it in. The gadi also appears as he usually does, wearing his taylasan, seated cross-legged on a platform, and possessing a longer beard.

Maqamah 46 (fols. 148v 152)

After a stay in Aleppo, this story relates that al-Harith passes on his return journey through Hims, a place

247Steingass, pp. 141-142.
249Steingass, p. 142.
noted for the stupidity of its inhabitants. There he meets a schoolmaster instructing pupils in the open air and al-Harith watches expecting to be entertained by their blunders. Al-Harith is surprised by the accomplishments of the lads: one recites a poem consisting entirely of unpainted letters while another writes a poem which not only has every letter pointed but is also full of alliterations and assonances. The schoolmaster turns out to be Abu Zayd.250

In both 1970 and 1984, Grabar indicated that the setting is a school but that the architecture presented was similar to that of a house, indicating that there was no specific architectural form for this function.251 In his 1984 publication, however, Grabar added that the teacher was to be seen on a high platform and that the students were clustered in groups similar to that of crowds seen elsewhere.252 If one compares the interpretations of these miniatures Steingass' summary of the magamah which states that al-Harith met with a schoolmaster instructing in the open air, then one would be forced to question al-Wasiti's interpretation of the scene.253 But upon closer inspection of the actual translation of the text, al-Wasiti is shown to

250 Steingass, pp. 146-147.
252 Grabar, 1984, p. 98.
253 Steingass, p. 146.
perform for the reader with his usual sensitivity. The text reads:

Now when I had pitched my tent in her [Hims] boundary, and found the fragrance of her breeze, my eye spied a shaykh whose old age was coming on and whose youth had turned its back on him, and around him ten youngsters of one root and of diverse roots, and I yielded to my eagerness to approach him, so that I might probe in him the learned folks of Hims.254

This passage reveals that al-Wasiti truly understood the play on words in this maqamah. With reference to al-Harith's description of the shaykh whose "old age was coming on and whose youth had turned its back on him," al-Wasiti gives a very specific, if metaphoric rendering with Abu Zayd (the shaykh) and al-Harith seated on a platform while "youth [in the guise of the young students to the right] had turned its back." To further underscore this, and to avoid confusion, al-Wasiti was careful to represent only nine youths here. It is fol. 152 which gives the representation of Abu Zayd, in the presence of al-Harith, in the act of instructing, and here with ten youths as the text required. The architecture and furniture in the two images are distinct from another, apparently to help clearly set these scenes apart. This type of visual play with the text was not mentioned at all by Grabar. He did, however, mention this maqamah when discussing the depictions of children, but

254Steingass, p. 148.
alas, the pointed hats he notes as typical of children are not present here.255

Maqamah 47 (fol. 154v, 155v, 156)

This maqamah, "of Hajr," represents a fictitious altercation between Abu Zayd in the guise of a cupper, or barber, and his son for the purpose of replenishing their pockets. They receive money for their "misfortune" including two dirhems from al-Harith.256

In 1970, Grabar was the first to deal with these folios and he identified the setting as a barbershop or cupping place, seen as a small, narrow building with a crowd.257 In 1984, he expanded his account to state that the crowd was of extraordinary size and arranged in "almost perfect circles" but still within the same type of representation as seen earlier.258 On the specifics of each miniature, however, Grabar was almost mute. He only spoke of fol. 154v and then only to state that the figure to the far right served to lead the viewer from the picture into the world beyond.259

While this might be the case, the same figure could also

256Steingass, pp. 156, 161.
258Grabar, 1984: for size, see p. 99; for arrangement, see p. 112.
259Ibid., p. 111.
function as a leader towards the turning of the page, where the maqamah continued. Although badly damaged, fol. 154v represents, as the text informs, a cupper (Abu Zayd) and his son who had acquired a great notoriety. Al-Harith, needing a haircut and not being able to procure someone to his tent, went to see what all the fuss was about:

Thereupon when I had reached his shop and got sight of his face, I perceived an old man of cleanly aspect, surrounded by ring upon ring of onlookers and throng upon throng [of customers].

This passage is particularly telling in that it not only explains the presence of such a large crowd in fols. 154v and 156, it also illuminates why they are arranged in a circular fashion.

