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THE EARLIEST ARAB ILLUSTRATED
KALILA WA DIMNA MANUSCRIPT
(BN ARABE 3465)
A STUDY OF ITS MINIATURES

BY
WAFAA RIZKALLAH

JUNE 1991

930

**THE EARLIEST ARAB ILLUSTRATED
KALILA WA DIMNA MANUSCRIPT (BN ARABE 3465):
A STUDY OF ITS MINIATURES**

Thesis
1991/930
✓✓✓

A THESIS PRESENTED BY WAFAA RIZKALLAH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN THE CENTER FOR
ARABIC STUDIES OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
JUNE 1991


THIS THESIS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE

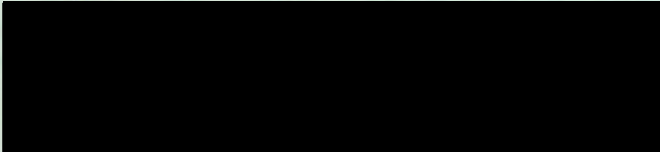
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WAFAA SHAFIK RIZKALLAH

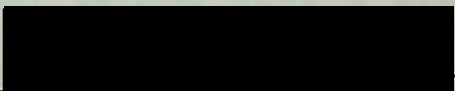
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CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ARABIC STUDIES

REPORT ON M.A. THESIS BY WAFAA RIZKALLAH

This thesis is presented with truly professional skill and method and is a pleasure to read. As the M.A. level demands, it demonstrates a grasp of the relevant bibliography, summarises the significant secondary literature and presents in outline form a body of unfamiliar material. The appendices are a model of order and clarity.

So far, so good. Where the thesis veers off course, in my opinion, is in the inordinately long and thus disproportionate space allocated to the retelling of the very familiar *Kalila wa Dimna* stories. Individually short as these stories are, there are scores of them, and this means that, even when they are retold in abbreviated form, they take up the lion's share (!) of the thesis - Chapter Two, pages 17-80. This does seem to me a rather soft option to take. It means that there is not really enough room to tackle in appropriate detail such questions as the provenance of the manuscript (this can, in my view, best be done by a close investigation of diagnostic details of architecture and perhaps costume); its milieu (an analysis promised but not delivered by Chapter One); the exact relationship between this manuscript and the Pierpont Morgan fragment (I have the impression that this link was not studied in depth); the rate of illustration in comparison with other presumably contemporary manuscripts, both Muslim and Christian (e.g. the Schefer Hariri and the various Coptic and Syriac Gospels; this might have helped with provenance); and the value of later cycles in explaining the selection of subject matter in this one (a topic treated only glancingly here, which means that the reason why some scenes are not selected for illustration is not considered). So many of the paintings themselves are treated to one-sentence references, which is not really enough to put over their distinctive flavour. Many details invite comment (e.g. the depiction of Shaitan and its sources or parallels; parallels for the placing of the frontispiece, and for the use of plants in it; and the evidence of the manuscript on "social customs" and "types of constructions").

I do not want to give a wrong impression here. Chapters Three and Five, though short (22 pages in all), do tilt at some of these issues. And these chapters show an impressive familiarity with other manuscripts, both Christian and Muslim. Thus the individual details of, say, costume, architecture, setting, landscape, figural types and so on are all related to parallel material. Moreover, the author (though often prone to paraphrase large slabs of the work of other scholars, as is revealed by the footnotes - Hoffman, Buchthal, Hunt, Keith-Falconer) is not afraid to disagree with some of the gurus of the field. Nevertheless, the question of provenance - Egypt or Syria? - is not confronted in satisfactory fashion, and indeed the author (though aware of some of the the contradictory evidence [to which should be added the use of the Coptic Damietta ms as evidence of a Syrian origin!]) does not let off the fence. And that question of provenance is crucial.

All in all, then, the thesis is like the curate's egg: good in parts. Where it is good, it is very good; seldom have I encountered an M.A./M.Litt. thesis which so clearly spells out what has been done and what remains to do. I would grade it top 2.2; too uncritical for a 2.1.

31 May 1991

Table of Contents

Abstract	v
Notes on Transliteration	x
1 Preface	1
Notes to The Preface	4
2 Chapter One: The Manuscript and its milieu	
The Physical State of The Manuscript	6
The Text	9
The Cultural and The Political Milieu in the Beginning of the 13th C.	11
Notes to Chapter One	15
3 Chapter Two: The Cycle of Miniatures	
The Preface by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi	17
The Mission of Barzuya to India	20
The Subject Matter of the Book	21
The Table of Contents	25
The Biography of Barzuya	26
The Chapter of The Lion and The Bull	29
The Chapter of Dimna's Trial	46
The Chapter of The Ringdove	51
The Chapter of The Owls and The Crows	56
The Chapter of The Monkey and The Tortoise	66
The Chapter of The Ascetic and The Weasel	68
The Chapter of The Mouse and The Cat	71
The Chapter of The King and The Bird	72
The Chapter of The Lion and The Jackal	74
The Chapter of Iladh, Biladh and Irakht	75
The Chapter of The Lioness and The Jackal	79
The Chapter of The Ascetic and his Guest	79
The Chapter of The Traveller and The Goldsmith	79
The Chapter of The King's Son and his Companions	79
Notes to Chapter Two	80

4	Chapter Three: Stylistic Analysis of The Miniatures	
	Composition	81
	Drawing and Color Palette	83
	Setting	84
	The frontispiece	88
	Human Figures	88
	Animals	92
	Architecture	93
	Landscape	95
	Notes to Chapter Three	98
5	Chapter Four: Provenance	100
	Notes to Chapter Four	108
6	Chapter Five: Conclusion	109
	Notes to Chapter Five	113
7	Appendix 1 : List of Illustrated Stories and their size and position in the page	114
8	Appendix 2 : List of Added folios	121
9	Appendix 3 : List of Illustrations with Human and Animal Figures	124
10	List of Figures	127
11	List of Plates	131
12	Bibliography	133

ABSTRACT

This study is devoted to the earliest illustrated Arabic manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna: Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe 3465. It will be concerned with the investigation of its pictorial cycle and the analysis of its stylistic features, comparing it with earlier and contemporary manuscripts produced in Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt.

According to the stylistic features of early thirteenth century Arabic manuscripts produced in Syria, our manuscript is thought to have been copied there between 1200 and 1220 A.D. While other scholars relate it to Egypt, especially to a late twelfth century Coptic manuscript.

It has ninety eight miniatures including a frontispiece, of which eight are of a different style and quality that might indicate they have been inserted at a later date. My main endeavor will be to analyse these illustrations and try to attribute them to the most likely center of production according to their style.

This manuscript is an Arabic version of an Indian book of fables, composed by an unknown Vishnuite Brahman about the year 200 A.D. in Kashmir, and was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal fables. The title was formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two main characters. The book was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sassanian king Khusraw Anushirwan in about 570 A.D. This version was translated almost immediately into old Syriac, of which an incomplete copy is still in existence.

'Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa' translated the Pahlavi version into Arabic around 750 A.D. His edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; it became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures, after which it was translated into many languages and recomposed in Arabic and Persian verse. The version translated by Ibn al Muqaffa' was one of the most popular medieval Islamic books, and was frequently illustrated.

This study will be prefaced by a brief explanation of the history of the Kalila wa Dimna text and a discussion of existing illustrated copies, followed, in chapter one, by a description of the physical state of the manuscript and the origin of its particular text, including an analysis of

the cultural and political milieu of production centers of Arab books of the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The identification of the cycle of miniatures and comments on unusual iconography will be investigated in the second chapter.

The stylistic analysis of the miniatures: composition, setting of figures, animals, architecture and landscape, and prototypes of the same stylistic features will be the subject of the third chapter.

The relationship of our manuscript to various contemporary manuscripts and possible attribution to a particular school of painting, will be discussed in chapter four.

Conclusions on the importance of the manuscript and its relation to both kalila wa Dimna cycles and other Arab illustrated manuscripts, will be presented in chapter five.

Notes on Transliteration

I have tried wherever possible to follow the system of transliteration of Arabic characters used in the International Journal of Middle East Studies, however some inconsistency in transliteration might appear especially in the citation of secondary sources.

PREFACE

Originally, Kalila wa Dimna was a compilation of several Indian stories, intended to be a textbook for the wise conduct of life. It consisted of an introduction and five books, composed in Sanskrit, by an unknown Vishnuite Brahman probably about the year 200 A.D. in Kashmir. The Panchatantra, translated The Five Books, was intended to be a mirror for princes.¹

The Panchatantra, together with three Indian stories from the Mahabharata (the great Indian national epic), and other various stories of Indian origin, were translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by the physician Barzuya at the order of the Sassanian King, Khusraw Anushirwan (531-579 A.D.). Barzuya prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction signed by Anushirwan's minister Buzurjmihr, honoring Barzuya. The name of the book comes from the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, the jackals Karataka and Damanaka.²

Barzuya's Pahlavi translation was lost; but, by the year 570 A.D., it had already been translated by the Periodeut Bud into Syriac. This translation has only survived in one manuscript, which was preserved in the monastery at Mardin, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mosul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris.³

Bud lived in 570 A.D., at the same time that Barzuya was sent to India to procure the original book. Therefore, the conclusion drawn by Keith-Falconer,⁴ that Bud was a Persian Christian acquainted with Syriac, rather than a Syrian familiar with Persian, is most probable since direct translation from Pahlavi is more probable than translation from Sanskrit. Keith-Falconer based his conclusion on an analysis of the text made by several scholars, pointing out a few Sanskrit names reproduced more or less

faithfully in the old Syriac, which did not appear in the Arabic translation made two centuries later. He cited several circumstances to support this theory. First is the pair of names of the two jackals, Kalilag and Damanag, clearly derived from a Persian medium, and second, a passage from the chapter of the Lion and the Jackal on the transmigration of souls appears in the old Syriac version but is omitted from the Arabic version.

'Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa' translated Barzuya's Pahlavi version into Arabic around the year 750 A.D. He added an original preface to his book and inserted it before Barzuya's biography. Ibn al-Muqaffa' was a man of distinguished literary abilities and a translator of a high order.⁵ His version was not a substantially faithful rendering of the Pahlavi original, since he omitted certain passages, lest they should offend Muslim readers.⁶ He was recognized as responsible for the addition of a chapter situated after the first book of the Pancatantra, written by himself, on Dimna's trial, which, by punishing the traitor, satisfies the feeling of justice.⁷

The translation of Ibn al-Muqaffa' introduced the book to both Muslim and Christian literature, after which it was translated into many languages, and recomposed in Arabic and Persian verse.⁸

The book Kalila wa Dimna became one of the most popular medieval Islamic books, and was frequently illustrated. Although no illustrated copies earlier than the end of the tenth century A.D. have survived, textual and historical passages point to the existence of illustrated copies as early as the date of the Ibn al-Muqaffa' translation.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' stated in his introduction to the book that it was embellished with coloured pictures to encourage kings to obtain it. The earliest historical reference to an illustrated version appeared in al-Tabari's Universal History,⁹ written in the first quarter of the tenth century. Tabari wrote that in the year 225H./841 A.D., a Central Asian prince was persecuted for owning idols and illustrated books. The prince defended himself by

accusing the judge of possessing an illustrated copy of Kalila wa Dimna. Another reference was found in Firdawsi's introduction to the Shahnama. He stated that the book had been recomposed into Persian verse by the poet Rudaki for the Samanid prince Nasr ibn Ahmad (931-42 A.D.), and was illustrated by Chinese artists.¹⁰

The first illustrated copy that has survived is a fragment of a Greek manuscript located in the Pierpont Morgan Library which is believed to have been produced in South Italy between circa A.D. 980 and 1050.¹¹ Our manuscript, B.N. Arabe 3465, came next. It is the earliest Arabic illustrated copy surviving, and is usually attributed to an early thirteenth-century Syrian source. No other illustrated Arabic manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna has survived from the thirteenth century. Only one illustrated Persian copy has survived from the end of the thirteenth century; this manuscript, containing more elaborate compositions and more naturalistic representations of animals and human figures than the illustrations in our manuscript, is now in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul.¹²

The bulk of the surviving illuminated manuscripts, both in Persian and Arabic versions, belong to later times. The Arabic versions that survive from the fourteenth century belong to the Mamluk period. These Mamluk manuscripts retell the stories in a different cycle of narration, as explained by Sprengling,¹³ who grouped the Kalila wa Dimna manuscripts according to the order of their chapters.

The following study will be concerned with an investigation of the cycle of miniatures and a stylistic analysis of the illustrations, comparing them with various contemporary manuscripts, in order to identify the possible production center to which they could be attributed.

Notes to the Preface:

- 1- Ryder, A., The Panchatantra, p. 5.
- 2- Brockelmann, C., The Encyclopaedia of Islam, P. 503.
- 3- Ibid., p. 504.
- 4- Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, Introduction p. xlv
- 5- Ibn al Nadim, Fihrist, p.172
- 6- Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, Introduction p. xli
- 7- Ibid., p. xxviii
- 8- A diagram showing the various translations of the book from Sanskrit to modern times is illustrated in Mehrez, G., The Illustrated Manuscripts, diagram following p. 6 and in Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, diagram following the introduction.
- 9- Tabari, Abu Ja'far, Ta'rikh, 3rd section - v.12, p.1309
- 10- Arnold, T., Painting in Islam, p. 65
- 11- Raby, J. "Between Sogdia and The Mamluks", p. 382
- 12- Atil, E., Kalila wa Dimna, p. 62
- 13- Sprengling, M. "Kalila Studies", pp. 91, 94. He grouped eighty manuscripts of Kalila and Dimna according to the position of the chapter of Biladh - 14 in our manuscript - into six classes. According to his classification, our manuscript belongs to class A, of which order and text were popular in the majority of the manuscripts. The Mamluk manuscript B.N. Arabe 3467, has been grouped into class C.

Walzer, comparing the text of the four Mamluk illustrated manuscripts, arrived at the conclusion that the manuscripts of both Munich Arab 616 and Oxford Pocock 400 go back to a common original and that Paris B.N. Arabe 3467 is based on the Oxford manuscript, while Cambridge Corpus Christi stands apart in its text and illustrations. Therefore, the three mentioned manuscripts belong to class C, while the Cambridge manuscript belongs to a group different from that of our

manuscript and the three mentioned Mamluk manuscripts. (See Walzer, S., "The Mamluk Illuminated Manuscripts of Kalila wa-Dimna", p. 206).

The Oriental Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale

Our manuscript, BN Arabe 3485, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is the oldest surviving illustrated Arabic version of Kalila wa-Dimna. It was brought to Paris by M. de Mallet (1654-1738), who was French Consul in Cairo from 1690-9, and who acquired many manuscripts while in Egypt. When de Mallet died in 1738, the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris bought his collection, which contained 54 manuscripts, including our manuscript. The manuscript was added to the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, printed in 1754, under the reference number 1485 A.9.

The list of oriental manuscripts of M. de Mallet included 53 volumes, none of which provided any clear information concerning Kalila wa-Dimna. However, item 25 of the list reads "the fabulous history of the Indians and of Alexander the Great" and it is in this item where we find the first chapter of our manuscript. The Preface written by Ali b. al-Isfahani -- which begins with an account of Alexander the Great's conquest of Persia the King of India.

The information supplied by Bibliothèque Nationale, contrasts with that of De Sacy's translation of Kalila wa-Dimna. De Sacy used our manuscript as the basic source for his translation of Kalila wa-Dimna. When re-translating he corrected and supplemented the parts he felt inadequate with fragments from several other manuscripts extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. De Sacy claimed that our manuscript -- designated A -- was acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi through Vassier, who brought it in 1690. One list of manuscripts obtained by Vassier from Egypt contained a Kalila wa-Dimna, but in Persian, not in Arabic. Another list of

CHAPTER ONE: *The Manuscript and its Milieu.*

The physical state of the manuscript

Our manuscript, B.N. Arabe 3465, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is the oldest surviving illustrated Arabic version of Kalila wa Dimna. It was brought to Paris by Benoit de Maillet (1656-1738), who was French Consul in Cairo between 1692-8, and who acquired many manuscripts while in Egypt. When de Maillet died in 1738, the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris bought his collection, which contained 54 manuscripts, including our manuscript.¹ The manuscript was added to the Catalogus Codicorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae, printed in 1739, under the reference number 1483 A.²

The list of oriental manuscripts of M. de Maillet included 53 volumes,³ none of which provided any clear information concerning Kalila wa Dimna. However, item 25 of the list reads: "the fabulous history of the Indians and of Alexander the Great;" and, it is in this item where we find the first chapter of our manuscript-- "The Preface written by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi"-- which begins with an account of Alexander the Great's defeat of Porus the king of India.

This information, supplied by Bibliothèque Nationale, contrasts with that in De Sacy's translation of Kalila wa Dimna. De Sacy used our manuscript as the basic source for his translation of Kalila wa Dimna. While re-translating, he corrected and supplemented the parts he felt inadequate with translations from several other manuscripts extant at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁴ De Sacy claimed that our manuscript - ancient ref. 1483 A - was acquired by the Bibliothèque du Roi through Vansleb, who bought it in Cairo. One list of manuscripts obtained by Vansleb from Egypt⁵ contained a Kalila wa Dimna, but in Persian, not in Arabic. Another list of books

collected by Vansleb includes a Kalila wa Dimna manuscript but states neither the place of acquisition, nor whether it contains illustrations.⁶

Including the frontispiece, our manuscript of 146 folios contains 98 illustrations, eight of which are not original. Its folios are approximately 275 mm high and 210 mm wide. The illustrations are luxurious, employing a considerable amount of gold. They are frequent, the average rate being one illustration every two pages. Many are heavily retouched.

It is also possible to conclude that the illustrations were added after the text was written, because in many instances the illustration is attached to the text and actually overlaps the text itself as seen in Pls. 23, 26, 39 and 45, or when the illustration does not entirely fill the space provided (Pl. 63).

Because the folios themselves appear on a different quality paper and are in varied states of preservation, it is possible to suggest that not all the folios date from the same time. There appears to be considerable variation of this sort, especially in the folios at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript.

Illustrations of the stories appear alongside the written text. An example is the story of the monkey and the carpenter, f. 47, (Pl. 23). The written text, which begins at the top of the page and ends at the bottom, is separated by the illustration, which has been inserted between the two sections of the text. (A complete table of illustrations, their size and position on the page is given in Appendix 1.)

Each page of the original manuscript that does not contain an illustration has 15 lines of text written in black ink, considerably more than the usual 6 lines of text that appear when an illustration is included at either the top or center of the page. Thus, when an illustration appears at either the top or the center, it occupies approximately two-thirds of the overall surface area of the page. However, when an illustration is located at the

bottom of the page, it tends to occupy a far smaller portion of the overall surface area, approximately only one-third. The latter positioning is by far the least frequent.

The frontispiece occupies f. 34, following the chapter of "The Subject Matter of the Book" by 'Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa'. It illustrates a seated ruler flanked by two attendants with feather fans and two large plants on a red background, framed by a golden palmette scroll on a dark blue background. The position of the frontispiece at the beginning of the book translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa' and before the table of contents, indicates the possibility that this manuscript was copied from an earlier illustrated copy, which contained neither the Preface nor the chapter on the mission of Barzuya to India.

There are words in black ink added between the lines of the text and in the margins. Names and identifications of the illustrated characters are also written haphazardly on the drawing to explain the story. A partial page numbering system in Coptic letters was also recognized by Hunt.⁷

The added folios are written in heavy black ink with large characters and widely varying pages; i.e., one might contain 19 lines or be left half empty with only 7 lines. The illustrations are very large in size: occupying most of the page, leaving only 4 lines for the text. They are drawn on a large scale, obviously by an unskilled artist, and are also badly coloured.⁸ (The added folios are listed in Appendix 2.)

The last original folio is 137v., where the title of the chapter "The Lioness and the Jackal" is located at the bottom of the page and only one line of the new chapter is written. The following page, f. 138, continues the story but with different paper and script, decorated with red dots between sentences. The last four chapters are written on added folios and contain only one illustration per chapter.

The Text

The manuscript is composed of eighteen chapters, of which the last four were added later.

The chapters are:

- 1- The Preface by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi.
- 2- The Mission of Barzuya to India to procure a copy of the book.
- 3- The Subject Matter of the Book by 'Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa',
followed by the table of contents.
- 4- The Biography of Barzuya by Buzurjmihr b. al-Bakhtikan.
- 5- The Lion and the Bull.
- 6- The Trial of Dimna.
- 7- The Ring Dove.
- 8- The Owls and Crows.
- 9- The Monkey and the Tortoise.
- 10- The Ascetic and the Weasel.
- 11- The Mouse and the Cat.
- 12- The King and the Bird.
- 13- The Lion and the Jackal.
- 14- Iladh, Biladh, Irakht and the wise Kibariun.
- 15- The Lioness and the Jackal.
- 16- The Ascetic and his Guest.
- 17- The Traveller and the Goldsmith.
- 18- The King's Son and his Companions.

The stories of the book of Kalila wa Dimna are made up of three elements: Indian, Persian and Arabic. The Indian stories are collected from several sources. Chapters 5, 7, 8, 9 and 10, and chapters 17 and 18 of our manuscript correspond, respectively, to five chapters of the Panchatantra and to two stories in the first chapter of this same source⁹ Three additional

Panchatantra and to two stories in the first chapter of this same source⁹ Three additional chapters corresponding to our chapters 11, 12 and 13 are from the Mahabharata, the great national epic of India; and two portions, corresponding to our chapters 14 and 15, are of Buddhist origin.

The Persian element is the addition of Barzuya's biography, which corresponds to chapter 4 in our manuscript and is inserted before the beginning of the portion of the book brought from India.

Five chapters are of Arabic origin. The first is the preface written by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi, identified by Nöldeke¹⁰ as a descendant of Shah b. Mikal who died in 302 H, who also added an account of Barzuya's mission to India-- chapter 2 in our manuscript. Nöldeke also states that the preface did not gain general admission into Arabic manuscripts until later, since it was absent from some of the Arabic manuscripts and from all the off-shoots of the Arabic versions. It owes its existence to al-Farisi's wish to give some account of the history of the book, connecting King Dabshalim, known to his period only through the book of Kalila wa Dimna, and Porus, familiar as a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The third chapter of Arabic origin is the one added by Ibn al-Muqaffa' to introduce the subject matter of the book-- it corresponds to chapter 3 in our manuscript. This was originally the beginning of Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation. The fourth chapter is the "Trial of Dimna" - corresponding to chapter 6 in our manuscript - which first appears in Ibn al-Muqaffa's version, as it is absent from both the Panchatantra and the old Syriac version.¹¹ Chapter 16 of our manuscript, which is also absent in the old Syriac version, presents indications of its origin: it tells the story of the ascetic and his guest conversing and eating dates, f. 139v, while the guest tells the ascetic about his wish to learn Hebrew, f. 140.¹² Ibn al-Nadim stated in his book al-Fihrist, written in 377 H/987 A.D., that the book of Kalila wa Dimna had seventeen or eighteen

The text of our manuscript has been shown by several scholars, including Guidi, Nöldeke and Zotenberg, to be exceedingly defective.¹⁴ If we accept this statement, our manuscript, then, was praised more as an artistic than as a literary document.

The cultural and political milieu in the beginning of the 13th century:

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, the illustration of books had become part of the established taste of the Muslim Arab world. This taste developed from the revitalization of Greek learning and science that took place during the 9th century,¹⁵ together with the growth of literary interest of the urban bourgeoisie of the Muslim world.