Unresolved is fol. 155v. What is it supposed to represent regarding the story? More importantly, why was it placed opposite folio 156? In what way are these mounts related to the scene they face? Significantly, they face to the left whereas the figures in the facing folio are oriented to the right. What possibly could the connection be? These questions are not explained by the text. Perhaps al-Wasiti was again making metaphorical reference to a passage in the text which does not work in translation. Of course, the damaged state of fol. 155v makes it even more difficult to decipher al-Wasiti's intent.

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260 Steingass, p. 156.
261 Ibid., p. 157.
Magamah 48 (fol. 158v)

This magamah, believed to be the first composed by al-Hariri, is based partially on fact, for the same story is also related to us by two independent sources. The qadi of Al Mazar, a town near Basra, is in a mosque to do penance for a wine habit when a stranger steps forward, claiming to be from Seruj, which has fallen to the Franks and in which his daughter is held captive by the enemy. He is unable to ransom her due to his destitute circumstances and asks the qadi, as atonement for his sins, to give him alms. The qadi gives the stranger twenty gold denars, part of which was promptly spent on wine in a tavern a safe distance from the mosque. Al-Hariri's son reported that his father was present at the scene and was impressed by the eloquent address of the stranger whom he discovered was called Abu Zayd of Seruji. Reportedly, al-Hariri went home and related the events in the form of Abu Zayd telling an al-Harith who then relates it to the reader.262

In discussing this miniature, Grabar limits himself to the observation that al-Wasiti's primary concern was setting: a maqsurah or enclosed space in a mosque usually reserved for princes.263 The scene depicts a group of figures listening to a moving speech made by a former wine

262Steingass, p. 163.
263Grabar, 1984, p. 100.
addict. His poem about his great need was so superb that he was given money, which he spent on wine. The figure of Abu Zayd is easy to recognize as that on the right. He is in the act of pointing at the figure with the white turban in the center of the middle space. The figure to his right, possessing a darker skin color, does seem to be conversing with him while in the act of pointing at Abu Zayd. The figure to his left also points at Abu Zayd. The presence of these two assistants, when combined with the gold plate on the turban might suggest that the figure is actually a representation of a wali. At the same time, he does not possess the shorter beard which Grabar associated with the wali type. Nor does he have the fur cap, although this has been seen to be changed into a turban already in this manuscript. Unlike other presentations of wali, here he is not seen seated on a throne or even a pedestal, a circumstance explained by the fact that the scene occurs within a mosque. Al-Harith, if present at all, must be the figure to the far left, since he is the only one that comes close to the typology of al-Harith established earlier in the manuscript.

Magamah 49 (fols. 160v, 162v)

Most commentators on this maqamat, "of Sasan," suggest that Sasan was the eldest son of a king of a part of Western Persia who had been disinherited by his father in favor of
his sister. Sasan left the court to lead the life of a nomad shepherd among the Kurds. Thus, he became a beau-
ideal of beggars and vagrants and the hero of tales as "king of the gypsies." Others state the story refers to the race of Sasan, the Persian kings of the last dynasty, who were reduced to poverty and popularized by it. In either case, alluding to this prince of beggars or beggared princes, Abu Zayd urges his son to practice mendicancy as a fine art, which he has found preferable to other means of gain.264

With regard to this magamah, all Grabar had to say was that the representations were rather uneventful and literal depictions of a long speech made by a dying Abu Zayd to his son while in bed.265 But there is much more here. The text does relate a long discourse by Abu Zayd to his son. Of course, theoretically, al-Harith would have to have been there to record it in this magamah. That indeed must be the explanation of why Abu Zayd is shown with al-Harith in fol. 160v instead of his son. Here, al-Harith closely matches the typology already established in this manuscript, with his dark beard and crooked nose. Folio 162v is somewhat harder to explain due to the three-quarter positioning of the face and the fact that the beard looks so harshly drawn on. Perhaps this was originally a representation of Abu Zayd and his son and later retouchings have now marred this

264Steingass, p. 169.
image. Certainly, although Abu Zayd is seen reclining in fol. 160v, he is actively sitting up in fol. 162v, and hardly appears close to death. While the bed generally looks to be the same in both illustrations, the figures have switched places in the composition and the framing architecture of fol. 160v disappears in fol. 162v. The reason for these changes is not clear given the silence of the text in the matter.

Maqamah 50 (fols. 164v, 166)

In this maqamah, "of Basra," al-Harith, seeking a remedy for his sadness, goes to a mosque and sees that the preacher is Abu Zayd, this time without a disguise. After an eloquent speech, he receives prayers and funds from those assembled. This story is notable for it is the one where the aged Abu Zayd dies and al-Harith laments the loss of his good friend: he bade me farewell, while the tears streamed from the corners of my eyes, and my sighs rose from within my entrails, this being the last of our meetings.266

Regarding this maqamah's illustrations, Grabar only dealt cursorily with fol. 164v. He stated that it represented a mosque with Abu Zayd seated within upon a rock.267 The actual reading of the text clearly supports this. It states that al-Harith, to rid himself of sadness,

266Steingass, pp. 175-176.
267Grabar, 1984, p. 102.
went to a mosque. There he saw "... a man in out-worn tatters upon an elevated stone, round whom throngs were crowded of uncounted number... ." Folio 164v depicts this mosque with Abu Zayd on the right having been heavily repainted at a later date. Al-Harith seems to be the figure directly before Abu Zayd, identifiable by his typical beard and crooked nose.

Far more interesting to Grabar was folio 166, which he describes as clearly displaying al-Wasiti's originality. For Grabar, this originality resides in the depiction of the setting as a private home, a setting not totally excluded by the text. Indeed, the text would encourage al-Wasiti's choice of a domestic ambience, for it reads:

So I [al-Harith] set out in all readiness and made for him [Abu Zayd] full earnestly, until I alighted at his mosque and the place of his worship. The use of the pronoun "his" suggests a private place of worship, possibly in Abu Zayd's house, a setting again implied further along in the text where reference is made to Abu Zayd entering of "his Oratory." The folio itself seems to represent al-Harith and Abu Zayd sharing a meal although alternatively it is possibly a representation of the ritual

268 Steingass, p. 176.
269 Grabar, 1984, p. 102.
270 Steingass, p. 182.
washing before the act of prayer since the text does not make any reference to eating.
CHAPTER IV
REVIEW OF TYPOLOGIES FOUND IN PARIS 5847

A close examination of each of the illustrations of Paris 5847 within the context of al-Hariri's narrative having been completed, one is now ready to review the typologies seen by Grabar as being present in the manuscript.

In reference to Abu Zayd, Grabar stated that:

"...a rapid glance at his portrayals shows no facial or bodily characteristic, no attire, gesture, or attribute that clearly identifies him in all manuscripts." 271

While this might be true when one considers all the thirteenth and fourteenth century magamat manuscripts as a group, it is certainly less persuasive with respect to Paris 5847. By separating this latter manuscript from the others, we have seen that a type for Abu Zayd does indeed appear. Omitting those illustrations in which his face has been retouched, an elderly, white-bearded man appears as the major protagonist. Abu Zayd advanced in age is, of course, repeatedly emphasized by the text. In the illustrations, Abu Zayd's white beard accentuates this. In addition,

Grabar noted that Abu Zayd was "... frequently shown with a large, generally black, cloak covering his head and shoulders and falling over his back."\textsuperscript{272} In Paris 5847, however, Grabar noted that "... Abu Zayd [is depicted] as a mendicant [that is, with the taylasan or cloak] only twice. ..."\textsuperscript{273} Other than that, Grabar said very little regarding the typology of Abu Zayd, concluding only that:

\begin{quote}
At this stage I need only say that whatever visual interpretations of Abu Zayd may have existed, and however they can be explained, they were never systematic. ...\textsuperscript{274}
\end{quote}

Although this might indeed be the case across the board, it seems, contrariwise, that such a type might evolve within a single manuscript, and that this is the case with Paris 5847, in which a type does emerge.

Grabar's definition of the typology of the character of al-Harith was similarly vague. Specifically, he stated that:

\begin{quote}
Because al-Harith's function is so passive, it is not always easy to decide whether he is really present in a miniature and, if he is, whether any particular visual feature distinguishes him. The illustrations of the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth maqamat, the ones most thoroughly involving al-Harith as a participant, portray him as a typical "Arab" with
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[272]Grabar, 1984, p. 106.
\item[273]Ibid., p. 108.
\item[274]Ibid., p. 108.
\end{footnotes}
This assumption led to Grabar's confusion in fols. 90 and 105 as was discussed earlier. Moreover, the preceding review of the cycle of illustrations in Paris 5847 leads one to ask whether this is really the case? Certainly, while al-Harith is not always identifiable in the Bibliothèque nationale manuscript, al-Wasiti does seem to have evolved a type for al-Harith. Thus, he generally appears, when not altered by a retoucher, with a dark beard and crooked nose. Admittedly, features are not always absolutely clear in the miniatures, but the frequency with which they occur in the Paris illustrations where the figure of al-Harith can be identified by activity or location again tends to contradict Grabar's statement.