Greek works had survived in the Christian Syriac-speaking world, in the centers of Edessa and Nisibis in Mesopotamia, spreading in the first half of the sixth century from Nisibis to Jundeshapur in southwest Persia. The Alexandrian school, which witnessed a short-lived revival at the beginning of the 7th century, was transferred to Antioch and from there, in the mid. 8th century, to Harran.¹⁶

The Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (813-833 A.D.) founded Bayt al-Hikma (the house of wisdom) in Baghdad, which became the center of Greek scholarship in the Islamic world of the ninth century, replacing the old centers. Original Greek manuscripts were collected from throughout the Islamic and Byzantine worlds and were translated by Christian Arab scholars into Syriac and later into Arabic. The philosopher and scientist, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (b. 809-10 A.D.),¹⁷ was responsible for the establishment of a school of translation, which included scientific and philosophical texts, providing the models for early Islamic scientific illustrations.¹⁸

The introduction of paper, which was brought to the Muslim world in the middle of the eighth century from China via Samarqand, and

which was later manufactured in Egypt, became the dominant manuscript ground, which contributed to the reduction in the price of books and led to the establishment of many bookshops. These were often frequented by members of the intellectual community and served as a meeting place for the literati.¹⁹ The importance of the position held by books led to the formation of private libraries in Iraq, Egypt and Spain.²⁰ These private libraries were over-shadowed by public ones, which appeared under the patronage of rulers in many Islamic cities. The libraries were staffed by copyists, attendants, workers and librarians, who were often scholars themselves.²¹

Two major changes took place during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries concerning objects of daily use. Figural representations in all media spread suddenly over a wide area that included Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia and Anatolia-- in contrast to the lack of figural representations in early Islamic works. The second phenomenon is the appearance of signed and dated pieces, which suggests an increase in the marketable value of an individual's work.²² The quality of these objects, many of which bear inscriptions with the names of merchants, suggests that they appeared as part of a rising urban art.²³

The twelfth century was marked by the destruction of the royal Fatimid library in Cairo,²⁴ which led to the dispersion of its inventory and the end of its manuscript production. This explains the discrepancy between Fatimid manuscript production, which has been impressively described, and the paucity of surviving visual material from the period.²⁵ A Fatimid vizier al-Yazuri, who held office in 1050-58, was quoted as expressing his enjoyment at perusing illustrated manuscripts. Excavations at Fustat have uncovered fragments of painted paper, most depicting scenes of combat or hunting, as well some landscapes, animals, birds and magical figures or dancers.²⁶ Representational arts have survived from Fatimid Egypt in

greater quantity in other media, including: ceramics, silks, ivories, woodwork and crystals.²⁷

Artistic and intellectual competitions which existed between Cairo and Baghdad and paralleled to the political rivalry between the two capitals, enriched each other, and increased the manuscript production of the period. Under the same vizier al-Yazuri, a painting competition took place between an artist from Cairo and another from Iraq.²⁸

Miniature painting flourished in the Muslim Arab world during the last quarter of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century as a result of the comparatively settled political situation. In Baghdad, the Abbasid Caliph Al-Nasir li'Din Allah, who ruled between 1180 and 1225 A.D., was himself an intellectual. During his long reign, Baghdad engaged in trade with other areas including Damietta in Egypt.²⁹ Although very few manuscripts can be assigned to Baghdad, evidence of a school of painting during the first quarter of the thirteenth century is not lacking. One manuscript, the Kitab al-Baytara dated 1209 A.D., was definitely made in Baghdad. The manuscript deals with the healing of sick horses, showing evidence of its Greek sources.³⁰ This manuscript was the basis for ascribing other manuscripts to Baghdad, according to similar stylistic characteristics. Among these manuscripts are the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, dated to 1224, formerly belonging to Dr. Martin, now in the Suleymaniye Library (Aya Sofya 3703); the "Schefer" Hariri manuscript (B.N. Arabe 5847); and, an Arabic Bestiary in the British Museum (Or. 2784).³¹

The paucity of surviving paintings from the Fatimid period continues into the Ayyubid era in Egypt. This is further emphasized by the relatively large number of Arabic manuscripts attributed to other areas, especially Northern Mesopotamia and Syria, which were also under Ayyubid rule. It has been argued that an organised workshop of Christian painters belonging to different communities, especially the Armenian and Syrian

Jacobites, was active during the first quarter of the thirteenth century in Egypt.³² The cooperation of artists from the different Christian communities organised into workshops, was inferred from the presence of inscriptions in Armenian and Syriac in addition to Coptic in programmes of painted decoration.³³ These artists introduced both Greek and Syrian influences to Coptic illustrations. To these workshops were ascribed the production of Gospel books which continued to appear under the tolerant Ayyubid rule, especially under the reign of al-Kamil (d. 1238).³⁴ The significance of this will be further investigated in later chapters.

Notes to chapter one

- 1- Omont, H., Mission Archéologique Françaises en Orient, V.2 p.771.
- 2- Correspondance with the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Manuscripts Department, Oriental Section, ref. DMO/MC/MGG-91-71 dated to the 6th of March, 1991.
- 3- Omont, H., Mission Archéologique Françaises en Orient, V. 2 p.777.
- 4- De Sacy, S., Calila et Dimna, p. 57.
- 5- Omont, H., Mission Archéologique Françaises en Orient, V.2 p. 883
- 6- Ibid., p. 947
- 7- Hunt, L.A., The Illustration of a Thirteenth-Century, p. 216.
- 8- Ibid., P. 201, n. 84. She attributes the added miniatures to the 16th century, as their style resembles the illustrations of another Bidpai manuscript in Paris, B.N. Arabe 3470, dated to the 16th C.
- 9- Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, introduction p. xvi.
- 10- Ibid., p. xx
- 11- Ibid., p. xxviii
- 12- Ibid., p. xxxiv
- 13- Ibn al-Nadim, Ishaq, al-Fihrist, p. 424
- 14- Keith-Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah, introduction p. xvii.
- 15- Hoffman, E.R., The Emergence of Illustration, p. 98
- 16- Ibid., p. 99
- 17- Ibid., p. 100
- 18- Ibid., p. 103
- 19- Ibid., p. 102
- 20- Ibid., p. 103
- 21- Ibid., p. 105
- 22- Grabar, O., "The Illustrated Maqamat", p. 218
- 23- Ibid., p.219

- 24- Hunt, L.A., The Illustrations of a Thirteenth Century, p. 185
- 25- Maqrizi, Khitat, Part 2, p. 318. Al-Maqrizi stated that he had written about the "Classes of Painters" in his book Daw' al-Nibras wa-Uns al-Jullas fi Akhbar al-Muzawwikin min'al-Nas which is now lost.
- 26- For an example of Fatimid drawing, see Rice "A Drawing of the Fatimid Period".
- 27- Hunt, L.A., The Illustrations of a Thirteenth Century, p. 186
- 28- Ibid., p. 187
- 29- Al-Suyuti, J., History of the Caliphs, p. 742
- 30- Wietzmann, K., "The Greek Sources", p. 264
- 31- Buchthal, H., "Early Islamic Miniatures", p. 20, 31, 34.
- 32- Hunt, L.A., "Christian-Muslim Relations", p. 141
- 33- Ibid., p. 115
- 34- Ibid., p. 112

CHAPTER TWO: *The Cycle of Miniatures*

In order to discuss the cycle of the miniatures, a brief account of the stories translated directly from the manuscript¹ will precede the description and discussions of the illustrated scenes.

1-The Preface by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi :

The manuscript starts with a preface written by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi (the Persian), giving an account of the origin of the book. The first three folios of this preface have been substituted by three unoriginal folios.

The preface tells how Alexander the great, after having defeated Fur (Porus) king of India,² appointed one of his officers to succeed that king. The people of India replaced the new ruler by one of the descendants of their own ancient kings, named Dabshalim.

Dabshalim soon proved to be a very cruel man. A Brahmin philosopher named Bidpai determined to turn him to paths of the just. Bidpai told his students that although he was a single man, he could convince the king of the need for reform, just like the bird defeated the elephant who used to step over her eggs. She asked the crows to blind his eyes, and then asked the frogs to make a noise near a deep well, so the elephant fell in it, thinking it a river and died. Bidpai remonstrated with the king; however, the king had Bidpai imprisoned.

One night the king was unable to sleep, and stayed awake thinking about the system of the universe, and thereby was reminded of Bidpai. He sent for him, freed him, and made him his minister. Dabshalim, by following the rules of conduct laid down for him by Bidpai, became adored by his subjects and received the homage of neighboring princes. Then the king, following the tradition of his ancestors of commissioning a particular book that marked their reign, commissioned Bidpai to compose a book containing useful lessons to guide rulers and help them obtain the loyalty of their people.

Bidpai went into seclusion for the year it took him to write the book, which was composed of fourteen chapters, each of which contained a question and its answer. He entitled the book Kalila and Dimna and presented it to the king. Bidpai declined the gifts offered by the king in return for his work, and asked that his work be carefully preserved and guarded, so that it would not be stolen by the Persians.

The preface concludes by mentioning briefly that Kisra Anushirwan, king of Persia, heard of the book, and obtained a copy through his physician Barzuya, and deposited it in his treasury.

The illustrations:

- 1- Alexander the Great consults two fortune tellers before fighting the Indian king (not original).
- 2- The battle between Alexander, with his horses and soldiers made of copper and filled with fire, against the elephants of the Indian king. The horses of fire are stepping over the Indian soldiers who have fallen off their elephants (not original), (Pl. 2).
- 3- The elephant attacked by two birds who blind his eyes (Pl. 3).

4- Bidpai remonstrating with Dabshalim in front of three courtiers (pl.4).

5- Bidpai chained in prison, a guard stands outside (Pl. 5).

6- Bidpai in chains brought by one guard before Dabshalim (Pl. 6).

7- Bidpai advises the king (Pl. 7).

8- Dabshalim seated on a high chair, asks Bidpai to write a book (Pl.8).

9- Bidpai bowing before Dabshalim (Pl. 9).

Although the first two illustrations are not original, it is not unlikely that their subjects were included in the original cycle, which covers all the moments of the preface.

Only one of the miniatures is an outdoor scene, with a stiff elephant which hardly captures the drama of the moment. The rest of the illustrations are court scenes, three of them combining the outdoor and indoor scene in which Bidpai converses with Dabshalim, who is seated under a baldachin. The last three court scenes (Pls. 7, 8, 9) could have been combined in one illustration, but it seems that the artist followed an earlier sequence of illustrations. This also happens in the next chapter, as we shall see.

In the illustration showing Bidpai in prison, he is awkwardly filling all the space of the arched doorway. It is a combination of exterior and interior which occurs occasionally, showing the external shape of the prison, a stone building with three small domes, and the interior with Bidpai seated with chains on his feet.

2-The mission of Barzuya to India:

When Kisra Anushirwan, the king of Persia, heard of the book that contained every kind of wisdom, he asked his minister Buzurjmihr to find a man who had mastered both Persian and Indian and had literary ability. The minister selected the physician Barzuya, whom the king asked to go to India to procure the book.

In India, Barzuya met with great difficulties. Finally he made friends with several scientists and philosophers, and through the assistance of one of them, he was able to obtain the book, together with other works of great value. Barzuya worked hard and translated the book into Persian. After he had finished, he returned to Persia and delivered the book to Kisra, who ordered it to be read aloud before a large assembly. Kisra offered Barzuya gifts, but he declined them all except for a robe. Barzuya asked the king to order his minister Buzurjmihr, to write a short account of his (Barzuya) life, to be placed before the chapter of "the Lion and the Bull". Buzurjmihr wrote the biography of Barzuya, describing in it the good qualities which the physician possessed, his knowledge of medicine, and his mission in India. The king ordered that the biography be read aloud to an assembly of courtiers.

The illustrations:

1- Barzuya before Anushirwan. (Pl. 10)

2- Barzuya bowing before Anushirwan, with an attendant. The spandrels of the cusped arch contain two griffins (Pl. 11).

3- Barzuya before Anushirwan and one attendant (not original).

4- Barzuya seated on a chair in front of Anushirwan, with an attendant to the side (Pl. 12).

5- Buzurjmihr at the court of Anushirwan (not original).

In this chapter, only scenes showing Barzuya talking to the king are illustrated. The drawing of Barzuya is similar to that of Bidpai in the court scene of the previous chapter, indicating that the artist had a stereotype for the wise ascetic (Cf. Pls. 7,8 and 11,12). Anushirwan is also very similar to Dabshalim. They are depicted seated on the same throne, and they have the same flesh color. This is curious since the Indian king was always illustrated darker than Anushirwan in other manuscripts, but in this case both Dabshalim and Anushirwan are darker than the Indian Bidpai, and the Persian Barzuya. The attendants are consistently drawn smaller in size, probably indicating their lesser importance.

3-The subject matter of the book translated by 'Abdallah

b. al-Muqaffa':

'Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa' introduces the book, describing its merits, including several parenthetical stories to explain his points.

How to read the book and to profit from the knowledge it offers is illustrated by the story of a man who discovered a treasure and hired others to carry it, who, in fact walked off with his treasure leaving nothing for the man. Another story is of the scholar who asked for

knowledge and memorized phrases without understanding them. A third story on the same point, was of the man who saw the thief in his house, pretending to be sleeping, finally really fell asleep.

Another point al-Muqaffa' made, is that man should accept what God offers him in a circumstance, instead of what man expects from a given circumstance. This was demonstrated in the story of the poor, naked, hungry man who had nothing to be stolen, and saw a thief in his house. The thief saw a bag of wheat and decided to steal it. He took off his shirt to use it to carry the wheat. The poor man saw him and drove him away with a stick. The thief left without the wheat, and the poor man gained the shirt.

A third point was that a man must not seek benefit for himself by weakening his friend, as in the story of the merchant who stole his own goods, thinking that they belonged to his partner. When he decided to steal them, he laid his shirt on the goods to mark them. The partner arrived after him and saw the shirt on his goods, he then put it back on his friend's goods, thinking that his partner had forgotten it. The merchant returned by night with a man to help him carry off the goods, and found his shirt in the dark and stole his own goods. The virtuous partner discovered his partner's intentions, and told him that whenever any man injures another, it will always turn back on him. Then he told the story of the rich merchant who had two jars, one filled with wheat and the other with gold. A thief followed him to his house, intending to steal the gold. The thief arrived very tired at his home only to discover that he had stolen the jar of wheat instead.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' states that the reader of this book must stop at every example and reflect on it. This is shown in the story of the three brothers who inherited a lot of money. The two older brothers spent the money at once, while the youngest brother watched them. He

decided not to spend the money without reason, and to share it with his brothers.

Another story making the same point is of the fisherman who saw an oyster in the water. He cast his net and caught a fish instead. He became angry and threw it back in the water in order to try again to catch the oyster, although the fish could have been eaten that day. He rethrew his net and collected the oyster, but it did not contain a pearl. The next day he came back and cast his net and caught a fish. Although he saw an oyster, he did not try to take it. Later, other fishermen came by and took this oyster and found a pearl in it.

Ibn al-Muqaffa' concluded his introduction by summarizing the four objectives of the book: the first, the reason for employing birds and animals in the stories, was to render the book attractive to young readers. The second, achieved by including illustrations of animals with different colors, was to capture the attention of kings. The third objective was to provide entertainment to all people so that it would be widely copied and preserved through the ages. The fourth was to provide a book for philosophers to discuss.

The last line of the introduction reads: "The chapter of the subject matter of the book has ended, and a translation of the chapters of the book follows".

The illustrations:

- 1- The man sleeping while the thief steals a bag (Pl. 13).
- 2- The poor, naked, hungry man drives the thief out of his house with a stick (Pl. 14).

- 3- The merchant watching his companion carrying the goods out of the store (Pl. 15).
- 4- The thief carrying the jar of wheat, leaving behind the jar of gold while the merchant sleeps.
- 5- The three brothers seated under three trees.
- 6- The fisherman catching a fish in a stream (Pl. 16).
- 7- The frontispiece which is located after the end of the introduction and before the table of contents. It is a full-page illustration of a seated ruler flanked by two attendants holding feather-fans. Unusually, the background of the illustration is colored red. The illustration is framed with a band containing golden palmette scrolls on a dark blue background (Pl. 17).

The artist was clearly selective in his choice of the stories to be illustrated. He did not illustrate all the main stories, even choosing a sub-story to be illustrated (n. 4). But he did illustrate the focal point of each story.

The position of the frontispiece is curious. Normally it would have been at the beginning of the book, before all other illustrations. In this case, although the beginning of the original book is missing, the frontispiece could have been placed after the second chapter and before the original book presented by Ibn al-Muqaffa'. In its current position, it stands awkwardly between the previous sentence stating "the translation of the chapters will follow" and the table of contents. The background of the frontispiece is colored red which is not used in any

other illustration of this manuscript. It is obvious that it has been repainted, as it covers a part of the throne that seemed to be originally colored gold, and has also been used to repaint the faces.

The table of contents:

This occupies two pages, folios 34v and 35, each of which has the title of nine chapters, those on the top and the bottom of each page being written in blue ink on a golden background. Each chapter is framed in an oblong cartouche. On the margin, part of an interlaced arabesque medallion, which has been cut down, is visible (Pl. 18).

The chapter titles are as follows:

- 1- Chapter one, The Introduction of The Book by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi.
- 2- Chapter two, The Mission of Barzuya to India to copy The Book of Kalila wa Dimna.
- 3- Chapter three, The Subject Matter of The Book, translated by 'Abdallah b. al-Muqaffa'.
- 4- Chapter four, The Physician Barzuya, translated by Buzurjmihr b. al-Bakhtikan.
- 5- Chapter five, The Lion and The Bull, which is the chapter of the two lovers who are separated by the liar.
- 6- Chapter six, Dimna's Trial, and the excuses he presents.
- 7- Chapter seven, The Ringdove, which is similar to the sincere brethren.
- 8- Chapter eight, The Owls and The Crows, which is like the enemy who is not considered.
- 9- Chapter nine, The Monkey and The Tortoise....[severely damaged]

- 10- Chapter ten, The Ascetic and The Weasel....[damaged].
- 11- Chapter eleven, The Mouse and The Cat, like the man who has many enemies.
- 12- Chapter twelve, The King and The Bird, like the people who are not to be trusted.
- 13- Chapter thirteen, The Lion and The Jackal, like the king who reconciled whom he had miss-treated.
- 14- Chapter fourteen, Iladh, Biladh, Irakht and The Wise Kibariun.
- 15- Chapter fifteen, The Lioness and The Horseman, like who stops to hurt someone after he had been already hurt.
- 16- Chapter sixteen, The Ascetic and his Guest, like the man who leaves his work and asks for another.
- 17- Chapter seventeen, The Traveler and The Goldsmith, like the one who does good action to whoever does not deserve it.
- 18- Chapter eighteen, The King's Son and his Companions.....[severely damaged].

4-The biography of Barzuya the physician, translated by Buzurjmihir b. al-Bakhtikan :

Barzuya, the chief Persian physician, who copied and translated the Indian text, was a man of good birth and education. After acquiring extensive knowledge of medicine, he paused and considered whether he wanted to treat the sick without recompense or to acquire worldly gains; he chose the former. He thought that the human body was full of diseases and unclean parts, and that it was similar to an idol made of several parts joined with one screw. If the screw was taken away, the parts would fall down. So it was impossible to cure a person completely.

He then decided to leave his profession and to search for a religious life. He met with difficulty in choosing the right religion, so he decided to devote himself to asceticism. Later he went to India, and returned after copying several Indian books, in particular the book of Kalila wa Dimna.

Many stories are introduced to explain his thoughts. One of the examples showing his inability to believe in anything, is in the story of the thieves who wanted to rob the house of a merchant. While they were on the roof they overheard the merchant - who was aware of them - talking to his wife about how he collected his fortune. He told her that he spoke magic words that allowed him to enter houses from the skylight, climbing down on the light rays, stealing from the house and returning the same way. The thieves, believing him, tried to do the same, but fell in the room and were beaten by the merchant.

Another example concerns his fear of self deception, as shown by the story of the lover of the married woman. She asked him to leave immediately, going through a tunnel that would lead him outside to a well, because she heard her husband arriving. The lover, returning to tell her that after the tunnel he did not find a well, was then caught by her husband, who beat him.

Another story tells of a workman who was hired by a merchant. While leading him inside, the merchant saw a pair of cymbals and asked the workman to play. The workman spent all the time playing for the merchant and did not accomplish any work. At the end of the day, the workman asked the merchant for his pay, but the merchant did not want to give him any money because he did not do any work. The workman replied that he had done as he was told, and received one hundred dinars from the merchant whose work remained undone.

Barzuya feared being unable to continue in an ascetic life because he would be denying himself all the benefits that he would gain

by his work. This is like a dog with a bone in his mouth, who, while passing by a stream saw his reflection in the water, and jumped in, losing his bone.

Barzuya described the weakness of mankind and allegorized it in the story of the man who fell into a deep well while running away from a rabid elephant. In the well he stepped on four snakes, and in the bottom of the well there was a dragon opening his mouth, ready to devour him. The man held two branches that were at the well's opening, but he noticed two rats, one white and one black, eating the roots of the branches. While he was thinking of his trouble he saw honey coming out of a beehive above, and started to eat it. The honey took his mind away from thinking about rescuing himself from the well, the symbol of the world full of misery and diseases. The snakes were like the four components of the body, which when aroused became poisonous. The rats were like the day and the night, continuing to lead man to his fate, and the dragon like death, which is waiting for him, and the honey like the few sweet moments that he enjoys.

The illustrations:

- 1- The idol wearing a mask (Pl. 19).
- 2- Two thieves on top of the roof, while the owner of the house beats the third who fell from the skylight (Pl. 20).
- 3- The husband beating the lover of his wife, who is watching behind a curtain.
- 4- The merchant listening to the music played by the worker.

5- The dog holding the bone in his mouth and his reflection in the water.

6- The man who fled from a rabid elephant and fell into the well (Pl. 21).

This chapter contains many details of Barzuya's life as well as a detailed anatomical description that suggests that the physician himself wrote the biography and that the minister Buzurjmihr only arranged it. This is the view favoured by Keith-Falconer,³ who also states that the section on asceticism could be connected with Buddhism, since his trip to India could have familiarized him with it.

A focal moment is chosen from each sub-story to be illustrated, except in illustration n.1. In it an idol or doll is shown wearing a mask, with a body composed of separate parts, standing stiffly on a rectangle outside a tripartite architectural background, an unusually static treatment. The illustrator was able to give a feeling of a third dimension by posing the idol on a rectangle in front of the groundline of the architectural composition.

5-The chapter of the lion and the bull, which is the beginning of the book:

Each chapter of the book forms a story pointing out a moral or a rule of conduct, told by Bidpai to the king Dabshalim upon his request. Each story contains several sub-stories and a number of proverbs and examples.

This chapter is the beginning of the original Kalila wa Dimna book, as supposedly copied by Barzuya. It is the longest and the most

heavily illustrated section of the book. It tells a story of how treachery can lead two friends to lose each other, as follows: An old merchant had three sons, who wasted his money and earned nothing. The merchant admonished them, and the eldest son took his father's advice and went off on a trading expedition. He had with him a wagon drawn by two bulls. On his way, in a land full of mud, the bull named Shatrabah⁴ fell in the mud, and was left behind in the care of an attendant, who became annoyed with the place, and set the bull free. The attendant then followed his master and informed him that the bull had died; his time had come. There was no use, the attendant said, in running away from it, and he likened this to the fate of the man who went to a land knowing it was full of wild animals. When he arrived there, he was attacked by a wolf, but he escaped, and headed towards a village on the opposite side of a river. At the river he found no bridges, and saw the wolf approaching, so he threw himself in the water without knowing how to swim. He was saved from drowning by some villagers, and then went towards an isolated house to rest, where he saw robbers dividing the wealth they had stolen from a merchant and preparing to kill him. The man, fearing the robbers, returned to the village and sat down, leaning his back against a wall. The wall fell on him and he died.

In the meantime, Shatrabah left the place, and found a land full of grass and water where he recovered his strength. Feeling secure, he became fat and bellowed. A lion who lived in the neighboring land, and who was the king of the beasts - tigers, wolves, jackals and foxes - heard the bull bellowing and was frightened because he had never before heard a bull. Kalila and Dimna, two jackals who were courtiers at the king's court, aspired to endear themselves to the king. When Dimna noticed the lion's state, he told Kalila about it. Kalila warned Dimna that interfering would make him like the monkey in:

1-The story of the monkey and the carpenter:

One day a monkey was watching a carpenter on a piece of wood, splitting it with two wedges. When the carpenter left his work, the monkey went and sat on the wood, with his back to the split and his face to the wedges. As he played with the wedge, his testicles were caught in the split. He fainted from pain, and remained in this position until the carpenter came back and beat him.

Dimna was ambitious, and aspired to a higher rank in the court. He did not listen to Kalila's advice and decided to offer his services to the lion. Kalila again warned him against approaching sovereigns, but Dimna had decided and went before the lion's presence. After making a favorable impression with his speech, Dimna asked the lion why lately he was feeling uneasy. The lion did not want him to know, so he told him that he was not afraid, but while talking, the bull roared and the lion trembled. Dimna told him that he should not fear noise and told him the story of the fox and the drum.

2-The story of the fox and the drum :

A hungry fox arrived in a forest where a drum was suspended from a tree. Each time the wind blew it moved the branches of the tree so that they hit the drum and made a loud noise. The fox heard the noise and went towards it. When he reached the drum and saw how big it was, he thought it was full of meat and fat. He tried to get into it until it burst, revealing how it was hollow. He realized how the

things that are the least important can be biggest in size and loudest in sound.

Dimna then told the lion that he would go and discover the source of the noise. The lion regretted that he had told Dimna his secret. Dimna returned to the lion and told him that the noise from bull that was big but had no power. Dimna went back to bring the bull telling him that the lion had asked for him, saying that he would forgive his not calling upon him as soon as he arrived, if he would follow Dimna to court at once. The bull agreed to do so if Dimna would assure him that no harm would come to him. When Dimna arrived, he introduced the bull and the lion. The lion treated the bull kindly, asked about his story, and invited him to stay. They soon became good friends.

Dimna became jealous of this friendship when he found that his influence with the lion was replaced by that of the bull. When he told his brother Kalila about what had happened, Kalila replied that nobody had harmed him except himself, and that what he went through was similar to what happened to the ascetic.

3-The story of the ascetic and the thief:

On day an ascetic received a suit of clothes from several kings. A thief coveted them, so he went to the ascetic and asked to teach him some of his knowledge. The thief went with the ascetic, following his way of life and serving him. The thief then stole the clothes and ran away with them. When the ascetic found both the man and the clothes missing, he knew it was his companion who had stolen them. So he went looking for him in the city. On his way to the city, he saw two goats that had been fighting each other for so long that they were bleeding. A fox

approached them to lap up some of the blood; however when the goats next butted each other, the fox was killed between their horns.

The ascetic continued on his way until he reached the city. He did not find a place to stay except at a brothel.

a- The story of the brothel keeper and her slavegirl :

The brothel keeper had a slavegirl whom she used to hire. The slavegirl fell in love and thus did not want to have any other man. This reduced the woman's earnings so she decided to kill the girl's lover. She gave the lover drinks, until he lost his senses and slept with the girl beside him. She then took the poison she had prepared and put it in a hollow reed so she could blow it into the lover's anus. Before she could blow it, air passed out of his bottom, and the poison flew into the woman's throat and killed her.

The ascetic after witnessing this, set off to search for another house to stay. He found a house that belonged to a shoemaker.

b- The story of the shoemaker's wife:

The shoemaker's wife had a lover. One day, she waited until her husband went out and then sent for the barber's wife, who served as a messenger between her and her lover, asking her to inform her lover that her husband had gone to drink with some friends. The lover came and stayed at the door, waiting until the shoemaker returned home drunk. He saw the lover and became suspicious; so, he seized his wife, beat her, tied her up and went to sleep. The barber's wife came to her and told her that her lover had been waiting a long time. The shoemaker's wife ordered her to stay in her place until she met her lover. The shoemaker was awake before his wife returned and called her several times by her name, but the barber's wife did not answer because she feared that he would notice that her voice was different. He became

very angry, cut off her nose and told her to keep it to show it to her lover. The shoemaker's wife returned and saw what her husband had done to the barber's wife. She untied her and tied herself up instead. She then raised her voice calling upon God to restore her nose if she was innocent. Her husband got up and found her nose whole, and apologized to her. In the meantime, the barber's wife went to her house in a desperate condition, thinking how to find an excuse for her missing nose. As soon as she arrived her husband asked her to bring him his kit, but she kept on bringing him the razor only. The barber got angry and threw the razor at her in the dark. The woman threw herself on the ground and cried out "My nose, my nose". Her family came and took them both to the judge, who ordered the barber to be punished. While they were discussing the matter, the ascetic, who witnessed everything, came and told the judge the real story.

Kalila then asked Dimna what he intended to do. Dimna replied that he would try to regain his position by using his cunning, telling him the story of the crow and the snake as an example.

4-The story of the crow and the snake :

A crow had his nest in a tree on a mountain close to a snake's home. Each time the crow brooded, the snake went to her nest and ate her chicks. The crow complained to her friend the jackal telling him that she planned to go to the snake and blind his eyes. The jackal advised her to choose another way to exact revenge on the snake without hurting herself, and told her that she was acting like the heron who wanted to kill the crab, but got killed himself instead.

a-The story of the heron and the crab:

A heron was living beside a river full of fish. One day the water dried and the fish became scarce. The heron became weak and hungry and sat thinking about his problem. A crab approached him and asked him why he sat in this sorrowful state. The heron replied that he was living very well until he saw two fishermen determined to catch all the fish in this river. The crab believed him and told the other fish about his story, so they all came and asked the heron for his advice. The heron suggested that they move to another stream for their own safety. The fish asked the heron to move them every day; so, the heron carried a pair of fish to a hill and ate them without telling anyone. One day the crab asked the heron to carry him also, so he carried him to one of the places where he used to eat the fish. The crab looked down, saw the fishbones, and understood what was going on, realizing that it was his turn. Thus, the crab squeezed the heron's neck with his pincers until he fell to the ground. The crab was able to return back to the river and told the other fish what had happened.

The jackal told the crow that he would show her the way to get revenge on the snake without hurting herself. He advised her to steal the jewelry of a lady and to throw it beside the snake's hole, so that the owner would follow her to the snake and kill it. The crow flew until she saw a lady washing herself with her clothes and jewelry beside her. She snatched a necklace and flew off until the people saw her and followed her to the snake's hole. The people killed the snake and took the necklace.

Kalila told Dimna that it would be very difficult to get rid of the bull because he was not only powerful but also intelligent. Dimna told him that as the bull was indebted to him, the bull would believe him, and thus he would be able to defeat the bull as the hare defeated the lion.

5-The story of the lion and the hare:

A lion lived in a grassy and well-watered forest inhabited by many kinds of animals, who feared him and were not able to enjoy their life. The animals consulted each other and agreed to send the lion one animal for breakfast every day in return for their safety. One day it was the turn of a hare. She asked the animals to help her to get rid of the lion. The hare delayed her arrival to the lion. The lion became very angry and asked her where she came from and where was the animal. The hare replied that while she was coming on her way, carrying a rabbit for his meal, another lion stopped her and took the rabbit away. The lion asked her to show him the place of the other lion, so the hare took him to a well with clear water. The lion looked into the well, saw his reflection in the water, believed the story, and jumped in the well and drowned.

Kalila told Dimna that if he would be able to destroy the bull without hurting the lion, since the bull hurt them and other animals too, it would be fair; but, if he would hurt the lion, it would be a treason on their part. Dimna stopped going to the lion for a while, and when he finally went, the lion asked him about his absence. Dimna replied that he had heard very bad news and that the lion would not like to hear it.

Dimna announced to the lion that the bull had treasonable designs against the lion and advised him to eliminate the bull without delay, giving him the example of the clever, the less clever and the weak man. The clever had good foresight to prevent things from happening, the less clever man's heart would not be upset when a misfortune reached him and would find a way out. While the weak was always too late, as in the story of the three fish.

6- The story of the three fish:

There were three fish in a stream. One day two fishermen saw the stream and decided to catch the fish. One fish was very clever. She quickly left the stream through an outlet. The other fish was not very clever and did not do anything until after the two fishermen had returned and blocked the exit. Therefore, she played dead floating on the water. The fishermen caught her, thought she was dead, and put her near where the river poured into the stream, from where she flipped into the river and slipped away. The third fish was weak, and swam in the stream until she was caught.

At first the lion refused to believe what Dimna had told him, but Dimna was able to convince him, and suggested that he attack the bull before the bull killed him, adding that the lion must be on his guard against his guest as in the story of the louse who was killed when she hosted the flea.

7- The story of the louse and the flea:

One day a louse was living in a rich man's bed. She lived on his blood while he was sleeping. She invited a flea to stay with her one night. When the man went to sleep, the flea bit him so hard that he awoke him. The man ordered the bed to be searched, caught the louse, and crushed it while the flea jumped out and escaped.

The lion wanted to meet the bull to ask him about his treason, but Dimna told the lion that if he did so he would alarm the bull, and would prepare him for the fight. Instead, he asked the lion to notice that the bull's color had changed, his limbs trembled, and his horns were ready for battle. When Dimna had finished with the lion, Dimna asked

the lion if he would watch the bull, and the lion agreed. Dimna went at once to the bull, informing him that the lion intended to kill him and eat his flesh. The bull believed what Dimna had said, and told him that he thought that the lion was advised by evil people who were deceiving him, but, unfortunately, the lion believed them, as in the story of the duck.

8- The story of the duck and the star:

A duck once saw the glimmer of a star in the water and thought it was a fish. She tried several times to catch it and failed, finally realizing that it was not a fish. Another day, she saw a fish shining in the water but thought it was a star, and did not try to catch it.

The bull told Dimna that the lion had heard a lie about him and had believed it, but he did not want to harm the lion. Dimna then told the bull that what the lion intended to do had no reason other than his own treacherous character. The bull was convinced that if the lion's companions wanted to kill him, he couldn't do any thing about it, for how would he be able to defeat their unjust treachery even if he was stronger ?, just as the wolf, the crow and the jackal had been able to kill the innocent camel.

9-The story of the innocent camel:

A lion lived in a forest near a road where men regularly passed. One day a group of people and their camels passed by the road. Being left behind, one camel went into the forest where the lion lived together with his three companions: a wolf, a jackal and a crow. The camel met the lion who invited him to stay in his land. One day, when

the lion went to hunt, he attacked an elephant. The lion was so badly injured that he had to rest for several days. He thus stopped hunting and his companions had nothing to eat during that time. The wolf, jackal and crow were not used to hunting so they consulted each other and decided that the best solution was to kill the camel, a grass eater. The crow went to the lion and suggested that he kill the camel, but the lion was angered by this suggestion and refused. The crow went to his companions and told them that the lion had agreed, planning to trick the camel. One day, when they were all before the wounded lion, they talked about his state, and each one of them offered himself to be eaten; but, the others refused saying the crow was too small and the jackal's meat was dirty and the wolf's meat was undigestible. When the camel offered himself, he thought that his friends would save him as they had saved themselves; but, as soon as he did, they killed him agreeing that his flesh was the best for the lion.

Shatrabah then told Dimna that he could find no way but to fight the lion in self-defence, but Dimna did not agree, telling him that one should not risk his life when he could do something else, as exemplified by the sea bird who was able to defeat her enemy.

10- The story of the bird and her enemy the old man of the sea:

A bird used to live on the shore of the sea together with his wife. When the time came for the wife to lay her eggs, she asked her husband to find her another place to lay her eggs, because when the sea rose it would carry her chicks away. But, her husband insisted that the sea would not do so and although fearing his revenge, insisted that they had nothing to fear from the old man of the sea. She kept on asking him,

telling him that if he would not listen to her, he would be acting like the tortoise who did not listen to the advice of the two ducks.

a- The tortoise and the two ducks:

Two ducks were living in a stream together with a friendly tortoise. When the water of the stream decreased, the two ducks decided to leave. The tortoise asked them to take her along with them. They found a stick and asked her to bite it at the middle while they held it by the two ends. Before flying, they asked the tortoise not to answer the people if they called upon her. While they were flying they passed by people who commented on the scene and when the tortoise opened her mouth to answer, she fell and died.

The husband did not listen to her advice and the old man of the sea came and carried away their chicks. The husband promised his wife revenge. He went to his companions and asked them to help him against his enemy. He suggested that they inform all the birds about his story and asked their help, but his companions advised him that it would be better to go directly to the queen of the birds who was a griffin and asked her for help. When the old man of the sea learned this, he feared to fight with the queen of the birds and returned the chicks.

Dimna told the bull to watch the lion's state, if he found him upset, his head down, his ears engaged and his mouth open, he would know that the lion intended to kill him. When the bull met the lion he was terrified as he noticed all the signs Dimna mentioned to him. The engaged in a long battle. Kalila then warned Dimna that if his treason was discovered he would be severely punished. He added that the true wisdom would have been in advising against fighting when there was another way to solve the problem. Kalila then told Dimna the story of the bird and the apes.

11- The story of the bird, the apes and the man:

A mountain was inhabited by some apes. One cold night as they searched for fire, they saw a firefly and thought it was a fire. They collected some wood, threw it on the fly, and began blowing on it. A bird was watching from a nearby tree and tried to tell them that what they saw was not a fire, but they refused to listen to him. In the mean time, a man was passing by and saw the bird trying to convince the apes. He told him that it was a waste of energy to bother with what cannot be straightened out. The bird refused to listen to the man and when he went down to the apes to convince them that the firefly was not fire, they killed him.

Kalila told Dimna that cunning and bad habits corrupted him and that cunning was the worst because of its consequences. This situation is similar to the story of the rogue and the fool.

12- The rogue and the fool:

A rogue and a fool were partners in commerce. While they were travelling, the fool stopped for a while and found a purse containing a thousand dinars. The rogue noticed this. So when they returned home, they sat down to divide the money. The rogue wanted to take all the money, so he suggested that each one of them would take some money and that they would bury the rest under a tree. Later the rogue returned and took the rest of the money. A few months later, the fool wanted some money so he asked the rogue to go with him to the tree. When they arrived there, the fool dug at the place where they had

hidden the money but found nothing. He started shouting and screaming and accused the rogue of stealing the money. The rogue denied it, but the fool kept on accusing him, so they went to the judge. The rogue told the judge that the tree witnessed the fool stealing the money. When the judge heard this, he ordered that they all go to the tree to find out. When they arrived there, the judge asked the tree about the money. Meanwhile the father of the rogue had hidden in the tree in order to act as the voice of the tree. When asked, he replied that the fool had stolen the money. The judge then ordered the tree to be burnt. As soon as it started to burn, the father of the rogue came out crying and confessed the whole story to the judge, who ordered the rogue and his father to return the money and to be beaten.

Kalila told Dimna that he would avoid him since he had harmed the king who had honored him, and that his attitude was similar to that of the merchant who said that if there were a land where mice could eat iron, it would not be strange if, there, hawks could carry elephants.

13- The Story of the mice who ate iron:

One day, there was a merchant who owned one hundred pieces of iron. When he had to travel for some business, he left his iron in the care of a man he knew. When he returned, asking for his iron, the man replied that it was eaten by the mice. The merchant understood that the man had sold the iron and spent the money. He abducted the man's son and hid him. The man looked for his boy and asked the merchant about him. The merchant replied that he saw a hawk carrying him away. The man asked the onlookers if they had ever seen a hawk kidnapping children. The merchant replied that in a country where the

mice eat iron, it would not be astonishing that the hawks could carry elephants. The man then told the merchant that he had taken his iron, he then returned the money and asked that his son be returned.

When Kalila ended his speech, he went with Dimna to the scene of the fight, where finally the lion was able to kill the bull.

The illustrations:

- 1- The man abandons the bull in the muddy land.
- 2- The wolf chases the man who was running from his fate.
- 3- The carpenter on the plank uses his saw, helped by another man, while a third hits the monkey with a stick (Pl. 23).
- 4- Kalila and Dimna converses (Pl. 24).
- 5- Dimna talks to the lion (Pl. 25).
- 6- The fox bites the drum suspended on a tree (Pl. 26).
- 7- Dimna talking to the lion (Pl. 27).
- 8- Dimna presents the bull to the lion (Pl. 28).
- 9- Two goats crush a fox between their horns (Pl. 29).
- 10- The ascetic, the barber, his wife and her family before the seated judge (Pl. 30).

- 11- The jackal talks to the crow (Pl. 31).
- 12- The crab kills the heron with his claws, while they were flying away from the stream (Pl. 32).
- 13- The lion jumps in the deep well, watched by the hare (Pl. 33).
- 14- Two fishermen catching the fish in their net (Pl. 34).
- 15- Dimna talking to the bull.
- 16- The lion, jackal, crow and wolf attacking the camel (Pl. 35).
- 17- The two ducks flying with the tortoise, while three people watch (Pl. 36).
- 18- The judge on his donkey, burning the tree where the rogue's father is hiding, while the rogue and the fool are watching (Pl. 37).
- 19- The merchant conversing with a man.
- 20- The lion attacking the bull, while Dimna watches (Pl. 38).

The title of the first chapter of the book is written in gold on a foliate background within a rectangle; attached to it is an arabesque medallion (Pl. 22). This is also the case for the following chapters which contrast with the earlier four chapters which were written in bold characters without a frame, indicating the emphasis of the scribe and illustrator on the original book.

Story no. 3 (Pl. 23) was illustrated in a very particular way. Two moments are illustrated in the scene: the carpenter working while being helped by an assistant, and a man (who could be the carpenter, although he has a different face and dress) beating the monkey with a stick. The painter wanted to combine all the moments of the story in one scene, although the story did not include an assistant. The painter could either have been interpreting the story in his own way or could also have copied a model that belonged to an earlier tradition where more than one moment of the story was illustrated.

Illustration no. 4 (Pl. 24) shows the two jackals conversing in a very symmetrical manner. A tree, drawn in a very stylistic way, divides the scene and a jackal is placed on each side. Two more naturalistic trees are illustrated on each side of the scene. One of the trees may be a pomegranate. The same setting appears in nos. 7 and 9 (Pls. 27 and 29) but the central tree is replaced in the latter by the wolf who is caught between the two goats. It also appears in no. 15 in which Dimna is talking to the bull, although this bull is more striking because of his size and red color. Illustration no. 5 (Pl. 25) is similar but no central tree appears, rather a larger tree is drawn on Dimna's side to balance the size of the lion who is drawn before a smaller tree. These static compositions contrast with the artist's choice of the most dramatic moments of the stories. They may be evidence of the existence of an earlier model.

In story no. 10 (Pl. 30) the artist illustrated the ascetic wearing a robe with a pointed head-cover similar to that of Christian monks. This is repeated whenever an ascetic appears in a story, which also suggests that he was copying from an earlier model.

However a sense of drama is reflected in some of the compositions, e.g. no. 13 (Pl. 33) where the lion is jumping in the well;

and no. 16 (Pl. 35), which shows the animals attacking the camel. The camel is drawn lying on his back in a very awkward position, his long neck twisted near his hump, while each one of the animals bites a part of his body. The artist tried to balance the composition by placing one of the four animals at each side: one at the leg; one at the neck; the crow pecks the eye; and the last attacks the hump, and by drawing a stylised tree bending towards the center of the action.

In no. 20 (Pl. 38) Dimna watches the lion attacking the bull. The lion jumps on the bull's back and ravages him with his claws and mouth, while the bull falls to his knees thus repeating the ancient iconography, familiar from the Achaemenid site of Persepolis⁵.

6- The chapter of Dimna's trial:

The lion regretted killing the bull. One day, while the leopard, one of the closest friends of the lion, was returning home, he passed by Kalila and Dimna's house. He overheard Kalila talking to Dimna about his treason. The leopard returned, went to the lion's mother, told her what he had heard and asked her to keep the secret. The next day, the lion's mother visited her son and found him sadly thinking about the bull. He told her that each time he remembered the bull and his company he felt sorry. The lion's mother told him that killing the bull without investigation was a fault, and informed him of what the leopard had told her. The lion called his attendants and friends, and when they came, Dimna was among them. Dimna noticed the sadness in the lion's face, and asked about its cause. The lion's mother replied that Dimna's presence had caused the lion's sadness and that the lion would not allow him to live. Dimna tried to defend himself by asking the lion to

investigate the matter as appearances may be deceiving. Otherwise the lion would face the same situation as the woman who gave herself to her slave.

1- The story of the woman and her male-slave:

A merchant had a pretty wife. They lived beside a painter who was the lover of the merchant's wife. One day she asked him to find a way by which she could recognize the painter without making noise or arousing suspicion when he came to see her at night. The painter told her that he had a shirt painted in many colors, and that he would wear it when coming to see her. Seeing this once, her male slave saw that and was amazed. As the male slave was the lover of the slave belonging to the painter, he asked her to bring him the shirt of her master so that he could show it to a friend. He said that he would return it quickly. The slave gave her lover the shirt. He went to his mistress wearing it and was mistaken for the painter. She went to meet him and gave herself to him. Afterwards, he returned the shirt. During the meantime the painter had been absent. But, as soon as he returned home he put on the shirt and went to meet his lover. The woman was surprised to see him again on the same evening and asked about the reason for his return. The painter was suspicious and went back to his house. He asked his maid to tell him the truth; and when he learned the story, he burned the shirt.

Dimna accused the leopard of telling the lion a lie, and gave a speech in which he defended himself. The lion sent Dimna to the judge who ordered him to be chained and imprisoned. When Kalila heard that Dimna was in prison, he went to visit him. When he saw Dimna's state, he felt sorry for him, thinking that he should have prevented him from committing treason. Dimna admitted he was guilty. A panther, who was

imprisoned near Dimna overheard their conversation but kept it to himself in case he was one day called to witness in Dimna's trial. The lion asked the leopard and his uncle to judge. They ordered Dimna's case to be investigated and brought him from prison. The judge asked the witnesses to help the court in its judgement by revealing the truth. A witness who withheld vital information would be considered a partner in crime, as in the story of the man who claimed to be a physician.

2- The story of the man who claimed to be a physician:

A learned physician used to live in a city where the king's daughter was married to his nephew. When she became pregnant she felt some pain. The physician was sent for, but he was not able to help her because of his old age. The king searched for another physician, and a foolish man came claiming to be a physician. The king authorized him to enter the medicine room, about which the fool knew nothing. He unknowingly made a mixture that contained poison and gave it to the girl.⁶ She died immediately. When the king heard this, he ordered the foolish man to drink from the same medicine. He died .

In court, the boar said that he could recognize the signs and marks of evil in Dimna. When Dimna heard this, he said that he was acting like the man who told his wife to look at her ugly side before criticizing the ugly side of others.

3- The Peasant and his two wives:

One day a city was invaded by an enemy who killed many people taking the women as slaves and dividing the captives. A soldier got a peasant with two wives as captives. He treated them badly

depriving them of food and clothes. One day, the peasant went with his naked wives to search for wood. One of the wives found a piece of cloth and covered herself, telling her husband to look to the other wife as she walked naked without covering herself. Her husband replied that she should have looked at herself first rather than watching others.

Dimna attacked the boar in his speech revealing that the boar had approached the food of the king with his dirty body and ugly features and that he should not be serving the king as he was not able to do any useful work. The boar was ashamed and wept. The lion had ordered a jackal to record what was going on in the court and to inform him at once. The jackal did so and the lion ordered that the boar be sent away, and that Dimna be imprisoned.

Kalila died of grief, and a jackal called Rosbi who was a friend of Kalila informed Dimna of his death. Dimna asked the jackal to go and get all that he and his brother collected during their life. When he did so, Dimna split it in two and gave the jackal Kalila's part asking him to go to the lion and say some good words about him and to inform him of what the lion's mother would say. The judge and his assistants went to the lion and gave him the book of Dimna's trial. The lion called his mother and read to her the book of Dimna's defence, whereupon she became very angry and left at once.

Dimna was brought before the judge who asked him to acknowledge his guilt. Dimna denied it, saying that the judge was accusing him of what he did not know, and that he would receive the fate of the falconer.

4- The falconer and the parrot:

A distinguished man had a faithful wife and many birds that were being trained by a falconer. The falconer tried to seduce his

master's wife but she refused to listen to him. One day while the falconer was hunting he caught two young parrots. In order to revenge himself he trained one of them to say that he had seen the rich man's wife sleeping with the guard regularly during the last six months. He gave them to his master who admired them and gave them to his wife who would take care of them, but did not understand what they said because the falconer had taught them in a different language, the falconer's mother tongue. One day the rich man received some foreign guests and, after they finished their meal, he ordered the falconer to show them the parrots. The guests were astonished at what the parrots said. The rich man asked that the words be translated for him. When he knew what they had said, he requested his guests to ask the parrots to talk further but they did not know any words other than those that the falconer had taught them. From this, they recognized the innocence of the woman. The woman, after hearing the words, accused the falconer, who had an eagle on his hand, of teaching the parrots. When the falconer admitted what he had done, the wife ordered the eagle to attack him and thus he was blinded.