In his discussion of al-Harith, Grabar tended to focus a great deal on the use of gestures. He noted that gestures used by al-Harith were also used in the depiction of other characters, most often with reference to anonymous members of the crowd. While gesture could be a grounds for identification, clearly it is not diagnostic here.

With respect to al-Harith, then, Grabar is even more emphatic in his denial of a consistent visual typology than was the case with Abu Zayd. "... Al-Harith did not," he

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276Ibid., pp. 109-110.
concludes, "acquire a fully defined iconographic form within any one manuscript."  

Really, this is not the case. The explanation, of course, has to do with the fact that Grabar discussed al-Harith in the context of the entire corpus of thirteenth and fourteenth century Maqamat manuscripts. In an isolated manuscript like Paris 5847, however, a typology for al-Harith, like Abu Zayd, does indeed emerge. This typology is formed by the representation of al-Harith with a dark beard and crooked nose in the forty-five miniatures he clearly appears in.

Aside from these two major characters, Grabar discussed the typologies of other personages or groups of personages appearing in the Maqamat. In his discussion on crowds, Grabar generally treated these groups as just that—groups. Rarely did he isolate a particular figure or group of figures. When he did, he usually only referred to them and did not clearly discuss their typologies. An example of this is the following:

Different kinds of people, Arab or not, occasionally appear, sometimes required by the text like the nomads in the twenty-seventh and

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278 The character of al-Harith is clearly discernable in folios 3v, 4v, 5v, 8v, 10, 11v, 14v, 18v, 25, 27, 33, 38, 42, 43, 48, 57, 58v, 67v, 75, 76, 79, 86, 90, 92, 94v, 100v, 105, 107, 114v, 117v, 118, 120v, 122v, 125, 126, 130, 130v, 134, 146, 148v, 152, 156, 160v, 164v, 166 (Maqamat 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50).
thirty-second magamat, the slaves in the thirty-fourth magamah, administrative and military officials, and servants (usually shown as youths). 279

This type of vague reference, without any definition of the way these types are represented or where they are in the illustration, does not serve any useful function as far as typologies are concerned.

Aside from these exceptions of nomads, slaves, officials, and servants, the remaining figures seen in crowds "... are consistent enough to justify being considered an urban Arab type." 280 What makes them 'Arab' is the beard, the robe, and the turban. 281 But how they are necessarily urban is not clear. Certainly, all of the locales of the magamat are not the same. Some are in the city, some in the country. One only needs to compare the city sites of Mecca (magamat 14 and 31), Damascus (magamah 12), and Baghdad (magamah 13, 23, and 24) with the country sites of on the road from Ahwaz (magamah 26), on the road to Taybeh (magamah 32), and on the Euphrates River (magamah 22). Not only that, but the cities often vary in size and culture. For example, the larger urban areas such as Alexandria (magamah 9), Rayy (magamah 21), and Samarcand (magamah 28) would be, one would expect, substantially

279 Grabar, 1984, p. 112.
280 Ibid., p. 112.
281 Ibid.
different from the more minor centers such as Mayyafarikin (maqamah 20), Zabid (maqamah 34), or the Beotian village filled with stupid people (forty-third maqamah). Further, would one not naturally expect some differentiation in the typology due to the fact that some of the locales are so geographically removed from one another? For example, the city of Meraghghah, in Azerbaijan (maqamah 6), is some distance removed from Cairo (maqamah 30). Or is Grabar implying that this urban type was consistent throughout the entire geographic region? On this point, he is not clear. Grabar failed, on the whole, to adequately describe and justify the typologies found amongst the members of the crowd.

In his description concerning women, Grabar was just as vague. With regard to their presence, Grabar stated:

The earlier manuscripts, such as Leningrad and Istanbul, curiously avoid representing women altogether, and in two instances in the Vienna manuscript (ninth and twelfth maqamat) women are replaced by boys.282

What about Paris 5847? It was, of course, one of the earliest illustrated maqamat manuscripts, yet it clearly depicted women with considerable frequency. Grabar used the seventh, thirteenth, fortieth, and forty-fifth maqamat as the basis for his definition of the female type.283 On the basis of these paintings, he concluded that they


283Ibid., p. 114.
establish what can be regarded as the standard representation of women—usually the wife or wives of Abu Zayd. It is on the whole used consistently throughout the manuscripts and shows a large figure, especially broad at the hips, wearing a long, often white wrap that is clearly the izar [veil] known from written sources.  

But how true is this with respect to Paris 5847? First of all, al-Wasiti's manuscript represented women in thirteen folios and in these depictions, while some conformed to Grabar's general type, many others did not. They were not "especially broad at the hips" or even wearing white. Of the thirteen folios, only three contain a woman wearing white. The remaining ten depict women in a darker garb. The same is true of the "broad" hips. In only three depictions are they present (fol. 25, 101, 125). In others, they are not. 


285 Fols. 13v (fifth maqamah), 18v (seventh maqamah), 25 (ninth maqamah), 29v (eleventh maqamah), 35 (thirteenth maqamah), 58v (twenty-first maqamah), 101 (thirty-second maqamah), 122v (thirty-ninth maqamah), 125 and 126 (fortieth maqamah), 138 (forty-third maqamah), and 139v and 140 (forty-fourth maqamah).

286 Fols. 25 (ninth maqamah), 122v (thirty-ninth maqamah), and 125 (fortieth maqamah).

287 These are the folios listed in note 285 less those in note 286.

288 In several of the representations, the women are either seen seated, such as fols. 13v and 58v, or the hips are blocked from view due to other figures in the composition, such as fols. 18v, 29v, 126 and 139v. Another problem the viewer faces is that the clothing worn by the women is voluminous and since they are often involved in some type of activity which involves the stretching out of
the typology of women is not wholly adequate for 5847. On the other hand, certain things are consistent. Women are immediately distinguished by the fact that they are not bearded which sets them apart from the vast majority of the other figures in the manuscript. They also do not wear turbans. Instead, they are seen with their heads covered by an extension of the garment that they wear. In addition, in some of the depictions of women, their hair is seen and this takes the form of being dark and wavy (fols. 13v, 18v, 25, 58v, 101 and 126). These rather obvious characteristics quickly set them apart in any of the miniatures of Paris 5847. A specific typology is not required for them. They are already distinguished and are clearly understood.

Problems concerning Grabar's definitions of children and youths have already been referred to. In defining children, Grabar stated that they appear as small, thin adults "... in short robes and in a few manuscripts, odd pointed hats. ..."289 Again, the miniatures in Paris 5847 do not conform to this. Of the twenty-six depictions of children and youths, only three possess shorter robes (fols. 12v, 69v, and 90; magamat 5, 24, and 29).290 The "odd

289Grabar, 1984, p. 115.

290The most frequent appearance of a child/youth is Abu Zayd's son, who is seen in fols. 10, 12v, 13v, 16, 21, 22, 26, 27, 37v, 53, 64, 67v, 89, 90, 105, 107, 114v, and 154v (magamat 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 14, 19, 23, 29, 34, 37, and 47).
pointed hats," while not defined any better than that, do
seem to appear twice, in fol. 13v, although here it seems
more likely that it is the pointed end of the turban, and
fol. 69v with the youth driving the oxen. These isolated
examples stand in contrast to the remaining miniatures in
which the youth is depicted with a turban and therefore the
pointed hats must be considered the exception rather than
the norm. One way of distinguishing the children/youths
from the other characters in the manuscript is the beardless
aspect generally seen, for the beard only appears in fols.
46v (maqamah 17) and 138 (maqamah 43), in which, al-Wasiti
interprets the terms "youths" and "lad" as young adults. As
with the women, the beardless quality quickly separates the
figure from the bearded majority. The presence of a turban
just as quickly rules out the possibility of the figure
being a woman. In addition, the figures of children/youths
are usually shorter in stature than the adults pictured with
them. In the twenty-six depictions, only fols. 46v, 53, and
140 (maqamat 17, 19, and 44) represent the younger figure
equal in height to that of the adults. So it is, generally,
the shorter, beardless, turbanned figure which is to be read
as a youth.