The judge wrote down what happened in court and delivered it to the king. The lion's mother ordered the leopard to tell her son what he had overheard from Kalila and Dimna's house. The panther also repeated what he had heard while he was in prison. Hearing this, the lion ordered that Dimna should die of hunger and thirst during imprisonment.

The illustrations:

- 1- The lion and his mother.

- 2- The trial: the leopard as the judge, Dimna and the other animals before him (Pl. 39).
- 3- The foolish man who claimed to be a physician giving medicine to the girl before the king (Pl. 40).
- 4- The jackal visiting Dimna in prison and carrying a bag on his back.
- 5- The eagle attacking the falconer, while the guests and the rich man watch (Pl. 41).

No. 1 depicts the two lions in the same symmetrical manner of the previous chapter. In no. 2, the animals are depicted on many levels, in an unsuccessful attempt to convey a sense of depth.

7- The chapter of the Ringdove:

Dabshalim asked Bidpai to tell him a story about sincere brothers and how they enjoy being with each other. Bidpai told him the story of the ringdove, the mouse, the deer and the crow.

A crow used to live on a tree in a land where many hunters used to come. One day, the crow saw a fowler spreading his net and scattering some grain on it. The crow hid and watched him. A ringdove arrived together with many pigeons and stopped to collect the grain, thus falling in the net. Each pigeon tried to escape by struggling alone in vain. The ringdove asked them to unite their efforts, and finally they were able to fly with the net. The fowler followed them thinking that they would not be able to go far, but they kept flying until they reached

a place where a mouse, a friend of the ringdove, lived. The crow had also followed them to witness the end of the affair. The ringdove and her companions landed in front of the mouse's home and called him by his name.

The mouse came and started to gnaw the net where the ringdove was caught, but she asked him to start with her companions first, fearing that if he started with her, he might get tired or bored before he finished with all the net. But if he freed all her companions first, he could continue his work until she would also be freed. The mouse did so until they were all free. The crow watched this and desired to be friend the mouse, so he called him and asked to be his friend. The mouse refused since the crow was his natural enemy. But, the mouse eventually accepted. One day the crow warned the mouse that his hole was near the road where people pass and the boys could throw stones at him. He suggested taking him to a land where his friend the tortoise lived near a stream full of fish. The crow held the mouse by his tail and flew to the stream. When he arrived there, the tortoise welcomed him and he and the crow both asked the mouse to tell his story.

1- The mouse and the ascetic:

The mouse used to live in the house of an ascetic who had no children. The ascetic used to return home every day with a basket full of food and, after eating, he used to suspend the basket from a high place. The mouse waited until the ascetic went out, climbed up to the basket, ate some food, and threw the rest to the mice. The ascetic tried to suspend the basket in a place where the mouse would not be able to reach; but he failed. One day a guest came to stay with the ascetic. After they finished eating, the guest started to tell the ascetic about the lands

he had visited. While he was telling his stories, the ascetic clapped his hands to keep the mouse off the basket. The guest was angry thinking that the ascetic was making fun of him. The ascetic apologized and told his guest about the mouse who was different from other mice. The guest replied that there must be a reason for this. This reminded him of the story of the woman who sold husked sesame for unhusked sesame.

a- The woman who sold husked sesame for unhusked ones:

One day, a guest was staying at the house of a man and his wife. He overheard the man telling his wife to prepare a meal for some guests he intended to invite the next day. His wife replied that he had not enough food for his own family and that he had never saved nor stored anything. The man then told her that she must not regret spending or giving food to anybody, as storing and saving would lead to the fate of the wolf.

a-1) The story of the greedy wolf:

One day, a hunter went out with his bow and arrow to hunt. He soon shot a deer and headed home. On his way back, he shot a boar; but, the boar was able to fight back, so that they both died. A wolf came by and saw the hunter, the deer and the boar dead, thinking that all this food would be sufficient for many days, the wolf decided to start with the bow, designating it the meal of the day. He approached the bow and started cutting its strings. When he did this, the bow snapped, hit his throat, and killed him.

The wife agreed with her husband and decided to cook the rice and sesame she had which was sufficient for seven people. The next morning, she peeled the sesame and spread it out in the sun, asking their boy to keep the birds and dogs away from it. The boy was careless and a

dog came and spoiled it. Seeing that it was unclean, the woman went to the market and exchanged it for some unhusked sesame.

The guest then asked the ascetic to give him a spade so that he could find the mouse's hole and find out the reason of the mouse's success. The mouse listened to them from another hole, knowing that in his hole there was a purse with one hundred dinars. The guest found the dinars and told the ascetic that they were the reason for the mouse's power and leadership and that after they took the money away, he would not be able to jump as he had done before. The mice asked their leader to get them some food. They followed him to the basket but, when he jumped, he failed to reach the basket, so they abandoned him. The mouse wanted to regain the money in order to persuade his friends to return. So, when he saw the ascetic hiding the money in a purse, he went to the purse in the night but found the guest awake with a stick in his hand. The guest hit the mouse on the head. The mouse retired to his hole and when the pain subsided, he came out again; but, the guest was waiting for him and hit the mouse until was wounded. The mouse then returned to his hole and fainted. He has hated money ever since and left the ascetic's house for the open countryside.

After he finished his story, the tortoise consoled him with a long speech. While they were talking, a deer approached them. They feared that a hunter might be following him, so they all hid and the crow flew to see if anyone was coming. When they saw nothing they came out and welcomed the deer. They lived together and every day they met to converse with each other. One day, the deer was absent from their regular meeting. After waiting for him for an hour, they asked the crow to go and look for him. The crow saw that the deer was trapped in a hunter's snare, so he went back and told them what he had seen. The tortoise and the crow told the mouse to go and cut the ropes of the snare.

While he was doing so the tortoise came to see the deer. The deer warned the tortoise that being slow meant that he could easily be caught. The hunter came back and saw that the deer had escaped, so he caught the tortoise instead. The crow, the mouse, and the deer met and decided to trick the hunter. The deer would show himself to the hunter acting as if he was wounded with the crow on his back as if he was eating his flesh. As soon as he approached, the deer would run so that the hunter would follow them away from the tortoise. Meanwhile, the mouse would free the tortoise and return to their home. They did so, and when the hunter was tired of following the deer he returned back and found the ropes cut and the tortoise freed.

The illustrations:

- 1- The fowler watches the birds under the nest (Pl. 42).
- 2- The crow talks to the mouse (Pl. 43).
- 3- The crow flies with the mouse to the stream where the tortoise lives (Pl. 44).
- 4- The wolf tries to eat the bow while the hunter, the deer and the boar lie dead.
- 5- The ascetic converses with his guest while the mice attack the basket (Pl. 45).
- 6- The guest hits the mouse on the head with a stick (Pl. 46).

7- The trapped deer, while the tortoise is in the stream.

The pigeons illustrated in no. 1 are drawn on a very large scale compared to the fowler. No. 5 shows the mouse jumping in the air trying to reach the basket, an unusual scene to be depicted.

The guest who is hitting the mouse in no. 6 has a black beard while he is beardless in no. 5, where the ascetic has a white beard. As the story clearly indicates that the guest is the one who was hitting the mouse, so this variation may be attributable either a misunderstanding of the text or simply the painter's lack of regard for consistency.

8-The chapter of the owls and the crows:

One thousand crows used to live in a tree on a mountain. One of them was their king. Near the tree, there was a cave inhabited by one thousand owls. One night the king of the owls went out with his companions and attacked the crows' nests, killing many of them. The next day, the crows met with their king and discussed the matter. The king consulted five of his courtiers known to be wise and intelligent. The first suggested that they move away since they were weaker than the owls. The second suggested that they should fight to the end. The third crow thought that they should make peace, even if they had to pay tribute to the king of the owls. The fourth suggested that they should surrender, secretly accumulate arms, and eventually fight back. The fifth said that they would not be able to fight the owls since they were not strong enough. The king then asked him if he knew the origin of the hatred between the crows and the owls. The crow replied that it started when a nation of birds had no king and decided to choose an owl as their

king. While they were meeting, a crow passed by; they asked him for his opinion. He replied that if all the birds disappeared from the world how could they choose the ugliest, the worst mannered, and least intelligent bird of all, who sleeps during the day and wakes up by night, to be their king. In doing so, they would be like the hare and the elephant.

1- The hare and the elephant:

Once there was a region where many elephants lived. One day, their lake dried and the trees and plants died. Suffering from thirst, the elephants consulted their king who sent messengers to discover a new land with water. The messengers returned after they had found a land with a lake called "the lake of the moon". The elephants decided to go to this lake which was located in the land of the hares. While they were moving, they walked over the warrens of the hares and killed many of them. The hares met with their king who asked his counselors to find a means by which to drive away the elephants. One of the hares, who was known to be wise asked the king to send another hare with him to watch what was going on. The hare went to the elephants on a moonlit night, climbed a hill, and called out to their king. He announced that he was the messenger of the moon, and that the moon was angry because although the elephant was strong and could harm the weak, his strength would cause his downfall. He drank from the lake of the moon, disturbing it, thus the moon would blind the king elephant and his subjects. The hare then told the elephant that if he did not believe him, he should go with him to the moon's lake and find out. The king of the elephants followed the hare to the lake. When they arrived, he saw the reflection of the moon in the water. The hare asked him to pay homage

to the moon by washing his face with the water. When he put his trunk in the water, the water moved. The elephant thought that the moon was angry with him, he apologized at once for entering its lake, gathered his herd and departed from the land of the hares.

The crow continued to warn the birds of the owl's cunning saying that if they chose a cunning person as their king, they would face what the hare and the nightingale faced when they let the cat be their judge.

2- The Hare, the nightingale and the cat:

A nightingale used to live in a nest in a tree beside the crow. One day, he went away and left his home. A hare came and stayed in the bird's place. When the bird came back, he found the hare in his home. They disagreed and decided to go to the judge, a cat who was devout and prayed all day long. When the cat saw them approaching, he pretended to be praying. They told him their story but pretending that he couldn't hear them because of his old age, the cat asked them to come near him. When they did so and repeating their story, he continued advising them until they approached further, whereupon he jumped on them and killed them.

When the birds heard these words about the owls, they refused to take one of them as their king. An owl was present and heard the speech of the crow. He left at once and informed the king of the owls about what he heard. The crow regretted his speech and admitted that it would cause trouble. The king of crows asked his counselor to advise him on this matter. The crow told him that he had a plan to trick the owls, and through this plan they could achieve their aim, like the thieves who tricked the ascetic.

3- The ascetic and the sheep:

One day an ascetic bought a huge sheep to give as a sacrifice. A gang of thieves saw him and decided to trick him. One of them stopped in front of the ascetic, asking him about the dog that he was leading. Afterwards, the second came saying that he was not an ascetic since ascetics would not lead a dog. They kept on doing this until the ascetic was convinced that he was leading a dog and that the seller had tricked him with magic. He freed the sheep and the gang took it.

The crow then asked the king to beat him, pull his feathers, and leave him on a tree. The king and his soldiers did so and left the crow. The owls came at night, found the wounded crow, and told their king about it. The king of the owls asked the crow about his story. The crow replied that he advised the king of the crows to surrender to the owls and to pay them tribute; but considering him a traitor, they attacked him and abandoned him. The king of the owls consulted his ministers in order to decide what to do with the crow. One of the them suggested keeping the crow, thus behaving mercifully like the merchant who pardoned the thief.

4- The thief and the merchant's wife:

A rich merchant had a pretty wife. One day, a thief came to the house of the merchant and found him sleeping while his wife was awake. Feeling the thief, the merchant's wife hugged her husband, who had wished her to do so for a long time. The merchant then saw the thief and allowed him to take what ever he wanted, since he was the cause of his wife's embrace.

The king of the owls consulted another minister who told the king that, if he would keep him, he would be helpful to the king, like the ascetic who gained from the dispute between the thief and the devil.

5- The thief and the devil:

An ascetic, after receiving a cow, led it home. A thief saw the cow and wanted to steal it; a devil saw the ascetic and wanted to kidnap his soul. The devil and the thief met and agreed that they would do what they intended once the ascetic had fallen asleep. The devil and the thief argued about who would start first: if the devil took his soul, the ascetic might wake up and the thief might not get the cow, and vice versa. They kept on fighting until the thief called the ascetic telling him that the devil wanted to steal his soul; likewise the devil warned the ascetic that the thief wanted to steal his cow. Alarmed, the ascetic called his neighbors and drove them away.

The first minister of the owls said that the crow had deceived them, and that they should not believe him, acting like the carpenter who denied what he saw and believed what he heard.

6- The carpenter who believed his wife:

A carpenter had a wife whom he loved very much; but, she had a lover. Wanting to make sure of this, the carpenter pretended to be leaving for work and asked his wife to prepare him some food. He came back and hid underneath the bed. The woman was happy that she would be able to receive her lover, who arrived soon afterwards. The lover stayed with the woman all night. The carpenter fell asleep, extending his

legs out from underneath the bed. Seeing his legs, the wife recognized her husband. So, she asked her lover to raise his voice asking her whom she loved more: her lover or her husband. When her lover did so, she replied by saying how much she loved her husband. When her husband heard this, he felt sorry for her and forgot about harming her. In the morning, while his wife was sleeping, he came out from underneath the bed. Her lover went away and the husband stayed by her bed until she awoke.

The king of the owls did not listen to his minister. One day the crow told the owls that he would take revenge on the crows after what they had done to him and that he wished to be an owl so that he would be able to fight the crows. He learned from a wise man that this could be achieved by burning himself. The minister of the owls replied that, if the crow wanted to burn himself in order to become an owl, he would not succeed. It would be better if he returned to his origin and nature, like the rat who was offered the sun, the moon, the wind, the clouds and the mountain as husbands, but refused, choosing a rat, instead.

7- The story of the rat girl:

A pious ascetic was once sitting by the sea shore. A hawk, carrying a young rat, passed by, dropping it near the ascetic. The ascetic took the rat home with him, although it would be hard for his family to raise the rat. So, he prayed to God to change the rat into a girl. This was done and she became a beautiful girl. He brought her home with him and asked his wife to take care of her as if she were their daughter. When she became old enough to get married, the ascetic asked her to choose a husband. She wanted to choose the strongest husband; so, the ascetic went to ask the sun to marry her. The sun told him that the clouds were

stronger than he; but, the clouds told the ascetic that the wind was stronger than they were since it was he who drove them east and west. The wind told the ascetic that the mountain was stronger than he since the wind could not move the mountain. But, the mountain told him that the rat was stronger than he because the rat could gnaw through him. The ascetic went to the rat and asked him to marry the girl; but, he said that she was too big for him. The ascetic then prayed that the girl would be returned to her original state. She was, and married the rat.

The king of the owls did not listen to his minister's example; instead, he continued to honor him. When the crow was strong enough to fly and had collected the information he needed to know, he flew back to his people and told them all he knew about the owls. He then made a plan to defeat the owls. The crow told them that the owls lived in a cave in a mountain with plenty of dry wood. The crow would carry the wood to the owls' cave and, then bring some fire from a shepherd who stayed near the cave with his flock. They would set fire to the wood and would flap their wings until the fire had spread throughout the wood. So, if any of the owls wanted to leave the cave, they would die while trying, and those who decided to stay inside would die of the smoke. Doing this, they killed the owls and returned home safe.

The king of the crows then asked his minister how he was able to support the company of the owls. The crow replied that he displayed the greatest patience, hoping to keep the calamity away from his people. The king then asked about the intelligence of the owls. The crow replied that he found only one intelligent owl who urged the owls to kill him. He also told the king how he had humbled himself, hoping to accomplish his mission; a man would endure difficulty hoping to gain advantage like the snake who endured carrying the king of the frogs on its back to feed itself.

8- The snake and the king of the frogs:

One day, a snake grew old and weak and was no longer able to hunt. He continued searching for something to live on, until he reached a spring wherein previously, he had frequently hunted for frogs. When he arrived there, he pretended to be sad and unhappy. The frogs asked him for the reason, so he pretended that he had an illness which prevented him from eating frogs. The frogs went to their king and told him the good news. The king of frogs asked him how he had reached this state. The snake replied that, while he was chasing a frog one night, he followed the frog into the house of an ascetic; he found himself by the toe of the ascetic's son. Thinking it was a frog, he bit it and killed the boy. The ascetic went after the snake, cursing him since he had killed the innocent boy and saying he would be humiliated and disgraced and would become a mount for the king of the frogs, being able to eat only what he was offered. The king of the frogs rode the snake and ordered two frogs to be caught and delivered to him every day. The snake lived on this.

The king of crows honored his minister telling him that a king without good counselors was like a kid who sucked a goat's neck, finding nothing to sustain him.

The illustrations:

1- The owls attack the crows (Pl.47).

2- The king of the crows consults his ministers (Pl. 48).

- 3- The birds ask the crow's advice about choosing their king (Pl. 49).
- 4- The crow watches the bird asking the cat to judge between it and the hare.
- 5- The ascetic leads his sheep and the thieves who deceived him (Pl. 50).
- 6- The merchant and his wife in bed while the thief arrives (Pl. 51).
- 7- The devil and the thief talk while the ascetic sleeps (Pl. 52).
- 8- The carpenter hides under the bed, listening to his wife and her lover (Pl. 53).
- 9- The ascetic talks to a man (a man is illustrated instead of the ratgirl).
- 10- The owls' cave on fire while the crows flap their wings and bring wood to fuel the fire (Pl. 54).
- 11- The king of the crows talks to his minister.
- 12- The king of the frogs riding of the snake's back (Pl. 55).
- 13- The kid sucks the goat's neck (Pl. 56).

In no. 7 (Pl. 52), the devil is depicted as a very large human body with a two horned head and a long white beard wearing a

short dress. His hands are human while the illustrated foot is a very large three-toed bird's claws.

In no. 9 the ascetic is depicted talking to a young male instead of a girl; it is obvious that the painter miss-interpreted the story, illustrating the girl as a young male.

The painter illustrated the original story (nos. 1, 2, 3, 10 and 11), and depicting one scene of each of the sub-stories (nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 12). But at the end of the chapter, he illustrated a small example mentioned only in one sentence on the page preceeding the illustration, in which the text is a discussion between the king of crows and his minister, which had been previously illustrated in no. 11 (Pl. 48). It appears as if he had an empty space and did not want to repeat the subject he had already illustrated on the previous page.

No. 10 (Pl. 54) depicts the most dramatic point of the story, yet the illustration is stiff. The owls are painted standing in their cave at one side and the crows are flying with the sticks in their beaks at the other side, while red flames occupy the center of the scene. The movement of the crows' wings is balanced by the three-branched tree over the owls' cave. The fire, in the center of the scene, gives the illustration more dramatic feeling than in no. 1 (Pl. 47), in which the owls attacking the crows, are illustrated in a symmetrical manner; each group of birds is illustrated on one side of a tree. Golombek justified this setting by attributing it to the high rate of illustration in the manuscript, which made heavy demands on the illustrator, who facilitated his work by using stock compositions, settings, and groupings which could be adapted easily to each individual scene.⁷

9- The chapter of the monkey and the tortoise:

One day, the monkey, who was the king of his tribe, became old and weak. He was defeated by a young monkey and was driven away from his people. The old monkey arrived at the shore of a river, climbed a fig tree, and stayed there.

One day, while the monkey was eating some figs, he dropped one in the water which made a pleasant sound. A tortoise who was living in the river, caught the falling fig and ate it. The monkey continued throwing figs in the water to enjoy the sound it made. The tortoise thought that the monkey was throwing the figs for his sake and, thus, wanted to be his friend. They soon became friends. Once, when the tortoise was absent from his home for several days, his wife became worried about him. Her neighbor told her that he made friends with a monkey and was staying near the shore. When the tortoise returned home, his wife pretended to be ill. Their neighbor told him that the physicians had prescribed his wife the heart of a monkey.

The tortoise went back to his friend, and invited the monkey to visit him in his house which was in an island full of fruit trees. The monkey rode on the tortoise's back and, while they were on their way to the island, the tortoise decided to tell his friend about his wife's illness. The tortoise then pretended to be sad until the monkey asked him for the reason. The tortoise then replied that, when he arrived at his house, he wanted to receive him in the best way, but his wife was ill and the only medicine to cure her was the heart of a monkey. The monkey decided to save himself. He told the tortoise that he should have told him before they left the shore, so that he could have brought his heart with him, as one of the monkeys' habits is to leave their hearts at home when they go out. The tortoise was happy to hear this; so, he

returned the monkey to the shore to get his heart. As soon as they arrived near the shore, the monkey jumped into the tree. The tortoise called to him but the monkey replied that he was not as stupid as the lion who believed that the donkey had neither ears nor a heart.

1- The story of the donkey without ears or heart:

One day, a lion was living in the forest together with a jackal who used to eat the lion's leftovers. The lion was attacked by a rash which left him weak and unable to hunt. The jackal asked the lion what was the matter and the lion told him that he would be cured if he ate the heart and ears of a donkey. The jackal told the lion that he knew a donkey and that he would bring it to him. He went at once to the donkey and asked him why he was weak. The donkey replied that his owner did not feed him properly. The jackal then told the donkey that he would lead him to a place full of grass and water.

The jackal told the lion the donkey's whereabouts. The lion attacked the donkey but was not able to kill him because of his weakness, and the donkey escaped.

The lion told the jackal that, if he brought the donkey again to him, he would be able to kill him. So, the jackal went to the donkey and told him that he had run away from a female-donkey, claiming that the donkey had not recognized her because he had never before seen a female and that she attacked him because she was so excited. Believing the jackal, the donkey went back to the place where the lion was waiting for him and was killed.

The lion told the jackal that he should wash himself before eating the donkey, as was prescribed by the physicians, and asked him to guard the donkey. The jackal ate the heart and ears of the donkey so

that the lion would be afraid of it and would leave it all to him. When the lion returned and asked the jackal about the ears and heart of the donkey, the jackal replied that, if the donkey had had ears or a heart, he would not have returned, after having escaped the first time, to be killed by the lion.

The monkey told the tortoise that he had told him this story in order to convince him that he was not stupid and that he had been deceived by him; thus, he wanted to pay him back in the same way.

The illustrations:

- 1- The monkey on the tree throwing figs to the tortoise in the river.
- 2- The tortoise swimming in the river with the monkey on his back.
- 3- The jackal talking to the donkey (Pl. 57).
- 4- The lion attacking the donkey (Pl. 58).

The setting of no. 2 is very similar to the setting of the story of the frog riding on the snake's back (no. 12 of the previous chapter) except that water and rocks are substituted for the ground.

No. 4, which depicts the lion attacking the donkey, is identical to the illustration of the lion attacking the bull in chapter 5 (cf. pls. 38 and 58).

10- The chapter of the ascetic and the weasel:

An ascetic was married to a beautiful woman who became pregnant after being infertile for a long time. The ascetic was very

happy, wished to have a boy for whom he would choose the best name. His wife told him that he must not talk of what he did not know, otherwise he would face the fate of the ascetic.

1- The story of the ascetic and the jar of butter and honey:

There was an ascetic who received butter and honey every day from a merchant's house. He used to eat his meal and keep the rest in a jar. The jar was full at a time when the price of butter and honey went up. One day, the ascetic was lying on his back, his stick in his hand, and the jar suspended over his head; he thought of selling the jar and buying ten goats instead. He then continued to dream that the goats would deliver fifty kids, who in turn would bring others in five months, so in the end, he would have one hundred and fifty goats. So, he could buy one hundred cows and a piece of land. He would plant it with grain, sow it with bulls, and he would be able to buy a nice house before the end of the fifth year. He would then buy slaves and would marry a nice woman who would bear him a boy, whom he would teach and with who he would be strict. He would beat him with the stick if he disobeyed him. Raising the stick to show how he would beat the boy, the ascetic hit the jar, and broke it, spilling the butter and honey on his face.

The ascetic followed his wife's advice and she soon delivered a nice boy. One day, she asked him to watch the boy, so she could wash. While the ascetic was watching the boy, a messenger of the king asked him to go with him to the court, so he left his son with a weasel which he had raised himself. In the meantime, a snake came out of its hole and moved towards the baby, so the weasel attacked it cutting it into pieces. When the ascetic returned home, he met the weasel with its mouth full of blood. Thinking that the weasel had killed his son, at

once he hit it on its head with his stick and killed it. Afterwards, he entered the house and found his son safe and the dead snake beside him. He regreted killing the weasel and not being patient enough to know the full story before acting.

The illustrations:

- 1- The ascetic hits the jar of butter and honey with his stick while lying on his back and dreaming.
- 2- The ascetic hits the weasel with a stick while the snake lies on the floor, with the baby in his cradle in another room (Pl. 59).

Illustration no. 2 is the only one in the manuscript where a baby is drawn. Babies and small children are mentioned in several stories in the manuscript -- for instance in the chapter of the king and the bird - but are not otherwise illustrated. The illustration no. 2 interprets the story exactly: the man strikes the weasel while the baby is in his bed in another room - a different compartment illustrated with a different color - while the snake lies in pieces on the floor.

11- The chapter of the mouse and the cat:

A cat named Rumi lived in a hole of an enormous tree, not far from the lair of a mouse called Faridun. One day a hunter passed by this land and near the lair set snares in which Rumi was soon caught. The mouse Faridun, on guard against the cat, came out to search for food and noticed that Rumi had fallen in the snare. The mouse, glad at first, looked beyond and saw a weasel who wanted to catch him and, in the tree, an owl who wanted to snatch him, while the ensnared cat was in front of him. Faridun thought for a while and decided to make friends with the cat since he had once fallen victim to a similar situation. If they helped each other, they might save themselves.

Faridun approached Rumi and told him that the weasel and the owl, although dangerous to a mouse, feared a cat, so if Rumi would promise not to hurt him, he would free him. Rumi the cat agreed, so Faridun the mouse told him that he would cut the ropes of the snare except one, to leave himself safe. He did so, and when the owl and weasel saw this, they lost hope and left. Because the mouse delayed cutting the snare, Rumi the cat feared that Faridun would not respect his part of the agreement. But Faridun, seeing the hunter coming back, hurried and cut the rest of the ropes. The cat climbed a tree at once, the mouse hid in his hole, and the hunter collected the ropes of his empty snare and left disappointed. Afterwards, the cat called to the mouse, suggesting they continue their friendship, but Faridun replied that the partnership had been created because the need was there, but that once the cause of the friendship had passed, the partners would return to their original enmity.

The illustrations:

- 1- The mouse cuts the cat's bounds, while the weasel and the owl watch (Pl. 60).
- 2- The mouse cuts the snare with the cat in it.
- 3- The mouse on a rock talks to the cat in the snare.

No. 1, which depicts a very large owl, bigger than the rest of the animals, also illustrates the mouse as being larger than the cat. This suggests that the painter was copying an earlier model, rather than copying from life.

The last two scenes are similar in their setting and could have been combined in one, since they do not illustrate any particular moment of the story.

12- The chapter of the king and the bird Fanzah:

One of the Indian kings had a talking bird called Fanzah, who repeated proverbs and similar wise words. The king asked his wife to take care of the bird and its chick, and soon afterwards, after the king's wife had given birth to a child, she raised the child and the young bird together while Fanzah, who used to fly off to a mountain and gather unknown fruit, would give the fruit to both the chick and the king's son. One day, while Fanzah was absent searching for fruit, the chick flew away from the boy's lap, angering the child, who then caught and killed it. Fanzah, returning to

find his chick dead, was angry and distressed and attacked the boy's face and blinded him. Fanzah then flew off and perched on the house's balcony.

When the king heard the news, he wanted revenge and so called the bird, claiming he would not harm him. Fanzah, who refused to believe the king, said that a wise man should take precautions against that which he feared, and that he knew that the king wanted to fool him so that he could kill him.

The king, trying to convince Fanzah, replied that a man of good origin did not forget or loosen ties to friends like dog trainers who, after training their dogs for shows, kill and eat them in front of other dogs, who, unwarily remain with their trainers.

Fanzah, convinced that there was no way of returning to their former friendship, gave the king counter examples and, concluding his speech with a farewell to the king, flew away.

The illustrations:

1- The king talking to the bird who is perched on top of a roof (Pl. 61).

2- Two dog trainers and their two dogs.

The bird is perched on a lantern emerging from a freestanding tower-like building of grey stone. The proportions of the bird to the tower and the height of the tower are not realistic. This is one of only two exterior views of buildings in the manuscript, the first being the prison in Pl. 5.

No. 2 is a very unusual subject: dog trainers who eat their dogs after they train them[?!], but it is illustrated in an ordinary way, showing two men and two dogs. The illustration does not give any indication of the peculiar nature of the story.

13- The chapter of the lion and the jackal:

An ascetic jackal known for his piety was asked to work at the court of the lion king, who had decided to make the jackal his counselor. The jackal replied that he was not the right choice for the post and that he feared that the king's courtiers would hate and hurt him. The lion assured the jackal that he would protect him, and so appointed him to be in charge of his treasury, and honored him.

When the lion's courtiers saw this, they became jealous and plotted against him. They stole the meat of the lion, hid it in the jackal's house, spread the word that the meat was there, and pretended they wanted an investigation. When the lion asked the jackal about the meat, the jackal reported that he had given it to the steward to deliver to the king. When the steward denied receiving the meat, the king ordered a search of the jackal's house, where the meat was found. A wolf, one of the scheming courtiers, urged the king not to forgive the jackal, leading the king to order the jackal's imprisonment, which was followed by a messenger relaying the king's demand for an apology. The messenger, who was also among the plotters, returned with a fabricated message that so angered the lion that he ordered the jackal's death.

The lion's mother, hearing the news, came to her son to inquire. The lion told his mother about the apparent treason, but his mother asked him to spare the jackal and to investigate the matter himself, suggesting that he would find that it was not the jackal who was guilty but the lion's friends who had plotted against him.

When the king then discovered the jackal was innocent, he regretted having become angry without thought, and apologized to the jackal and restored him to his position.

The illustrations:

1- The lion and the jackal (Pl. 62).

2- The lion and the jackal.

3- The lion and his mother (Pl. 63).

4- The lion and the jackal.

The four illustrations are drawn in a heraldic manner. The artist took the easy way out by repeating one scene three times rather than substituting any other moment in the story.

14- The chapter of Iladh, Biladh and Irakht:

One night, a king named Biladh dreamed eight dreams that troubled him. He called the Brahmins, told them his dreams, and asked them to interpret them. They asked him for seven days to allow them learn their meaning. When they left the king, they gathered to plan their chance for revenge on this king, who had not long before killed twelve thousand Brahmins. They decided to make him kill all his loved ones: his wife Irakht, his favourite son, his minister Iladh, his white elephant and Kibariun, the wise ascetic. Thus they told the king that he was facing a great danger and

that by killing that assorted group, mixing the blood in a basin, and bathing in it, he would save himself from the danger announced by his dream.

The king retired in his room, worried, saddened, and confused about what he was going to do. When his minister Iladh saw his sadness, he went to the queen Irakht and told her that the king was keeping a secret after his meeting with the Brahmans a few days earlier. He asked her to go to the king and ask him about his worries. Irakht went to the king and asked what troubled him. When she heard the story, she advised him not to listen to the Brahmans: since he had killed so many of them, the others did not have his interests at heart; it would be better to consult the wise Kibariun. The king, following her advice, told the ascetic about his dreams and the interpretation of the Brahmans.

Kibariun told him that his dream meant that he was going to get expensive jewelery, and would receive messengers bearing gifts from other kingdoms after seven days. When events happened exactly as Kibariun had foretold the happy king, to reward Irakht for her advice, ordered the gifts to be delivered to her so she could choose from them. Irakht chose a diadem, and his other wife chose a garment.

One day while the king was visiting Irakht, who had prepared rice for him, his other wife became jealous, so she walked in front of them wearing the garment she had chosen. The king, seeing how well dressed she was, told Irakht that she should have chosen that garment for herself. The irate Irakht hit the king on his head with the plate, causing the rice to fall over his face. The angry king called his minister Iladh and ordered Irakht's execution, but Iladh, knowing that she was wise and faithful and had saved her husband from death, decided deceive the king until he calmed down.

Iladh kept Irakht in close custody after he had shown the king the blood-stained sword that, as he pretended, had killed the queen. When

the king eventually repented, remembering Irakht's beauty and intelligence, and mourning her death, Iladh told him a story about two pigeons to entertain him.

1- The story of the two pigeons:

One day two pigeons, a male and a female, filled their nest with wheat and barley. The male told his wife that they should keep searching for grain in the land, and if they could not find any, they would return to their nest and eat what they kept. The wheat and barley they collected were damp, and filled their nest. The male went off and was absent a long time. When he came back, he found the grain appeared to be less than it was before, because it shrank when it dried up in the summer's heat. The male asked his mate why there was less grain, she replied that it shrank in the hot weather, and he, failing to believe her, pecked her until she died. When the winter came, with the renewed moisture the grain again filled the nest. The male regretted what he had done.

Iladh told the king that a man must not be hasty in punishing anyone, especially if he would regret it as the pigeon did, that a man should not look for what he cannot find, and that he should cleave to what he had, as in the story of the monkey and the lentils.

2- The story of the monkey and the lentils:

One day, a man carried a bag full of lentils on his head. When he arrived at a mountain he put down the bag, lay down to rest, and then slept. A monkey on a nearby tree saw him, went down, took a handful of lentils and climbed back up the tree. A grain fell while he was climbing, so

he went down to look for it, but he could not find it and, during the search, he dropped the rest of the lentils from his hand. He lost all that he had.

When the king heard this, he asked Iladh about Irakht. Iladh replied with a speech about what man should not do or should do, but when he saw that the king became impatient, he told him that Irakht was alive. The king's happiness was great, and Iladh, after telling Irakht to adorn herself, brought her before the king. Irakht bowed to the king and apologized for his failure to carry out the order, whereupon the king offered his minister supreme power, promised never to neglect his advice, ordered the Brahmins killed, and praised the wise ascetic Kibariun.

The illustrations:

- 1- Irakht stands before the seated king.
- 2- Irakht stands before the seated king (Pl. 64).
- 3- The king bows before the wise Kibariun, who is seated under a tree.
- 4- The king on his throne receives three messengers.
- 5- Iladh stands before the seated king.
- 6- The monkey in the tree while the man sleeps under it, leaning on the bag of lentils.
- 7- Irakht bowing before the seated king (Pl. 65).

The artist concentrated on the main characters, painting their faces and garments with more ease. Kibariun is illustrated in the same way as the wise men in other parts of the manuscript (the judge in the story of the rogue and the simple man (Pl. 37) and as the physician in the story of the man who pretended to be a physician (Pl. 40).

The following four chapters are written on added pages, except for the title of the fifteenth chapter, which is written on the bottom of the same folio of the end of the fourteenth chapter.

15- The chapter of the lioness and the jackal:

- One illustration showing the lioness talking to the jackal.

16- The chapter of the ascetic and his guest:

- One illustration showing the ascetic talking to his guest.

17- The chapter of the traveller and the goldsmith:

- One illustration showing the traveller (wearing the dress of a monk) before the goldsmith, the monkey, the leopard and the snake.

18- The chapter of the king's son and his companions:

- One illustration showing the king's son in front of his companions.

Notes to chapter two

- 1- The names of the main protagonists are taken from the text of the manuscript, which is in a legible condition.
- 2- Porus or Paurava (317 B.C.), king of India who was known from historical sources to be a contemporary of Alexander the Great. The latter defeated him in 326 B.C..
- 3- Keith-Falconer, M.A., Kalilah and Dimnah or The Fables of Bidpai, Cambridge, 1885, p. xxiv.
- 4- The name of the bull is read Shatarbah as in the translation of Irving, T., Kalilah and Dimnah, p. 2, and not Shanzabah as in Keith-Falconer (above). The letter written after the *shin* is a *Ta'* since most of the time the two dots are combined. The letter itself is written as a continuous flowing between the *shin* and the *ra'* and not in the name Fanzah in which the letter *nun* has a tooth with the dot above it unattached to the dot of the letter *zain*.
- 5- Allam, N., Funun al-Sharq al-Awsat wa'l 'Alam al-Qadim, Cairo 1979, p. 250 (fig. 223). The relief on the external wall of the palace at Persepolis is showing a lion attacking a bull.
- 6- The word maid *jarya* is used in the text instead of the word daughter *bnatahu*. The word *jarya* could also mean a girl and not necessarily a maid.
- 7- Golombek, L., "Towards a Classification", p. 23

CHAPTER THREE: *Stylistic analysis of the miniatures*

1) Composition:

The composition of the miniatures is very simple. The characters are placed on a single line to indicate ground level; the illustrations have no frame; the drawings penetrate the margins; and a two-dimensional approach is employed, though an attempt at rendering a third dimension is found in several illustrations (Pls. 19 and 64). In the first illustration showing an idol, f. 36v, the idol stands on a rectangle drawn in front of the architectural frame. The sense of depth is increased by the way both sides of the rectangle narrow towards the back. In the second illustration, showing Irakht before the king within a two-compartment architectural setting on f. 131, the roof of the smaller compartment, which contains a vase with three flowers, is drawn at an angle projecting from the roof of the larger compartment. In this case, it is hard to understand why the artist did not draw the frame in the usual way, but he clearly illustrated it in this way on purpose.

Several Arabic manuscripts dating to the end of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. contain some similar compositional features, but differ in many others. These include a copy of the Book of Antidotes of Pseudo-Galen dated to 1199 A.D., now in Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale (B.N. Ar. 2964), and another undated copy, now in Vienna Nationalbibliothek (A.F. 10), which is generally attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.¹ These manuscripts also include Christian Syrian Gospel Books of the Jacobite church, which

contain both Byzantine and Arab-Muslim elements. An example of these is the Lectionary of the Gospels, written in 1220 A.D. in the Monastery of Mar Mattai near Mosul, now in the Vatican Library (Siriaco 559), and another in the British Library (Add. 7170), illustrated in a monastery between Mosul and Mardin, also dated to 1220 A.D.² Another Arabic manuscript with Byzantine influence is the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides dated to 1229 A.D., written for a Northern Mesopotamian ruler, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul (Ahmet III, 2127).³

Only three manuscripts of roughly the same period share the same compositional elements as well as with most of the same stylistic characteristics as our manuscript. The first is an Arabic manuscript of the Maqamat of al-Hariri, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Arabe 6094), generally accepted as having been copied in Syria in 1222 A.D. according to its two inscriptions. The first of these is found on the side of a boat in folio 68; the other appears on a slate held by a schoolboy in folio 167. They both bear the date of 619 H., but the manuscript itself has no colophon.⁴ The second manuscript bears both the date and the place where it was copied. It is a Coptic Gospels, copied in Damietta in Egypt in 1180 A.D., now in The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Copte 13).⁵

The third manuscript is an illustrated copy of the Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings of al-Mubashir, an eleventh-century translator. This Arabic collection of Greek philosophers' sayings, which is now in the Topkapi Saray Museum (Ahmet III 3206), was made for the secretary of an unknown atabek, according to an inscription on the title page. It has been attributed to Syria, and to the first half of the thirteenth century.⁶

3- Setting:

Figures are represented either within an architectural enclosure, or in the open air. When they are represented in an open environment, they are usually balanced on either side of an axis that in many cases is represented by a tree.

The human and animal figures are rendered in a more naturalistic way than the landscape, but the proportions observed between the figures and their surroundings are not naturalistic, particularly in their relation to architecture (Bidpai in prison, Pl. 5). A certain amount of realism is shown, however, in representations of the social customs and the types of constructions and decorative patterns seem to reflect the style of contemporary surroundings.

Both B.N. Ar. 6094 and Copte 13 share a pictorial repertoire similar to that of our manuscript. A close example is found in the court scene: a seated ruler receiving people, with two attendants standing behind his throne. In B.N. Ar. 6094, f. 31 (Fig. 1) is a parallel to our Pl. 9, while the scene of the pupil of Christ asking Pilate for his body in Copte 13, f. 131 (Fig. 2), is a direct parallel to our Pl. 11 which shows Barzuya before the Persian king. Although less sophisticated than the two manuscripts just mentioned, the manuscript of al-Mubashir follows B.N. Ar. 6094 directly in employing a group of people addressed by one figure, usually seated in the open air, which might be due to the nature of the texts, since both are concerned with moralistic preaching.

I have chosen five illustrated moments that are unusual in their settings, to trace the cyclic parallel in the first case, and pictorial parallels in the other four cases.

1- The monkey and the carpenter: f. 47, (Pl. 23).

This story is illustrated in a cyclical method,⁷ including several scenes in one illustration. The story is composed of several simple moments as follows:

- a- The monkey watches the carpenter on a piece of wood, splitting it with two wedges.
- b- The carpenter leaves his equipment and goes for some business.
- c- The monkey rides the piece of wood, with his back to most of the plank facing the wedges. He takes off the wedge, his testicles are caught as the plank springs back to original shape, and he faints.
- d- The carpenter comes back and beats the monkey.

The artist summarized the four moments in two scenes. The illustration, starting from left to right, shows a seated figure on the ground, the carpenter working on the wood, and the monkey seated on the wood with his back to the carpenter while a third person is beating him. The seated figure could be a complementary figure drawn by the artist to balance the composition's right-hand figure beating the monkey. In the narrative, this figure beating the monkey is supposed to be the carpenter himself; but, here is illustrated without a beard, different from the carpenter who uses the saw and who is shown with a black beard. This cyclic method appeared earlier, of course. One example found in the Book of Antidotes (B.N. Ar. 2964) occurs in the scene showing Andromach's brother who, while was sitting under a tree, was bitten by a snake. When he felt sick, he wrote his will and suspended it from the tree. Then he saw a jar of water; drinking from it, he felt better. He then examined the jar and found two dead snakes inside it. The illustration shows the man sitting under a tree, his horse beside the tree, and the snake under him; then, he is illustrated sick with his will suspended from the tree. In the third scene, he uses a stick to take the two

snakes out of the jar; and, finally, he is illustrated after recovery, riding away on his horse. The figure is illustrated in a different way in each scene, sometimes with a beard and sometimes without, and wearing different clothes each time. Complementary figures in the illustration are the horse and, in the landscape, fish swimming in a river.⁸

2- The scenes of two animals conversing : ff. 48, 49v, 52 (Pls. 24, 25, 27).

The artist illustrated two confronted animals balanced on either side of an axis, represented by a tree in ff. 48, 52 but merely implied in f. 49v. This symmetrical approach appeared in an illustration of two wolves eating from a fig tree (Fig. 3) in a manuscript of The Fables of Bidpai in Greek, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, dated to the late tenth century⁹. Avery attributed the manuscript illustration to the South Italian school. Such symmetrical composition, however, is attributed by Ettinghausen to Persia,¹⁰ where it appeared in Buyid textiles and stucco. It has been suggested by Raby that the Morgan Bidpai fragment is a copy of an Arabic prototype; the Morgan illustrator failed to understand parts of the text, and mistakenly copied scenes from other sections of the book.¹¹

3- The lion and the hare: f. 58v (Pl. 33).

Here, the lion is illustrated jumping into a well, while the hare is watching. A prototype of this scene appeared as early as the Panjikent frescoes, near Samarkand, dated to the mid-8th century A.D.¹² The cyclic illustration there shows the lion first talking to the hare, and then uses the

same jumping pose (Pl. 29; Fig. 4), but the well is not illustrated. The narration moves from right to left.

4-The rogue's father hiding in the tree: f. 69v, (Pl. 37).

The illustration of a man in a tree has many prototypes from manuscripts contemporary with ours. Copte 13 contains an illustration with a man in the tree, in the episode of Zakarias climbing a tree to see Christ, f. 198 (Fig. 5). The Vatican Gospel (Siriaco 559) illustrates a boy in a tree in the scene showing Christ entering Jerusalem (Fig. 6). Although this theme is specified by the text in all these examples, the position of the rogue's father in our manuscript (pl. 37) is extremely similar to the Zakarias's position in his tree. (Fig. 5).

5- The crows attacking the owls: f.106v (Pl. 54)

The setting of the crows attacking the owls' cave could be adapted from the scene of the Ascension in Copte 13 (Fig. 7). The owls are arranged in tiers in a rocky cave on the left side of the scene, while in Copte 13 the disciples of Christ prostrate themselves in similar tiers on the rocky mountain, opposite the ascending Christ. Our illustration (pl.54) is balanced differently, as the two rivals are portrayed to either side of an axis, in this case provided by the fire.

4- The Frontispiece: f. 34 (Pl. 17).

The frontispiece, which appears at the end of chapter three, depicts a crowned figure seated on a throne, flanked by two attendants with feather fans, standing under two large floral sprays. The background is red. The whole is framed by a wide palmette scroll set within golden bands. This composition, which is influenced by the Sassanian princely cycle, also appears in al-Mubashir's frontispiece, which depicts a seated figure on a large throne wearing a crown and holding a staff with an animal head. That figure is flanked by two attendants holding small feather-fans, but the composition is drawn on a plain background and not framed.¹³

A similar depiction of this scene from the princely cycle also appeared in a painting of the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo, dated 1140 (Fig. 8), which depicts a cross-legged seated ruler holding a cup in his right hand, and flanked by two attendants with feather-fans.

5- Human Figures:

Figures are represented in a comparatively natural way, and are rendered in a wide variety of shapes and poses, usually bare-footed. They may be seated on a folding chair or on the floor with one or both legs tucked under. They are shown standing, walking, running, sleeping, riding, and working. Two scenes show a man reclining on a bed in a particular pose (ff. 90v, 115v), which is also found in B.N. Ar. 6094 (Fig. 9) and also seen in a later Coptic manuscript dated to 1249 A.D., copied in Cairo, and now in the Paris Catholic Institute (Copte-Arabe 1), in the portrait of St. John (Fig. 10).¹⁴ This pose is also found on a Fatimid luster bowl in the Islamic Museum in

Cairo, which shows a lady with a lute reclining on a couch. Ettinghausen traces the pose back to Hellenistic models (Fig. 11).¹⁵

The king, philosopher and his pupils are illustrated with a halo around their heads in the first two chapters only. The realistic rendering of the figures allows the viewer to distinguish their occupations according to their physical appearance and appurtenances. (A table indicating the illustrations with human and animal figures is found in Appendix 3.)

The king: (ff. 10, 12v, 14v, 15v, 17v, 19, 20v, 23v, 34, 78, 121, 130v, 131v, 132v, 133, 134v, 137).

The king is always portrayed seated on his throne or on a high chair, cross-legged or with only one leg up. He is always recognizable by his crown, a situation that also applies to the king of the animals (see Pls. 7 and 48). In the case of Dabshalim or Anushirwan, a halo appears occasionally behind the crown (see Pls. 8, 11).

Dabshalim and Anushirwan are both portrayed as young men, with black hair and beard and dark flesh. Obviously the painter did not distinguish between the two kings, rather, he used the model of the Indian king and repeated it throughout the introduction (Pls. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9) and the chapter of Barzuya's mission to India (Pls. 10, 11, 12). Similarly, he also drew essentially the same figure but with white skin for the other kings who appear in the frontispiece and in the later chapters (Pls. 17, 40, 61). The frontispiece may have been repainted at a later date since the color employed for the face is a thick white.

The king wears a plain robe over a dress adorned with floral motifs of a different color and plain white pants. His face is always portrayed in three-quarter position except for the frontispiece where he appears frontally.

The Philosopher: (ff. 10, 11v, 12v, 14v, 15v, 17v, 19, 20v, 23v).

The philosopher is always illustrated as an old man with a white beard and a halo. He appears in one case wearing a turban (f. 10, pl. 4). Both Bidpai and Barzuya are identical, a direct copy of figures appearing in Greek Gospels of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁶ The same figure is also seen in the portrait of the four evangelists in a detached leaf from B.N. Copte 13, now in the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. (Fig. 12).

The philosopher is usually depicted wearing a robe with floral motifs with a piece of plain cloth twisted around his body covering most of the dress (Pls. 7, 8, 11), as in the portrait of the evangelists mentioned above.

The ascetic: (ff. 55, 89v, 101, 103v, 105v, 115v, 116v).

He is illustrated wearing a grey cloak with a pointed hood covering his long decorated robe, and is always represented with a white beard (Pls. 45, 50). His cloak and his general appearance are a direct copy of Christian monks. A fresco drawing of a priest wearing the same cloak occurs in Samarra in the Jawsaq al-Khaqani palace dated to the mid-ninth century (Fig. 13).¹⁷ It is also found on a luster bowl from Fustat, dated to the beginning of the twelfth century, showing a Coptic priest wearing a similar cloak (Fig. 14). The same figure appears in B.N. Ar. 6094, in the first Maqama (Fig. 15), and in the forty-second Maqama (Fig. 16). This figure also appears twice in Choicest Maxims (Fig. 17).¹⁸

The Judge: (ff. 55, 69v, 71).