Younger characters also appear as "students" in fols. 148v
and 152 (maqamah 46), as "children" in fols. 35 (maqamah 13)
and 138 (maqamah 43), as a "lad" in fol. 138 (maqamah 43),
and as "youths" in fols. 46v (maqamah 17), 69v (maqamah 24)
and 140 (maqamah 44).
Grabar is not only more definite but also more correct in what he noted as defining the qadi and the wali. The distinguishing characteristic of a qadi was stated to be a taylasan. The taylasan as the primary feature occurred in eight folios in Paris 5847. In each, the qadi wears either a white or black taylasan. As Grabar noted, he is also seen with a longish beard, seated cross-legged, at times on a raised platform, with a curtain behind him. Grabar also noted that a secretary sometimes accompanied him. In Paris 5847, this is seen in fol. 21 (eighth magamah).

With reference to the wali, Grabar noted that they are princely types and noted that the clothes were different from that of the qadi: shorter coat, boots, fur cap with a triangular gold plate in front, often times braids, and usually a shorter beard. In addition, he appears in the presence of attendants who were always youthful and beardless. For the most part, this holds true for Paris 5847. Of the four folios that depict the wali, all have


292 Folios 21, 22, 25, 107, 114v, 125, 126, and 146 (magamat 8, 9, 34, 37, 40, and 45).


294 Ibid.

295 Ibid., p. 117.
boots, where visible, a shorter beard, and attendants.296 The fur cap was replaced by a turban in three of the illustrations leaving only one which matches Grabar's description of the headgear exactly (fol. 59, twenty-first maqamah). In the other three cases, although the wali wears a turban, the plate does seem to be fixed to the front of the headgear.

It is therefore obvious that al-Wasiti wanted to clearly distinguish the qadi and wali from the rest of the characters, just as was the case with Abu Zayd and, in many cases, al-Harith. Women and adolescents, by their innate differences, were easily identified. Crowds are often made up of a variety of people who looked more or less alike and acted as a foil for the actions of the rest of the characters.

Despite this formulation of typologies, Grabar was nonetheless pained that the illustrations could not be read alone. With regard to the representations of Paris 5847, Grabar stated that they should be seen

... as a visual failure of the manuscript, for the impact is apparent only to a viewer immersed in the Magamat and aware in each case of the very specific incident or statement illustrated. The failure is, of course, not one of artistic merit, but a failure to create a self-supporting,

296Folios 26 (tenth maqamah), 59 (twenty-first maqamah), 64 (twenty-third maqamah), and 118 (thirty-eighth maqamah).
self-evident, discrete visual syntax.297

This is, of course, a view conditioned by the twentieth century. The failure is only possible if it is known that a "self-supporting, self-evident, discrete visual syntax" is what al-Wasiti was after. This is, after all, not known. What al-Wasiti attempted to do with his illustrations was just that—to illustrate. It is doubtful that he was trying to replace the text that he illustrated. It is analogous to seeing a picture of a boy and girl climbing a hill which has a well on top. While one could not be expected to know that the boy is Jack and the girl is Jill and that they are in pursuit of a pail of water, the reading of the text provides the relevant information. The illustration and text work together to present a whole image. In much the same way, the illustrations created by al-Wasiti do the same thing. This is especially underscored when one considers that the manuscript is a literary one. Many of the accomplishments of Abu Zayd need to be seen textually to be understood. For example, one would not realize Abu Zayd's ability in certain cases if he could not see that what was accomplished was the creation of a poem without any pointed letters. So not only the reading of the text but also the visualization of it, when added to al-Wasiti's illustrations, completes the whole story. Al-Wasiti did not fail at all. He took a complex literary text and enhanced it by illustrating it, requiring

297Grabar, 1984, p. 133.
the reader to interpret the manuscript on yet another level. The result was an integrated whole which served to entertain as well as instruct.
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ADDITIONAL READING


—. "'Hellenistic' Miniatures in Early Islamic Manuscripts." Ars Islamica 7 (1940): 125-133.