The judge is usually illustrated as a white-haired old man without a beard, differentiated from most people by being seated on a high

chair or stand and, in one case, riding a donkey while others stand (Pl. 37). He wears a long dress and a plain-colored turban covered partly by a white shawl. The same figure appears also in B.N. Ar. 6094 (Figs. 18, 19) where the judge is seated on a throne similar to the throne of Dabshalim in our manuscript. In two cases, a physician (pl. 40) and the wise Kibariun in f.132v are illustrated with the same features as a judge.

The judge of the animals is also represented sitting on a high chair wearing a turban (pl. 39).

Merchants and other figures:

The merchants are distinguished from other characters by being bearded and by their long, decorated garments and turbans. Hunters, carpenters, workers, thieves, and guards wear short garments, occasionally over plain white pants, and are usually not bearded (see Pls. 15, 23, 41). In one case a fisherman appears wearing a hat (Pl. 16).

Women: (ff. 20v, 38, 39, 55, 78, 83, 102v, 104, 130v, 131v, 137).

Women are represented with round faces, wearing long dresses, and with their heads covered (cf. Pls. 64, 65 of our manuscript with Fig. 19). One exception is found in the scene of the king's daughter being given medicine by the fake physician. She appears with her hair uncovered (Pl. 40).

In ten of the eleven illustrations where women appear, they are main characters in the story. The exception appears in the second chapter "The Mission of Barzuya." This woman, smaller than the other figures, stands in the smallest compartment of a tripartite unit, suggesting a role as one of the court's servants. A similar figure appears also in B.N. Ar.

6094 but it is not clear whether a man or a woman is illustrated (Fig. 1). On two other occasions, both in the chapter "The owls and crows," a woman appears sleeping naked in bed with a man (Pls. 51, 53).

Drapery:

The figures are illustrated wearing garments with stylized floral and geometric motifs. The costumes are drawn with a soft-fold system. Curtains and other textiles share the same characteristics. This system of natural folds derived directly from Greek examples¹⁹ copied in the frontispiece of De Materia Medica (TKS library, Ahmet III, 2127). B.N. Ar. 6094 shares the same drapery folds, which also appear in ceramic fragments of the Fatimid period (Fig. 21).²⁰ The drapery there is similar to that in our manuscript, but is less natural and not as soft (Cf. Fig. 19 and Pl. 11), while the drapery in Copte 13 is a direct copy of that in the Rabbula Gospels of 586 A.D., written at the monastery of St. John of Zagba in Mesopotamia and now in The Laurentian Library of Florence (Plut. I, 56).²¹

The decoration of the garments employs a wide variety of floral and geometric motifs including interlaced arabesques, hexagons, stars, and a Y motif (Pls. 11, 12, 46, 51, 61). The same designs also appear on garments in the manuscript of al-Mubashir, but those look as if they are painted on the garment and not woven in it (Figs. 17 and 20).

6-Animals:

The wide variety of animals is drawn in a naturalistic way and painted with a wide range of colors, often shaded to give a sense of volume. Gold is used in the fur of the neck, stomach, and tail (Pls. 26, 27).

Two griffins appear on the spandrels of the cusped arch in the scene of Barzuya at Anushirwan's court (pl. 11). Two addorsed griffins were seen in the Fatimid period in Palermo (Fig. 22), and another griffin, also from the Fatimid period, is found on a luster-painted bowl signed by Muslim (Fig. 23). A large bronze three-dimensional griffin, now in Pisa, in Italy, is considered by Jenkins to be of Fatimid origin, transported to Italy as booty after the Pisan and Genoese naval expedition to Africa and the sacking of al-Mahdiyya. This city was governed by the Zirid emirs in the name of the Fatimids, who remained on good terms with them, and exchanged gifts.²² Jenkins suggests that the griffin, made in Egypt, was then given to the Mahdiyya emirs. In a painting, identical to the ones in our manuscript, another pair of griffins, appear in the later Coptic Gospel, Copte-Arabe 1, f. 105v, on the spandrels of a trilobed arch in the illustration of St. Luke (Fig. 24).

7) Architecture:

Figures are usually seated inside a framed enclosure, either flat-roofed or arched, supported by thin columns with rudimentary bases and capitals. The flat roof is sometimes surmounted by a central dome and several smaller ones. The arch may be cusped, semicircular or pointed. The cusped arch, as seen in Pl. 11, is frequent in Syrian and Northern Mesopotamian architecture.²³

The enclosure is usually divided into two or three rooms. A tripartite enclosure which is found often in Christian painting also appears in B.N.Ar. 6094 (see Fig. n. 16), but it is not employed in Copte 13, which has only single-unit arched enclosures.

Decoration at the top of a flat-roofed enclosure or on the spandrels of an arched one usually includes interlacing motifs of vegetal and geometric patterns and, as mentioned above, in one case the two griffins on the spandrels of the court of Kisra Anushirwan (pl. 11).

a- Interiors:

The figures are usually sitting on the floor, except for dignitaries, who are illustrated sitting on a folding chair or a mattress, and the king who is seated on either a throne with a high back decorated with a geometric and floral patterns (pl. 7, 11, 12) or a backless chair (pl. 40). The throne appears in both B.N. Ar. 6094 and in Copte 13; in the latter it appears as a high square without a back (Cf. figs. 1, 2 and Pls. 7, 12). The king is also illustrated in one case sitting on a folding chair (pl. 8).

Beds, pillows, and mattresses are often illustrated (pls. 14, 45, 46, 51, 53). A bed also appears in B.N. Ar. 6094 (Fig. 9). A cradle is illustrated in the chapter "The ascetic and the weasel" (Pl. 59); the same cradle is seen in the later Coptic Gospel, Copte-Arabe 1 (Fig. 25/1).

Curtains are also depicted in interiors. They are decorated with interlacing vegetal motifs and hang on either side of a room. Vases with fruit and flowers are sometimes included in a scene (pls. 12, 13, 64).

b- Exteriors:

Only twice is the exterior of a building illustrated: once in the "Introduction by Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi" where the prison is illustrated as a free-standing, square, stone building topped with three small domes. It has an arched entrance (Pl. 5). The second instance occurs in the chapter "The king and the bird Fanzah," where the bird is illustrated on top of a tower, also built of stone (Pl. 61).

Otherwise, several illustrations combine architectural interiors and exteriors. The king is usually illustrated sitting within an arched enclosure or a kind of baldachin while people coming from outside this enclosure are addressing him (pls. 6, 8, 9). A baldachin appears also as a shop or store (pl. 15). The baldachin or kiosk enclosure also appears in both B.N. Ar. 6094 (Fig. 18, 19), and in Copte 13 (ff. 138v and 147v).

In one scene only, two storeys of a house are shown. In the tale of the gullible thieves who believed the story of magic words as told by the alert householder, two thieves are illustrated on the roof of the house while the owner waits for them below (pl. 20). A similar scene showing two confronted figures on top of a roof, together with the interior of the room beneath, appears in Copte-Arabe 1 (Fig. 30/3).

8) Landscape:

a- Vegetation:

A large number of the trees are illustrated in modes ranging from the realistic to the fantastic. One kind can be recognized as a cypress, sometimes flowering (Pls. 9, 25, 34, 44), painted in a variety of colors (Pl. 43). This variety appears also in Copte 13, in f. 7, and in B.N. Ar. 6094 (Fig. 26), and also in the Jacobite Syrian Gospel book (Siriaco 559) (Fig. 6). Another kind is a tree with a fruit that resembles a pomegranate colored gold or red (Pls. 27, 34, 49). Palm trees are represented in different shapes; a stylized palm tree is very successfully featured in the chapter "The Owls and the Crows" (Pl. 48). Another variety appears in f. 52 (pl. 27), while a branch of a palm tree is illustrated in f. 106v (pl. n. 54). A fantastic tree like a palm but containing flowers appears in "The allegory of mankind" scene (pl. 21).

A wide variety of foliage with flowers of different colors and shapes is illustrated in all the outdoor scenes. It ranges from stylized trees with fantastic flowers (pl. 26, 29) to plants with two branches with either fantastic or natural flowers (Pls. 28, 31, 32). These varieties of plants also appear in most of the miniatures of Copte 13, where most of the scenes take place in the open air. They appear also in the Book of Antidotes (B.N. Ar. 2964).

The ground is usually indicated by a stylized band of grass made of "small obliquely-placed fleshy leaves, packed close together and sometimes interrupted by the occasional inward-curving blade or stylized flower"²⁴ (Pls. n. 27, 29, 31, 32, 35, 43, 55). The same band of grass appears in Copte 13 (Cf. Pls. 29, 35 and Fig. 27). A table included in Nassar with representations of the different grass and plant bands seen in various manuscripts shows the dark-green grass band that is common to both our manuscript and Copte 13, as well as other bands found in several other manuscripts (Fig. 28). The manuscript of al-Mubashir differs from the manuscripts shown in the table (Fig. 28), the vegetation being more naturalistic than the others (Fig. n. 20).

b- Rocks:

They are illustrated with brown wavy lines, and are simple in composition and not very high. Several layers of rock are often illustrated (Pls. 32, 33, 43 and 54). In Pl. 33, the rocks climb up to the level of the well's opening, depicting, in effect, a rocky mountain containing a well rather than a built well. The trees seen at ground level confirm this. Rocks are shaded with different degrees of the same basic color (pl. 33, 36, 43, 44), giving them a cubic appearance. Rocks in the manuscript of Copte 13 are similar to our manuscript (Fig. 7), while in al-Mubashir's manuscript they are drawn in a more naturalistic way.

c- The well:

Twice a well is illustrated: first in the story of the man who ran away from a rabid elephant (Pl. 21) where the well is illustrated by a parallel layers of stone. The second time in the chapter "The Lion and the Bull" where the intelligent hare leads his enemy the lion to a well, the well, as we have just noted above, is dug in a mountain composed of layers of uneven rocks (Pl. n. 33).

d-Water:

It is rendered in several ways. Round irregular wavy scrolls occur in the story of the fisherman who failed to fish in the chapter "The subject matter of the book" (Pl. 16), and simple low waving lines are used in the story of the dog who lost his bone when he saw his reflection in the water and in the story of the three fish (Pl. 34). At other times, the undulation of the waves is extreme, as in the story of the lion duped by the hare into jumping into the well (Pl. n. 33).

e- Fire:

Fire is illustrated twice in our manuscript, the first time in folio 69v (Pl. 37) when the judge orders the talking tree to be burnt. It is illustrated in a stylized manner: a plain flaming red fire with a golden outline, taking the shape of a bush. Fire appears next in (Pl. 54) in the scene of the crows attacking the owls' cave, where it is illustrated in the same way except that it is higher. The same fire appears in B.N. Ar. 6094 (Fig. 29). Copte 13 also illustrates fire, but in a way more realistic than in either of these manuscripts (Fig. 7).

Notes to chapter 3

- 1- Fares, B., "Décoré dans un Atelier Arabe", p.4.
- 2- Buchthal, H., "The Painting of Syrian Jacobites", p.136.
- 3- Ettinghausen, R., Arab painting, p. 67.
- 4- Grabar, O., The Illustrations of the Maqamat, pp. 8,9; Rice, D.S., "The oldest Illustrated Arabic manuscript", p. 216; Hunt, L., The Illustration of a Thirteenth Century New Testament, p. 198; Buchthal, H., "Hellenistic", p. 126. Rice does not agree that the mentioned dates are the date of copying the manuscript, but says they are the date of an earlier manuscript from which this manuscript was copied.
- 5- Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, p.113.
- 6- Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, p. 74.
- 7- Weitzmann, K., Illustrations in roll and codex, p. 21. This method was fully developed in the Hellenistic period.
- 8- Fares, B., "Décoré dans un Atelier Arabe", pp. 42,43.
- 9- Avery, M., "Miniatures of the Fables of Bidpai", p. 111, (Fig. 13)
- 10- Ettinghausen, R., "Appendix to Avery's Article", p. 115 (n. 10).
- 11- Raby, J., "Between Sogdia and the Mamluks", p. 384.
- 12- Ibid., p. 387, (Fig. 9)
- 13- Nassar, N., "Saljuk or Byzantine", p. 88.
- 14- Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes, p. 89.
- 15- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in The Fatimid Period", p. 119, (Fig.19).
- 16- Blochet, E., "Peintures des Manuscrits Arabes à Types", p. 200.
- 17- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period", p. 114, (Fig.5).
- 18- Idem., Arab Painting, p. 75. The same feature appears in its frontispiece.
- 19- Buchthal, H., "Hellenistic", p.130.
- 20- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in The Fatimid period", p. 122.

21- Weitzmann, K., Late Antique, Pls. 35,36,37.

22- Jenkins, M., "New Evidence for The History and Provenance", p. 80.

23- Barrucand, M., "Les Représentations d'Architectures", p. 120.

24- Nassar, N. "Saljuq or Byzantine", p. 94, Pl. 4.

CHAPTER FOUR: *Provenance*

The manuscript of Kalila wa Dimna shares with several other manuscripts of the late twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century a number of consistent features: the setting of figures within simple architectural frames, the use of a set of similar landscape conventions, and the representation of a stereotypical urban Arab figure. Slight differences have led scholars to group the manuscripts and to attribute them to different production centers in Baghdad, Northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt.

A group of manuscripts containing scientific treatises from Greek sources was assigned to the production center in Baghdad, where Christian stylistic features were submerged in the Islamic "Baghdad" style, sometimes making their origin difficult to trace.¹ This group includes the manuscript of The Hippitrica in the Egyptian Library in Cairo, dated 1209 A.D.; the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, dated 1224 and now in Istanbul (Ayasofia 3703); an Arabic Bestiary in the British Museum (Or. 2784), ascribed by Buchthal to 1225 A.D.; and a number of literary works, including the famous "Shefer" Hariri Maqamat in Paris (B.N. Ar. 5847).

Assigned to Northern Iraq, particularly to its center at Mosul, is another group of manuscripts containing figural and ornamental motifs like those in Mosul metalwork decoration. These manuscripts are also similar in iconography and style to Christian scenes derived from Syriac Lectionaries.² This group includes two manuscripts of the Book of Antidotes of Pseudo-Galen, the first dated 1199 A.D., now in Paris (B.N. Ar. 2964); the second attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century, and now in Vienna (A.F. 10); and the Kitab al-Aghani, dated 1217 A.D., whose folios are detached and divided between three libraries in Cairo and Istanbul. This group of manuscripts also includes two Christian Gospel Books of the Jacobite Church, the first made in a monastery near Mosul in 1220, now in the Vatican

Library (Siriaco 559), and the second, made in a monastery between Mosul and Mardin, also in 1220 A.D., now in the British Library (Add. 7170).

Another group of manuscripts, with elements borrowed from Byzantine Gospel scenes -- elements including the style of garments and a treatment of folds derived from Hellenistic models--has often been attributed to Northern Syria, with Damascus as a possible production center. This group includes our manuscript; the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides, dated 1229, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum (Ahmet III, 2127); the Maqamat of al-Hariri in Paris (B.N. Ar. 6094), dated 1222 A.D.; and the manuscript of Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings of al-Mubashir, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum (Ahmet III, 3206), which is also attributed to the first half of the thirteenth century.³

Only Coptic Gospel Books are known to have been made in Egypt during the Ayyubid reign, after the destruction of the Fatimid workshops. Thus, evidence of a continuity of illustrated manuscripts from now-lost Fatimid examples is manifest in the production of Coptic Gospels. These include one manuscript copied in Damietta in Egypt in 1180 A.D. (B.N., Copte 13), with a sketchy, rough style similar to the Hellenistic style of drawing found on Fatimid pottery fragments, and another Gospel book, copied in Cairo in 1249 A.D. and now in Paris, Institut Catholique (Copte-Arabe 1).⁴

Common sources are presumed to be the factor responsible for the similarities of features between manuscripts attributed to different production centers.⁵ These sources include Christian art, the princely cycle of Sassanian royal images, and the realism of the period, including the use of simple architectural and landscape conventions, during which the manuscripts were illustrated.

The Christian manuscript tradition with its Byzantine elements acted as an intermediary between the Hellenistic tradition and the Islamic miniatures. It survived in Northern Syria for many centuries, the border

between the Christian and Islamic worlds being an area where, from late antiquity onwards, the classical tradition had always been alive.⁶ The Byzantine elements continued to survive in the illustrated Syriac Bibles and Gospel Books and into the earliest illustrated Islamic miniatures.

The survival of these elements in both Christian and Islamic manuscripts is evident in the composition of the double frontispiece of the manuscript of the De Materia Medica of Dioscorides dated 1229, and attributed to Syria by Ettinghausen,⁷ now in the Topkapi Saray Museum in Istanbul (Ahmet III, 2127). The composition of two of the four frontispieces of Copte 13 is strikingly similar. In the double frontispiece of the Istanbul manuscript the painting on the right shows a seated figure addressing two figures on the opposite page who approach him from the left. Each of them carries a book. The same composition appears in Copte 13, but reversed. The painting on the left page shows Christ seated on a chair and addressing the four evangelists, who are carrying books in the painting on the right page.⁸ The figures of both the Istanbul manuscript and Copte 13 are enclosed in arched frames. The manuscript of the De Materia Medica was made for Shams al-Din Abu'l-Fada'l Muhammad, who was not identified by Ettinghausen, who relied on a blessing in Syriac in the colophon to attribute the work to Northern Syria. Hamid, however, attributed the manuscript to Egypt, based on the didactic inscription in the frontispiece, which led him to identify the manuscript as having been made for the Ayyubid ruler of the time.⁹ His assumption that it was produced in Egypt was also based on what he considered to be the pervasiveness of the Hellenistic trend, which also appears in the illustrated copy of the Maqamat of al-Hariri that is now in Leningrad.

The princely cycle of the Sassanian royal images, which continued in Samarra in the ninth century, is also found in paintings in the Capella Palatina in Palermo and in others found in excavations at Fustat.¹⁰

The stylistic relationship between Fatimid and Abbasid ceramics and the fresco painting of Samarra has long been accepted as a manifestation of the strong reflection in the Hellenistic art of the East of Sassanian ideas. A comparison of Samarra paintings and the painting on the ceiling of the Capella Palatina in Palermo shows that both are similar¹¹. The cross-legged ruler depicted in Palermo is derived from the Sassanian princely cycle with its representations of enthroned princes. The frontispiece of our manuscript similarly shows a cross-legged seated ruler in a frontal position, while two attendants are standing on either side, holding feather fans.

The realism evident in the concern for the representation of surroundings is considered one of the main features of thirteenth-century Islamic miniatures. It also appears in the depiction of the physical type of the Arab, in the reproduction of a multiplicity of telling gestures or characteristic details, and in many genre scenes.¹² The prototypical urban Arab figure had developed sometime during the eleventh or early twelfth century, either under the influence of developing realism of the period or as the result the iconographic requirements of an expanded princely cycle.¹³ This figure type appeared in Egyptian ceramics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as in carved wood and ivory and on inlaid metalwork, where we find several bearded and beardless figures with turbans, robes, and gestures similar to those in the manuscripts.

The simple architectural frame and the landscape have a very long tradition: they are devices typical of late antique Mediterranean art and of art throughout the middle Byzantine period, which were totally absent from Iranian art.¹⁴ They are found in all Muslim and Christian manuscripts contemporary with our manuscript, including the Coptic Gospel Books which were produced in Egypt.

The stylistic features and types of compositions common to both our manuscript and that of the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri (B.N. Ar. 6094) derive a

large part of their pictorial repertoire and stylistic characteristics directly from Byzantine painting, which was also a source for Syriac Gospel Books.¹⁵ These elements led Buchthal to attribute both manuscripts to a country near the shores of the Mediterranean where direct contact with Christian art was frequent, possibly at a minor court of a local Seljuk prince in Syria or Asia Minor.¹⁶ He further suggested that B.N. Ar. 6094 was slightly later than B.N. Ar. 3465 because it was stylistically further developed in comparison with our manuscript. Buchthal supported this hypothesis with two arguments. The first was the similarity that existed between some of the architectural forms in our manuscript, such as the cusped arch in f. 20v (Pl. 11), a characteristic feature of the minaret of the Great Mosque in Aleppo, dating from end of the eleventh century, and the regular alternation of a pointed and a plain arch, f. 10 (Pl. 4), an ornament known all over Northern Syria. The two interlaced cusped arches in f. 23v (Pl. 12), a motif used in decorating minbars and doorways in Aleppo and Konya as early as the thirteenth century, survived for a long period all over Syria, as well as Asia Minor. Buchthal attributed these ornamental forms, which were used in decorating the early Christian churches of Aleppo and Antioch regions, to late antiquity. The second argument was the similarity between both our manuscript, B.N. Ar. 6094, and the Coptic Gospel Book dated 1180 A.D. (B.N. Copte 13) which was produced in Damietta, a town not far from the Syrian frontiers. The miniatures of Copte 13 differ from all earlier Coptic paintings, but have many similarities with miniatures from both early Byzantine manuscripts produced in Syria or Asia Minor, such as the Rabula and Rossano Gospels, and thirteenth-century Christian Syriac Gospels, which contain Islamic features and motifs.¹⁷

Closer comparisons between B.N. Ar. 6094 and Copte 13 have been drawn by Grabar. He showed that both manuscripts in their depictions of the draperies of the main characters followed a distinct system of folds, a compartmentalization that uses an approach for shadows that differs from that used for folds. Grabar stated that both manuscripts showed "an attempt to reveal the body under the draped robes through a series of repetitive horizontal folds at the sides of the midriff and a ring for the belly that inscribed a clearly marked navel."¹⁸ That is clear in the illustration of the marriage at Cana in Copte 13 (Fig. 31), and in the 37th Maqama in B.N. Ar. 6094. These conventions also appeared in Fatimid ceramics, e.g., on a bowl at the Freer Gallery in Washington D.C. showing a dancer (Fig. 35). Other fragments of pottery show a different Hellenistic miniature style, which reached its full development in book illustrations (Fig. 21: a, b) and can be linked to B.N. Ar. 6094 and to B.N. Copte 13.¹⁹

Another connection of B.N. Ar. 6094 to illustrations produced in Egypt is the representation of the ship in folio 68, which is an indirect copy of the funerary ship of the Pharaonic Book of The Dead, especially the representation of the sailor at the far end of the ship.²⁰

There is also a close resemblance between the later Coptic Gospel Book, dated 1249 (Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), and Islamic painting of the early thirteenth century, especially our manuscript. This is manifested in the use of details common to both: textile patterns, the design of woodwork and furniture, and architectural frames, as well as in the use of a similar color scheme and similar painting techniques, especially the outlining of faces with a red line overpainted with black.²¹ These striking similarities lead to the question of whether our manuscript and B.N. Ar. 6094 were brought from Syria and copied in Egypt, or whether they were actually produced in Egypt, considering the fact that no Islamic manuscript has been attributed to Egypt during the first half of the thirteenth century.

The manuscript Copte-Arabe 1, according to the colophon, was written by the monk-priest Gabriel, identified by Horner as the future Patriarch Gabriel III, a Syrian who held office between 1268-71.²² The Armenian and the Syrian Jacobite and Melkite churches in this period were represented in Egypt, and the Syrian Jacobite community was centered at Deir es-Suriani in Wadi Natrun. The church of that monastery contained wall paintings, dated 1225, with a color program and a "soft fold" drapery system common to both Muslim and Christian manuscript illustrations of the thirteenth century.²³ The employment of a variety of sources in the church paintings, together with the appearance of Syriac and Armenian as well as the Coptic language, leads to the assumption of the existence of a workshop in Egypt, employing Christian artists from different backgrounds who had previously worked in other centers.²⁴ This conclusion is also supported by the presence of a Syriac numbering system on the folios of Copte 13, which, scholars agree, was illustrated by two artists.²⁵ Such workshops might have existed in cosmopolitan centers at a time when Egypt and Syria were unified under the Ayyubid rule.

Comparison between Copte-Arabe 1 and both B.N. Ar. 6094 and our manuscript confirms the dependence of Copte-Arabe 1 on prototypes from the other two manuscripts. An illustration showing Abu-Zayd before his companions in Maqama 17 f. 52v (Fig. 32) is similar to the illustration showing Christ disputing with the doctors in f. 109v (Fig. 25/3), and the illustration showing Abu-Zayd and his son in Maqama 49 f. 180 (Fig. 33) is similar to the illustration of Christ and Nicodemus seated in conversation in fol. 178v (fig. 34/2). The illustration showing the healing of the paralytic in Copte-Arabe 1, f. 5 (fig. 30/3), is paralleled by the scene of the two gullible robbers on the roof of the house of the rich man in f. 38 (Pl. 20) in our manuscript, and the two griffins on the spandrels in the scene with the portrait of Saint Luke (Fig. 24) are similar to those on the spandrels in the

scene of Anushirwan and Barzuya in f. 20v (Pl. 11). The reclining Saint John (Fig. 10) of Copte-Arabe 1 is similar to both the reclining guest hitting the mouse in f. 90v (Pl. 46) and the ascetic hitting the jar of honey in f. 115v in our manuscript.

Hunt pointed out the possibility of the production of secular illustrated books in the Christian workshops in Egypt in the thirteenth century. She disagreed with Buchthal about the date of B.N. Ar. 3465 which he supposed was produced earlier than B.N. Ar. 6094, i.e., before 1222. She suggested a later date, after the production of B.N. Ar. 6094, to accord with its close association with Copte-Arabe 1, dated 1249, and with the upper layer of the painted decoration of the Church of al-Adra at Deir as-Suriani in Wadi-Natrun, which she proved was dated 1225. She proposed the date of 1230 A.D. for the manuscript of B.N. Ar. 3465 and Cairo as an alternative center for early thirteenth century secular manuscript paintings, thus opposing the thesis that Syrian Jacobites were the sole intermediary between Byzantine and Islamic art.²⁶ The appearance of the partial page numbering system in Coptic letters on the folios of our manuscript does indeed confirm a link between B.N. Ar. 3465 and Egypt, for it clearly shows that the manuscript was at some time used by Copts.²⁷

Notes to chapter four:

- 1- Buchthal, H., "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad", pp. 10, 20, 31, 34.
- 2- Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, p. 64.
- 3- Hunt, L.A., The Illustration of a 13th Century New Testament, p. 201.
- 4- Ibid., p. 192.
- 5- Grabar, O., "The illustrated Maqamat of the 13th Century", p. 219.
- 6- Buchthal, H., "Indian Fables in Islamic Art", p. 319.
- 7- Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, p. 67, Figs. on pp. 68, 69.
- 8- Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes, Figs. 42, 43.
- 9- Hamid, I., "The Characteristics of the Miniatures", p. 130.
- 10- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid period", p. 121
- 11- Ibid., p. 119
- 12- Grabar, O., The illustration of the Maqamat, p. 139.
- 13- Ibid., p. 138.
- 14- Ibid., p. 139.
- 15- Buchthal, H., "Hellenistic", p. 126.
- 16- Ibid., p. 133.
- 17- Ibid., p. 131.
- 18- Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, p. 144, n. 48.
- 19- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period", p. 122
- 20- Blochet, E., "Peintures de Manuscrits Arabes", p. 210.
- 21- Hunt, L.A., The Illustration of a 13th Century New Testament, p. 215.
- 22- Idem, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting", p. 125
- 23- Ibid., p. 142
- 24- Ibid., p. 144
- 25- Leroy, J., Les manuscrits Coptes, p. 145.
- 26- Hunt, L.A., the Illustration of a 13th Century New Testament p. 217.
- 27- Ibid., p. 216.

CHAPTER FIVE: *Conclusion*

Our manuscript, B.N. Ar. 3465, has been attributed by many scholars to Syria at the beginning of the thirteenth century. If this proposed date is accepted then our manuscript should be considered one of the earliest illustrated Arabic manuscripts, and the first illustrated Arabic Kalila wa Dimna.

The manuscript itself is of luxurious quality, as is manifest in the fine drawings and the use of considerable amounts of gold in its miniatures. It also has a frontispiece showing a seated ruler between two attendants. It has long been disputed whether the presence of a courtly frontispiece is a sign of a royal manuscript.¹ The possibly contemporary Book of Songs, dated 1219 A.D., contained several frontispieces with a seated ruler wearing a robe with a sleeve inscribed with the name of the ruler of the Mosul region: Badr ad-Din Lu'lu'. Although our manuscript does not indicate any sign of its commissioner, the quality of the manuscript points to a person of considerable importance, perhaps of the ruling class or perhaps a rich merchant or other member of the rising Arab bourgeoisie. We know that Fatimid-era patrons were not solely of the ruling class from the example of the Jewish businessman Ibn Killis, the Representative of the Merchants in Ramla and later the first vizier in the court, who was reported to have commissioned Arabic books.²

Although the text of our manuscript and the order of its chapters are features common to many of the Kalila wa Dimna versions which have survived, it is the only illustrated copy belonging to the class A in Sprengling's classification.³ The later Arabic illustrated version from the beginning of the fourteenth century, B.N. Ar. 3467, was classified under class C, while the two illustrated copies from the fourteenth century, in Oxford and Munich, discussed by Walzer, both prove to be from a codex also

common to B.N. 3467. Also to class C, could be assigned the fourteenth-century version in Cambridge, which, although it is derived from a different codex, contains stylistic features similar to B.N. 3467.⁴

Our manuscript is characterized by a high rate of illustrations. This is obvious in the appearance of illustrations at a regular intervals throughout the text, regardless of the suitability of the text for illustration. This rate of illustrations was maintained by the use of stock compositions modified to suit individual scenes.⁵ This phenomenon is clear in the repetition of several court scenes in the first two chapters of the manuscript, and in the use of the composition with an axial tree with two figures--animal or human-- balanced on either side, which appears several times within the manuscript. This feature, together with the similarity between several of its illustrations and the fresco paintings at Panjikent dated mid 8th century, and its use of an ancient pictorial repertoire manifest in the Sassanian princely cycle in the frontispiece and the scene of the lion attacking the bull, are reminiscent of early reliefs at Persepolis, leading to the conclusion that the pictorial cycle of our manuscript was copied from an earlier prototype.

The relationship of our manuscript to contemporary Islamic manuscripts, especially to B.N. Ar. 6094, and the relationship of both B.N. Ar. 3465 and 6094 to Copte 13 and to the later Coptic manuscript Copte-Arabe 1 deserve more attention. It has been generally agreed that B.N. Ar. 6094 depended on Christian models, especially whenever its text required scenes in which groups of figures play the role of the audience for the protagonist, a parallel to Christian Gospels with Christ and the listeners or Christ and his apostles. Buchthal's analysis of B.N. Ar. 6094 revealed some of the Byzantine models influence on the illustrations, together with their relation to the Syriac Gospel books.⁶ These Syriac Gospels themselves were proven to be a provincial version of Byzantine painting, produced in a Christian community living under Muslim rule and open to influences from different sources

including the flourishing art of their rulers.⁷ Grabar⁸ and Ettinghausen⁹ showed there were also parallels between B.N. Ar. 6094 and the Hellenistic trend in Fatimid ceramics and in Copte 13.

The close relationship between our manuscript and B.N. Ar. 6094, clear in the many small details common to both manuscripts, suggests that they were produced in the same workshop. While the dependence of Copte-Arabe 1 on compositional and stylistic elements from our manuscript does not confirm that both our manuscript and Copte-Arabe 1 were produced in the same workshop, it does suggest that our manuscript was present when Copte-Arabe 1 was being produced. This could account for the presence of the Coptic numbering system on the folios of B.N. Ar. 3465.

Buchthal dated our manuscript to a period earlier than B.N. Ar. 6094. He supported this by showing that B.N. Ar. 6094 represented a further developed stage of drapery and vegetation designs away from Hellenistic models,¹⁰ disregarding a difference in texts that requires our manuscript to illustrate animals rather than human figures and B.N. Ar. 6094 to deal with humans not animals.

The production, under Ayyubid rule, of a number of high-quality illustrated Coptic Gospels influenced by early thirteenth-century Islamic illustration, or by the realism of the period, leads to the hypothesis that either Christian workshops produced secular manuscripts or that Christian painters were involved, together with Muslim painters, in producing manuscripts. Such a hypothesis is quite tenable, given the tolerance of the Ayyubids towards their non-Muslim subjects.

The presence of our manuscript in Egypt before the end of the Ayyubid rule is suggested by the appearance of similar stylistic features in Copte-Arabe 1, which was produced in Cairo in 1249, together with the appearance of the Coptic numbering system on the folios of our manuscript. This does not necessarily mean that it was produced in Egypt, especially

since both Egypt and Syria were under the same rule and artists could have been moving frequently between the two regions, a phenomenon common in all the Muslim regions.

Considering the two arguments presented by Buchthal and Hunt in dating our manuscript, I am inclined to suggest that our manuscript is later than B.N. Ar. 6094, as it tends to present many of the illustrations in a perfect decorative approach rather than the sketchy style of Copte 13 and B.N. Ar. 6094. Therefore I would place B.N. Ar. 3465 sometime after 1225 and before 1249 A.D.

Notes to Chapter Five:

- 1- Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, p. 64.
- 2- Goitein, S.D., "The Rise of The Near-Eastern Bourgeoisie", p. 601.
- 3- Sprengling, M., "Kalila Studies", p. 92, 94.
- 4- Walzer, S., "The Mamluk Illuminated Manuscripts", p. 205.
- 5- Golombek, L., "Towards a Classification", p. 23.
- 6- Buchthal, H., "Hellenistic", p. 125-33.
- 7- Idem, "The painting of the Syrian Jacobites", p. 149.
- 8- Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, p. 143.
- 9- Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in The Fatimid Period", p. 122.
- 10- Buchthal, H., "Hellenistic", p. 131.

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	APPROX. SIZE	POSITION
		CHAPTER 1 : Introduction by 'Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi	Height - Width mm.	
1	3	Alexander consulting the fortune tellers *	174 x 191	central
2	3v	Battle between the army of Alexander and the Indians *	174 x 191	central
3	6	Two birds attacking the elephant	131 x 184	bottom
4	10	Bidpai before Dabshalim and three courtiers	173 x 202	top
5	11v	Bidpai in prison	155 x 173	central
6	12v	Bidpai chained, brought before Dabshalim	155 x 191	central
7	14v	Bidpai advising Dabshalim	132 x 191	central
8	15v	Dabshalim ordering Bidpai to write the book	132 x 191	central
9	17v	Bidpai bowing before Dabshalim after finishing the book	170 x 191	central
		CHAPTER 2 : The mission of Barzuya		
10	19	Barzuya before Anushirwan	122 x 191	bottom
11	20v	Anushirwan orders Barzuya to go to India	170 x 196	central
12	22	Anushirwan, Barzuya and one guard *	120 x 184	central
13	23v	Barzuya conversing with Anushirwan	167 x 184	central
14	25v	Court scene, divided in two levels *	172 x 217	full page
		CHAPTER 3 : The subject matter of the book		
15	27v	The thief robbing the house of the sleeping merchant.	125 x 184	central
16	29v	The poor naked hungry man drives the thief from the house	155 x 184	top

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
17	30v	The merchant and his companion stealing the goods from his store	131 x 196	central
18	31v	The thief who stole the jar of wheat instead of the jar of gold	125 x 190	central
19	32v	The three brothers seated	138 x 200	central
20	33	The fisherman catching a fish in his net	131 x 196	central
21	34	Seated ruler between two attendants (frontispiece)	210 x 160	full page
CHAPTER 4 :				
The biography of Barzuya				
22	36v	The idol	135 x 167	central
23	38	Two thieves on the roof, while the owner beats the third indoor	184 x 184	top
24	39	The husband beats the lover of his wife, while she is watching	147 x 184	central
25	40	The merchant listening to music played by the worker	167 x 184	central
26	40v	A dog holding a bone in his mouth watching his reflection	105 x 178	bottom
27	43v	The man who survived a rabid elephant and fell into a well	143 x 184	central
CHAPTER 5:				
The lion and the bull				
28	45v	The man releasing the bull	161 x 184	top
29	46	A man chased by a wolf	161 x 190	top
30	47	The carpenter beats the monkey who is trapped	135 x 208	central
31	48	Kalila and Dimna conversing	147 x 184	central
32	49v	Dimna talking to the lion	125 x 196	bottom
33	51	The fox biting the drum	137 x 190	central
34	52	Dimna talking to the lion	137 x 190	central
35	52v	Dimna introducing the bull to the lion	114 x 196	bottom

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
36	53v	The two goats who killed the fox while fighting	132 x 190	central
37	55	The ascetic telling the real story to the judge	135 x 196	central
38	56	The crow consulting his friend the jackel	135 x 190	central
39	57	The crab killing the heron while flying	120 x 190	central
40	58v	The lion jumping in the well while the hare is watching	132 x 184	central
41	60	Two fishermen catching the fish with a net	147 x 184	top
42	62	Dimna and the bull	137 x 191	central
43	66	The lion, wolf, jackel and crow attacking the camel	143 x 196	central
44	67	Two ducks flying with a tortoise while people watching	105 x 178	central
45	69v	The rogue's father climbing down the burning tree	146 x 196	central
46	71	The merchant kidnapping the son of his friend	137 x 196	central
47	71v	The lion attacking the bull while Dimna is watching	150 x 190	central
CHAPTER 6: Dimna's trial				
48	73	The lion listening to his mother	155 x 200	central
49	77	The trial of Dimna	167 x 200	central
50	78	The quack doctor giving medicine to the king's maid	150 x 190	central
51	80v	The jackal visiting Dimna in prison after Kalila's death	111 x 190	central
52	83	The parrot attacking his trainer in front of his master and guests	135 x 200	central
CHAPTER 7: The Ringdove				
53	84v	The fowler watching the pigeons in the net	135 x 184	central
54	86	The crow seeks the friendship of the rat	122 x 178	central

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
55	87v	The crow flying the rat to the river where the tortoise lives	122 x 184	central
56	88v	The wolf approaching the bow after the hunter, wolf and deer died	117 x 196	bottom
57	89v	The ascetic and guest seated while mouse climbs to the basket	129 x 208	central
58	90v	The ascetic's guest hits the mouse with a stick	135 x 208	central
59	92v	The deer in the hunter's trap while tortoise, crow and rat talk	120 x 196	central
CHAPTER 8:				
The owls and crows				
60	94v	The owls attacking the crow's	167 x 184	central
61	95v	The king of crows consulting his ministers	131 x 202	central
62	97	The crow advises the birds	137 x 208	central
63	99v	The crow watch the sparrow before the cat	105 x 178	central
64	101	The thieves deceiving the ascetic who is driving the sheep	170 x 196	central
65	102v	The wife hugging her husband in fear of the thief	150 x 184	central
66	103v	The devil and the thief who wanted to rob the ascetic	150 x 208	bottom
67	104	The carpenter under the bed listening to his wife and her lover	132 x 167	central
68	105v	The ascetic and the rat girl (a man is drawn instead of a girl)	143 x 184	central
69	106v	The crows attacking the owl's cave	190 x 200	central
70	107v	The crow talking to his king	160 x 167	central
71	108v	The old snake carrying the king of frogs	155 x 184	central
72	110	The goat sucking his mother's neck	146 x 184	central
CHAPTER 9:				
The monkey and the tortoise				
73	111v	The monkey on the tree throwing figs to the tortoise in the river	167 x 167	central

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
74	112v	The tortoise swimming to the island with the monkey on its back	170 x 184	central
75	113v	The jackel talking to the donkey	167 x 196	central
76	114	The lion attacking the donkey	129 x 196	bottom
		CHAPTER 10: The ascetic and the weasel		
77	115v	The ascetic who while dreaming broke the jar of honey	146 x 178	central
78	116v	The ascetic beating the weasel	135 x 196	central
		CHAPTER 11: The cat and the mouse		central
79	117v	The mouse cutting the net while the owl and the weasel watch	122 x 208	central
80	118v	The mouse cutting the net where the cat has been trapped	125 x 190	central
81	119v	The mouse talks to the cat in the net	105 x 184	bottom
		CHAPTER 12: The king and the bird Fanzah		
82	121	The king talking to the bird who is perched on the roof	184 x 184	central
83	122	Two dog trainers and their two dogs	147 x 208	central
		CHAPTER 13: The lion and the jackal		
84	125	The ascetic jackal talking to the lion	167 x 190	central

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
85	126v	The lion and the jackal	143 x 208	central
86	127v	The lion talking to his mother	147 x 208	top
87	128	The lion and the jackal	95 x 196	bottom
		CHAPTER 14: Iladh, Biladh, Irakht and the wise Kibarium		
88	130v	Irakht before the king	146 x 167	central
89	131v	Irakht talking to the king	147 x 160	central
90	132v	The king bowing before of the wise Kibarium	135 x 196	central
91	133	The king receiving the messengers	117 x 196	bottom
92	134v	Iladh before the king telling him that he had killed Irakht	146 x 184	central
93	135v	The monkey on the tree while the man is resting beside the basket	157 x 178	central
94	137	Irakht bowing before the king	170 x 190	central
		CHAPTER 15: The lioness and the jackal		
95	138v	The lioness telling her story to the jackal *	98 x 178	top
		CHAPTER 16: The ascetic and his guest		
96	139v	The ascetic talking to his guest *	77 x 167	bottom

APPENDIX 1 : LIST OF ILLUSTRATED STORIES AND THEIR SIZE AND POSITION IN THE PAGE

No.	FOLIO	STORY	SIZE	POSITION
97	141	CHAPTER 17: The traveller and the goldsmith The ascetic, the goldsmith, the monkey, the lion and the snake *	89 x 178	bottom
98	143	CHAPTER 18: The king's son and his companions The king's son talking to his three friends *	105 x 157	central

* The whole page is not original

APPENDIX 2 : List of added folios

Folio n.	Chapter	Story	n. of lines	Illustration
1v	1	Title of the book and Introduction by Ali b. al-Shah al-Farisi	12	
2	1	Introduction by Ali b. al-Shah al--Farisi	19	
2v	1	The reason of writing the book.	19	
3	1	"	4	Court scene
3v	1	The battle between Alexandre and the king of India	4	horses of fire attacking the elephants
5	1	Bidpai tells his students about king Dabshalim	15	
5v	1	"	12	
7	1	The students ask Bidpai to tell the king of being unjust.	15	
7v	1	Bidpai meets the king	15	
8	1	The king asks Bidpai to talk.	15	
8v	1	Bidpai tells the king the reason for the meeting	15	
9	1	"	7	
9v	1	"	8	

Folio n.	chapter	Story	n. of lines	Illustration
22	2	The mission of Barzuya Barzuya translates the book	10	Barzuya before Kisra
22v	2	Barzuya returns back to Persia	19	
25	2	Buzurjmihr writes the biography of Barzuya and reads it loudly	16	
25v	2	none	-	Full page Two levels Court scene
68	5	The lion attacking the bull	9	
68v	5	The monkeys seeking fire in a cold rainy night	12	
75	6	Dimna talking to the lion's mother	11	
75v	6	"	11	
98	8	The intellegent hare asks the elephant to go with him to the moon spring	15	
98v	8	"	3	
129	14	The Brahmans agree to revenge	17	
129v	14	The Brahmans tell the king that he must kill his loved ones	18	
138	15	The lioness and the jackal	17	
138v	15	"	10	Lioness & jackal
139	15	"	14	

Folio n.	Chapter	Story	n. of lines	Illustration
139v	16	The Ascetic and his guest	9	Ascetic and guest
140	16	"	17	
140v	17	The traveller and the Goldsmith	15	
141	17	"	10	Traveller, goldsmith monkey, lion, snake
141v	17	"	17	
142	17	"	16	
142v	17	End of chapter 17	5	
	18	The king's son and his companions	10	
143	18	"	10	The four friends
143v	18	"	17	
144	18	"	17	
144v	18	"	17	
145	18	"	17	
145v	18	"	17	
146	18	"	17	
146v	18	The end of the book	5 + repetition of un clear name and the stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale.	

- Another stamp by the Bibliothèque Nationale, binding workshop,
the manuscript was repaired the: 21 Jan. 1947.

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS WITH HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES

N	CHAPTER	HUMAN FIGURES	HUMAN & ANIMAL	ANIMAL FIGURES
1	1	folio 3*		
2	1		folio 3v*	
3	1			folio 6
4	1	folio 10		
5	1	folio 11v*		
6	1	folio 12v		
7	1	folio 14v		
8	1	folio 15v*		
9	1	folio 17v*		
10	2	folio 19		
11	2	folio 20v		
12	2	folio 22*		
13	2	folio 23v		
14	2	folio 25*+		
15	3	folio 27v		
16	3	folio 29v		
17	3	folio 30v		
18	3	folio 31v		
19	3	folio 32v*		
20	3		folio 33	
21	-	folio 34*+		
22	4	folio 36v		
23	4	folio 38		
24	4	folio 39		
25	4	folio 40		folio 40v
26	4		folio 43v	
27	4			
28	5		folio 45v	
29	5		folio 46	
30	5		folio 47	
31	5			folio 48
32	5			folio 49v
33	5			folio 51
34	5			folio 52
35	5			folio 52v
36	5			folio 53v
37	5	folio 55		folio 56
38	5			folio 57
39	5			folio 58v
40	5		folio 60	
41	5			folio 62
42	5			folio 66
43	5		folio 67	
44	5		folio 69v	
45	5			
46	5	folio 71*		folio 71v
47	5			

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS WITH HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES

N	CHAPTER	HUMAN FIGURES	HUMAN & ANIMAL	ANIMAL FIGURES
48	6	folio 78	folio 83	folio 73
49	6			folio 77
50	6			folio 80v
51	6			
52	6			
53	7		folio 84v	
54	7			folio 86
55	7			folio 87v
56	7		folio 88v	
57	7		folio 89v	
58	7		folio 90v	
59	7			folio 92v
60	8			folio 94v
61	8			folio 95v
62	8			folio 97
63	8			folio 99v
64	8	folio 102v	folio 101	
65	8		folio 103v	
66	8			
67	8			
68	8			
69	8			folio 106v
70	8			folio 107v
71	8			folio 108v
72	8			folio 110
73	9			folio 111v
74	9	folio 115v	folio 116v	folio 112v
75	9			folio 113v
76	9			folio 114
77	10			
78	10			
79	11		folio 121	folio 117v
80	11			folio 118v
81	11			folio 119v
82	12			
83	12			
84	13		folio 122	folio 125
85	13			folio 126v
86	13			folio 127v
87	13			folio 128

APPENDIX 3: LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS WITH HUMAN AND ANIMAL FIGURES

N	CHAPTER	HUMAN FIGURES	HUMAN & ANIMAL	ANIMAL FIGURES
88	14	folio 130v	folio 135v	folio 138v*
89	14	folio 131v		
90	14	folio 132v		
91	14	folio 133		
92	14	folio 134v		
93	14			
94	14	folio 137*		
95	15			
96	16	folio 139v*	folio 141*	
97	17			
98	18	folio 143*		
TOTAL		37	21	40

*: not original illustrations

#: scenes with birds acting as part of the ground and not playing an active role in the story.

*+: not original frontispiece (full page illustration)

*+: original frontispiece with frame, including birds in the background.

List of Figures

- 1- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f. 31 tenth maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 2- Coptic Gospel (Paris B.N. Copte 13), f. 131. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 3- Fables of Bidpai and the life of Aesop (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 397), f. 5v "The Wolves eat Figs". After Raby, J., "Between Sogdia and The Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustrations to Kalila wa Dimna", Oriental Art new series V. XXXIII no.4 (winter 1987/88), pp.381-98.
- 4- Sketch of Fresco painting from sector XXI, Panjikent near Samarkand, mid 8th century A.D. After Raby, J., "Between Sogdia and The Mamluks: A Note on the Earliest Illustrations to Kalila wa Dimna", Oriental Art new series V. XXXIII no. 4 (winter 1987/88), pp. 381-98.
- 5- Coptic Gospel (Paris B.N. Copte 13), f.198. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 6- Jacobite Gospel (Vatican Library, Siriaco 559) f. 105. After Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, Geneva 1962.
- 7- Coptic Gospel (Paris B.N. Copte 13), f. 218v. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 8- Fresco painting from the ceiling of Cappella Palatina in Palermo, "The Cross-Legged Ruler". After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
- 9- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f. 59v, 19th maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 10- Coptic Gospel (Paris Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), f. 174v, portrait of St. John. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.