Plate I. Frontispiece, fol. lv.
Plate II. Frontispiece, fol. 2.
Plate IV. Maqamah 2, fol. 4v.
Plate V. *Maqamah* 2, fol. 5v.
Plate VIII. Maqamah 3, fol. 8v.
Plate X. Maqamah 4, fol. 10.
Plate XV. *Maqamah* 6, fol. 16.
Plate XVII. Maqamah 7, fol. 19.
Plate XXI. Maqamah 10, fol. 26.
Plate XXII. *Maqamah* 10, fol. 27.
Plate XXIII. *Magamah* II, fol. 29v.
Plate XXIV. Magamah 12, fol. 30v.
Plate XXV. Magamah 12, fol. 31.
Plate XXVI. Magamah 12, fol. 33.
Plate XXVII. 

Maqamah 13, fol. 35.
Plate XXVIII. Maqamah 14, fol. 37v.
Plate XXIX. Maqamah 14, fol. 38.
Plate XXX. *Maqamah* 15, fol. 40.
Plate XXXI. Maqamah 15, fol. 41.

لا خاص من لطف مدين او هيمنه سلفه يحيى الله دعا دعا واحيا حي ما ذه

Plate XXXI. Maqamah 15, fol. 41.

لا خاص من لطف مدين او هيمنه سلفه يحيى الله دعا دعا واحيا حي ما ذه
Plate XXXIII. Maqamah 16, fol. 43.
Plate XXXIV. [Image of two men in a scene, possibly from a manuscript or an illustrated text.]
Plate XXXVI. Maqamah 18, fol. 47v.
Plate XXXVII. Magamah 18, fol. 48.
Plate XXXVIII. Maqamah 18, fol. 50v.
Plate XXXIX. Maqamah 18, fol. 51.
Plate XL. Maqamah 19, fol. 52v.
Plate XLI. Magamah 19, fol. 53.
Plate XLII. Magamah 20, fol. 55v.
Plate XLIII. Maqamah 20, fol. 56.
Plate XLIV. Maqamah 20, fol. 57.
Plate XLV. Maqamah 21, fol. 58v.
Plate XLVI. *Maqamah* 21, fol. 59.
Plate XLVIII. Maqamah 23, fol. 63v.
Plate L. Maqamah 23, fol. 67v.
لأول الأمر من نlients ونالت الدار، ومثل هذا الدخان لتصبح في الغد bö وفأذ رزقتنا و듭 نحن لله من أنجاح وناعذ بالله من شر ما Есть مفتي
Plate LIII. Maqamah 25, fol. 75.
Plate LV. Magamah 26, fol. 77.
Plate LVI. Maqamah 26, fol. 79.

نخبة ملد الرسال الاجناطلا لا هو وجد محل حفظ

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Plate LVII. Maqamah 28, fol. 84v.
Plate LVIII. Maqamah 28, fol. 86.

ملف إلى الجا مسيرة مزج بنا سربي.

لا شيء أن يكون لرنا الإرث وطبر للنزوع جمع العوام على نهن.
Plate LIX. Magamah 29, fol. 89.
Plate LXI. Maqamah 30, fol. 91v.
Plate LXII. Maqamah 30, fol. 92.
Plate LXIII. Magamah 31, fol. 94v.
Plate LXV. Maqamah 32, fol. 100v.
Plate LXVII. Magamah 33, fol. 103.
Plate LXXIII. Maqamah 38, fol. 118.
Plate LXXIV. Maqamah 39, fol. 119v.
Plate LXXV. Maqamah 39, fol. 120v.
Plate LXXVI. Maqamah 39, fol. 121.
Plate LXXIX. Majamat 40, fol. 126.
Plate LXXX. Maqamah 41, fol. 130.
Plate LXXXI. *Maqamah* 41, fol. 130v.
Plate LXXXII. Magamah 42, fol. 131v.
فَذَاثَا اللَّهُ لَفْتَى أَعَوْضَتْ وَنُصِبَ الرَّماحُ فَقَصَصَ عَلَيْهِمْ نَبِيُّ الْعَمَّ وَجَرَّ الْفَعْلَةَ وَأَعْمَلَ
Plate LXXXV. Maqamah 43, fol. 138.
Plate LXXXVI. Maqamah 44, fol. 139v.
Plate LXXXIX. Maqamah 45, fol. 146.
Suspected missing page 226.
Plate XCII. Maqamah 47, fol. 154v.
Plate XCIII. Magamah 47, fol. 135v.
Plate XCIV. Magamah 47, fol. 156.
Plate XCV. Magamah 48, fol. 158v.
Plate XCVI. Maqamah 49, fol. 160v.
Plate XCVIII. Magamah 50, fol. 164v.