- 11- Luster Bowl, Cairo Islamic Museum, Fatimid period. After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
- 12- Coptic Gospel (Washington D.C., The Freer Gallery) detached leaf from B.N. Copte 13. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 13- Fresco painting from Samarra', The Palace of Jawsaq al-Khaqani, "The Priest". After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
- 14- Luster Bowl, Cairo 12th century. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. After Alan Gaiger-Smith, Tin-Glaze Pottery, London 1985. The bowl is signed by the painter Sa'd.
- 15- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.6, first maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 16- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.147, 42nd maqama. After Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, Geneva 1962.
- 17- Al-Mubashir, The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings, (Topkapi Saray Museum, Ahmet III, 3206), f. 24. After Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, Geneva 1962.
- 18- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.25, 8th maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 19- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.139, 40th maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 20- Al-Mubashir, The Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings, (Topkapi Saray Museum, Ahmet III, 3206), f. 48. After Ettinghausen, R., Arab Painting, Geneva 1962.

- 21- a) Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.103v, 31st maqama. After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
 b) Fragments of Fatimid Pottery from the Islamic Museum, Cairo. After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
- 22- Fresco painting from the ceiling of Cappella Palatina in Palermo, "Two addorsed Griffins". After Ettinghausen, R., "Painting in the Fatimid Period: A Reconstruction", Ars Islamica IX (1942), pp. 112-24.
- 23- Luster Bowl, Cairo Islamic Museum. Fatimid Period signed by Muslim. After Jenkins, M., "Muslim: An Early Fatimid Ceramist", Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 26 (1968), pp. 359-369.
- 24- Coptic Gospel (Paris Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), f. 105v, portrait of St. Luke. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 25- Coptic Gospel (Paris Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), f. 109v. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 26- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.126, 36th maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 27- Coptic Gospel (Paris B.N. Copte 13), f. 193. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.
- 28- Grass and plant bands in late twelfth century and early thirteenth century. After Nassar, N., "Saljuq or Byzantine: Two related styles of Jaziran Miniature Painting", The Art of Syria and The Jazira 1100-1250, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art I ed. Julian Raby, London 1985.
- 29- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.156, 44th maqama. After Grabar, O., The Illustration of the Maqamat, Chicago 1984.
- 30- Coptic Gospel (Paris Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), f. 5. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabs Illustrés, Paris 1974.

- 31- Coptic Gospel (Paris B.N. Copte 13), f. 224v. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabes Illustrées, Paris 1974.
- 32- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.52v, 17th maqama. After Hunt, L., "Christian Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfs to Mid-Thirteenth Centuries", Cahiers Archéologiques 33 (1985), pp. 111-55
- 33- Al-Hariri, Maqamat (Paris, B.N. Arabe 6094), f.180, 49th maqama. After Hunt, L., "Christian Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfs to Mid-Thirteenth Centuries", Cahiers Archéologiques 33 (1985), pp. 111-55.
- 34- Coptic Gospel (Paris Institut Catholique, Copte-Arabe 1), f. 178v. After Leroy, J., Les Manuscrits Coptes et Coptes-Arabes Illustrées, Paris 1974.
- 35- Luster Bowl, Egypt twelfth century (Washington D.C., Freer Gallery of Arts). After Atil, E., Art of The Arab World, Washington D.C. 1975

وَبُكِّي بِرُبُّوتِهِ وَالْحَصَامُ مِنْهُمَا مَطَايِرُ الشَّرِّ وَالزَّجَامُ عَلَيْهِمَا جَمْعُ بَيْنِ الْخِيَارِ
وَالْأَسْرَارِ إِلَى الْإِبْرَامِ فَقَدْ شَبَّهَا بِالْأَنْفِ الْإِبْرَامُ بِالْبَدْوَةِ وَأَنْ مَرَّتْ بِهَا فَكَلَّتْ
وَقَلَّبَتْ حَبَّ السِّنِّ عَلَى الْأَبْنَاتِ فَاسْرَعَا إِلَى نَدْوَتِهِ كَالنَّائِلِ فِي عَدْوَتِهِ فَلَمَّا مَضَى

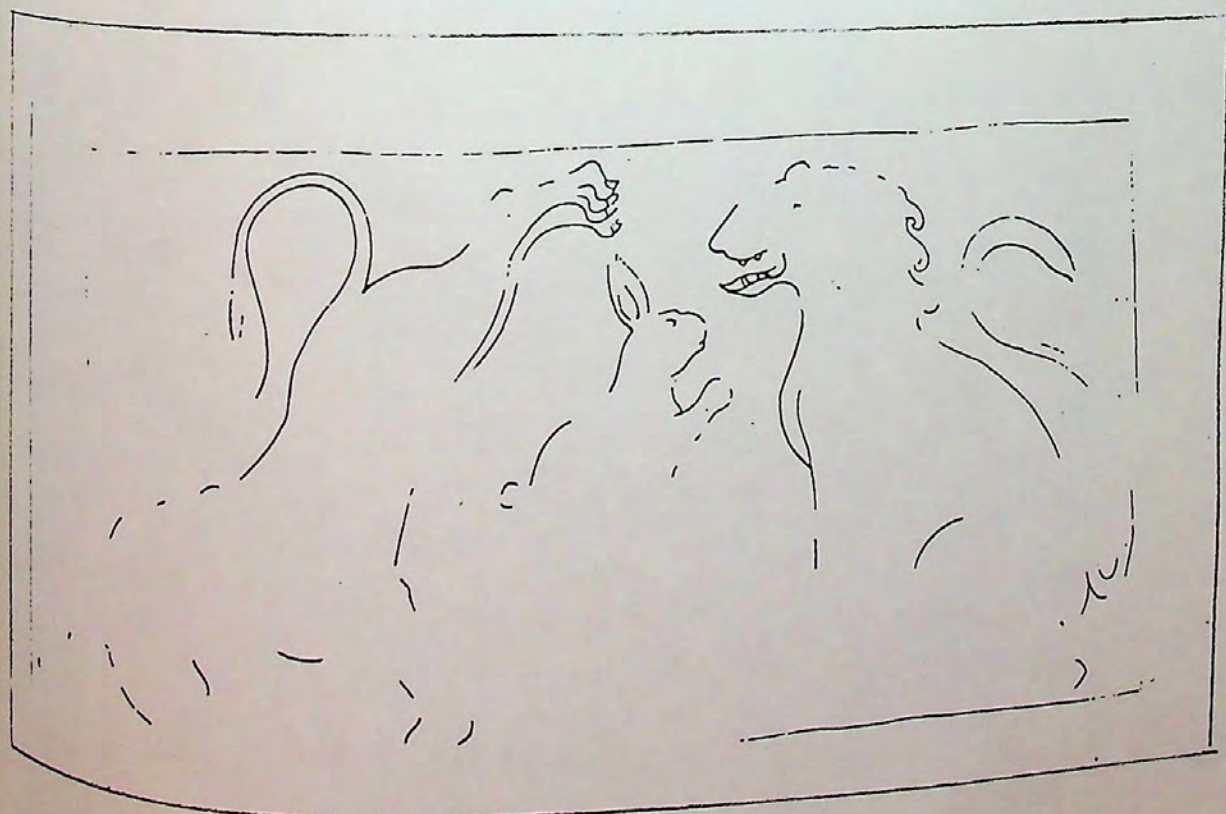
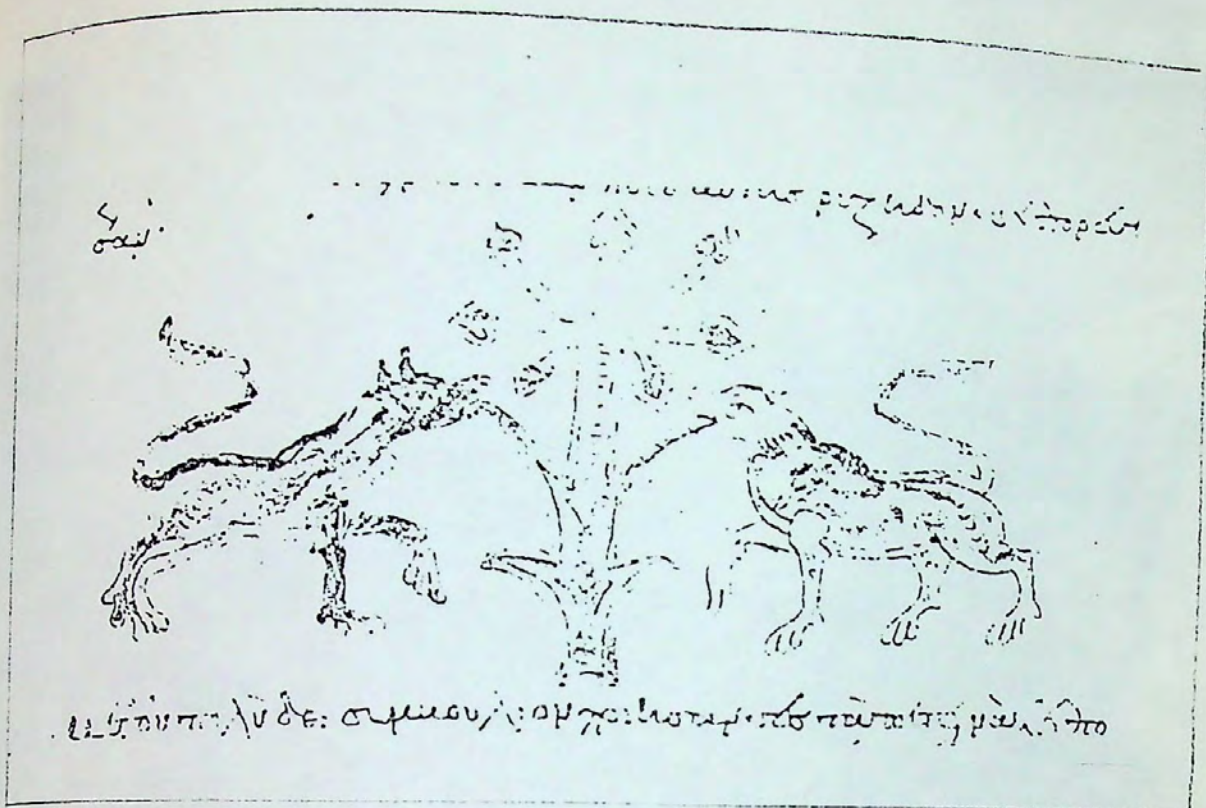


جاء الشيخ دعواه واستظهر الغلام وقد وثقه بحاجته عشرة
شهود منهم شيخه العلامة الفاضل الميرزا محمد باقر

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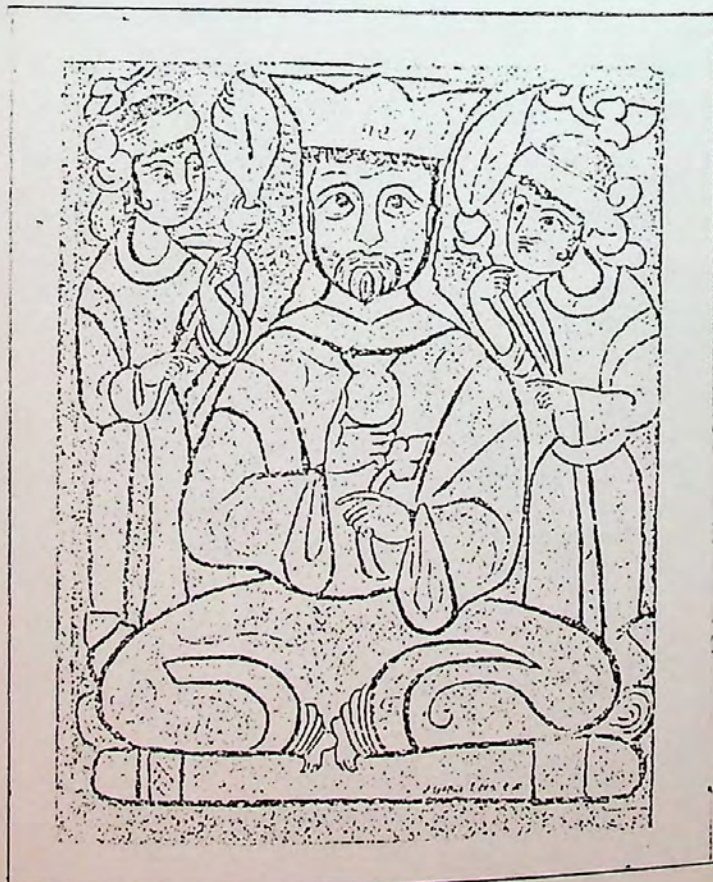
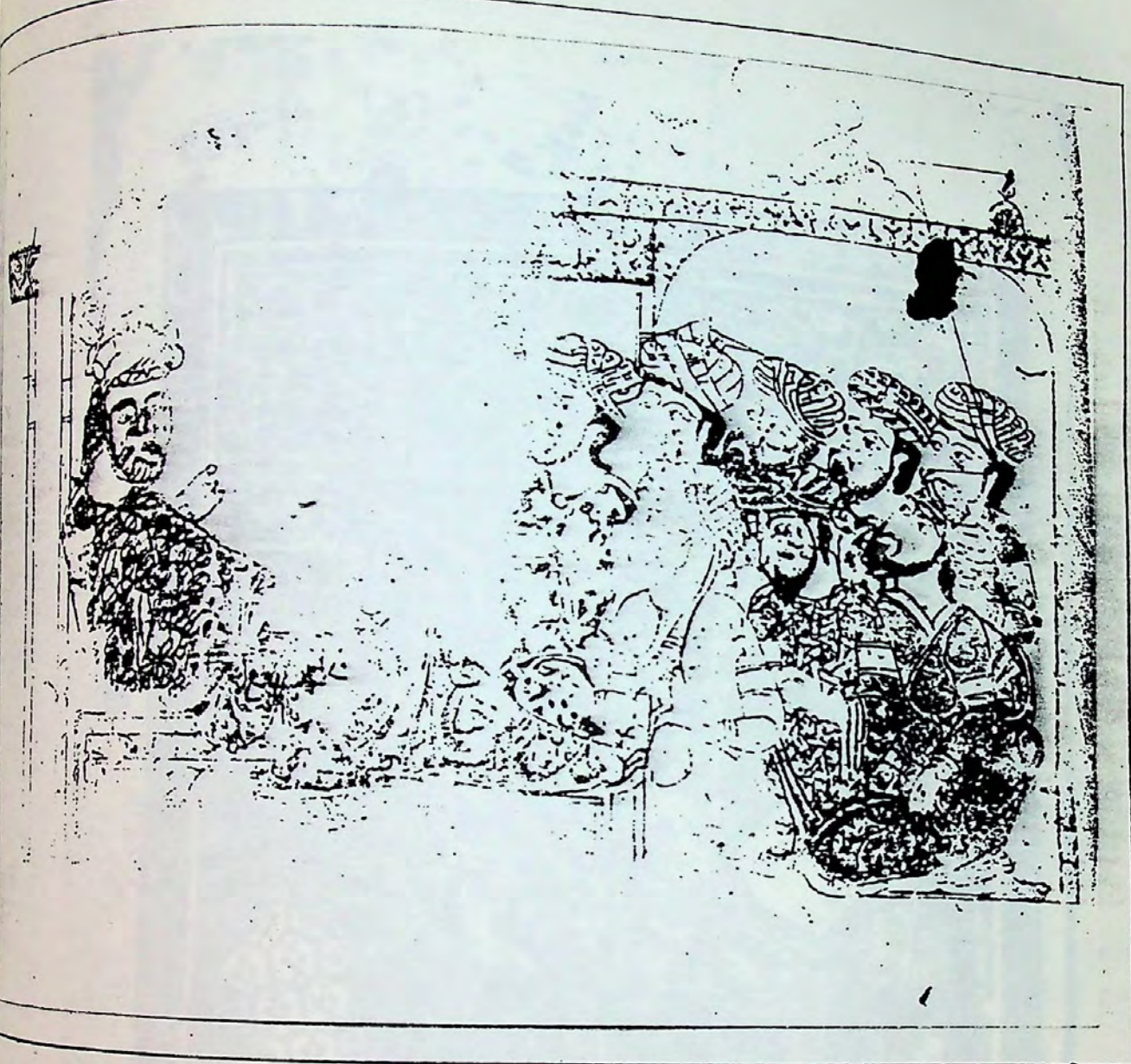


Fig. 9



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نوحنا النعماني

Fig. 11



J
AFTER ZAKY M. HASSAN



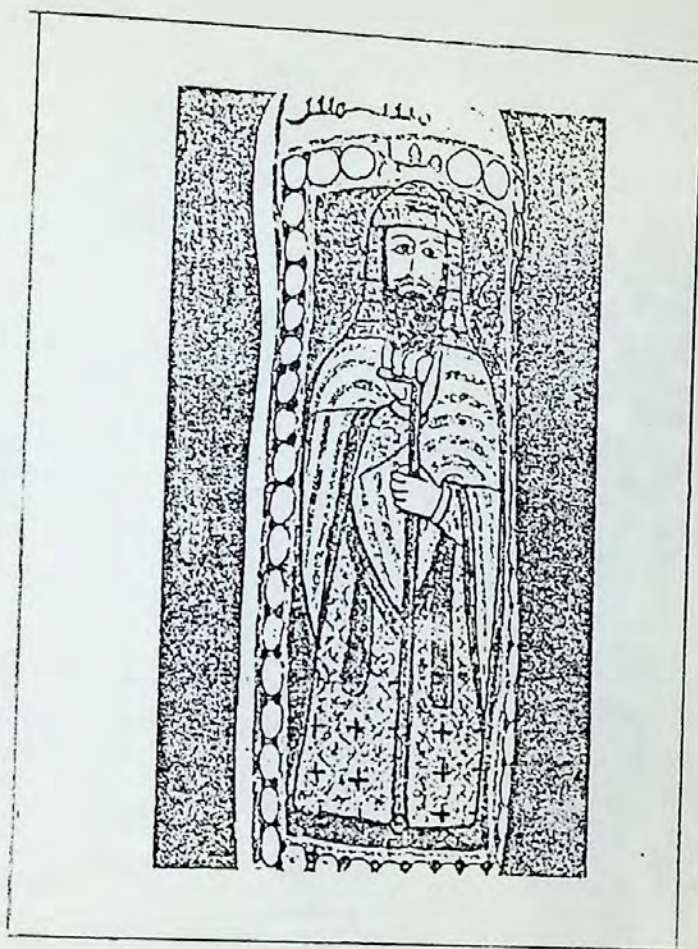




Fig. 17

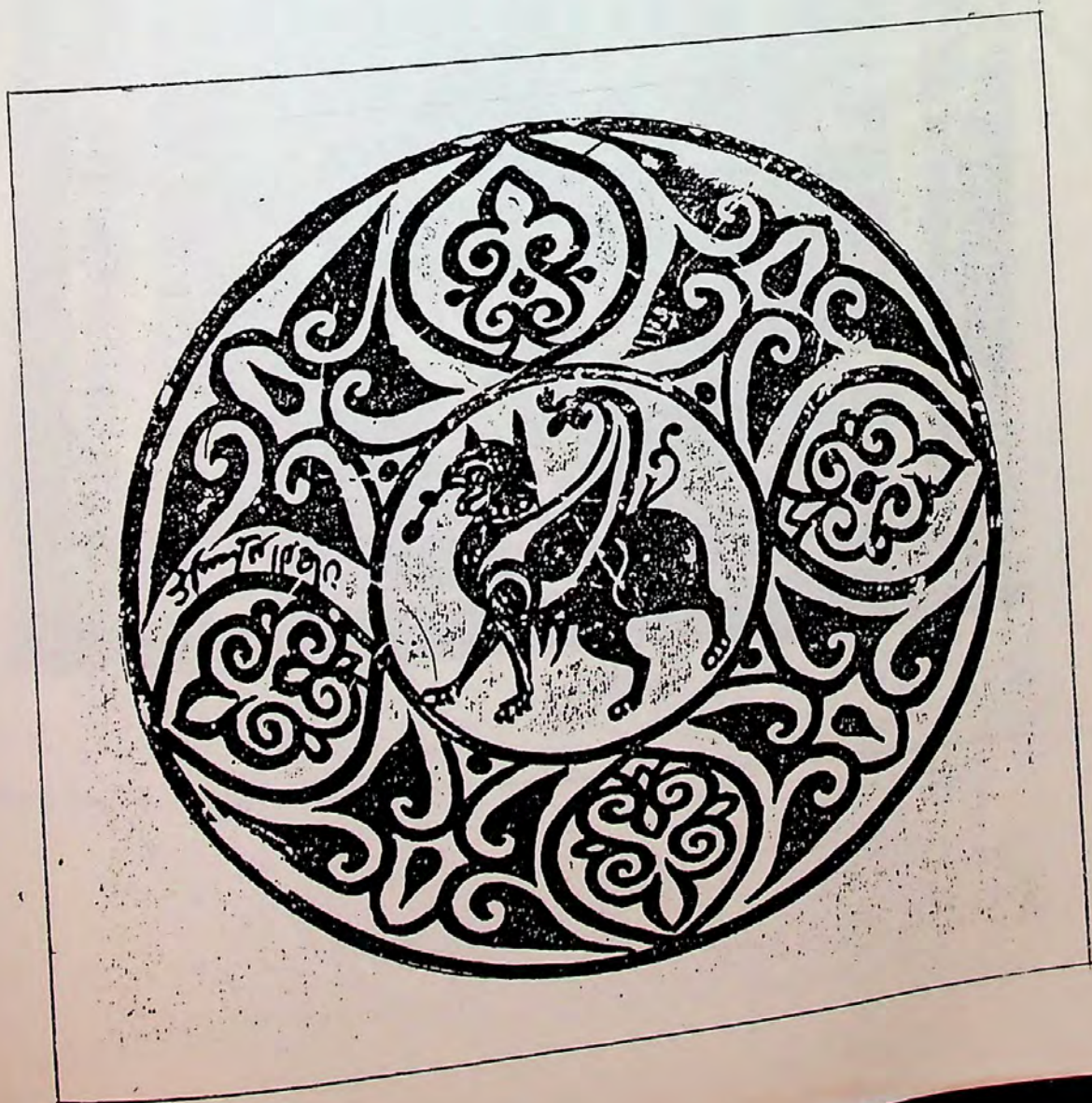
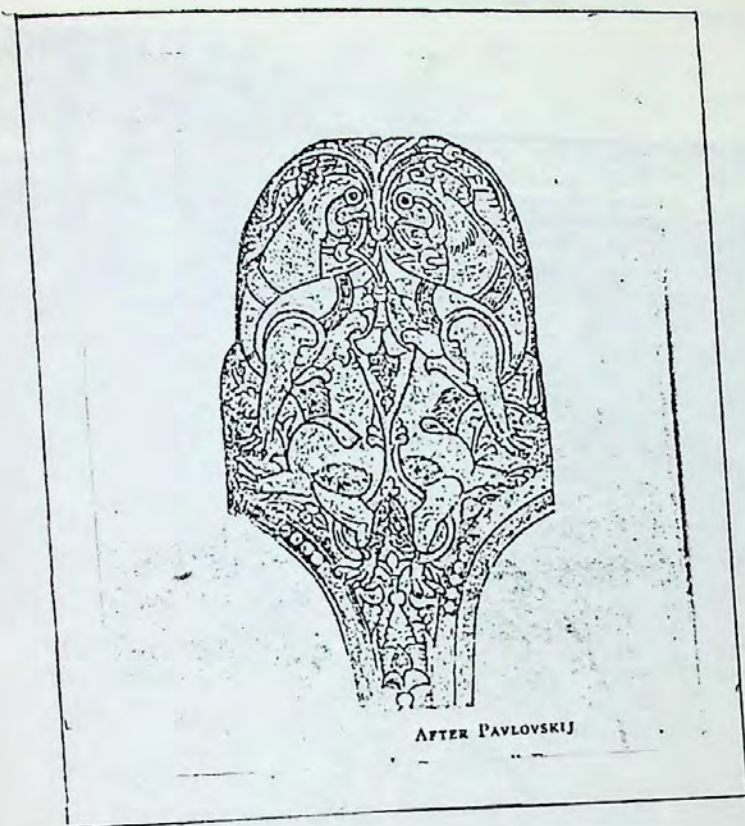


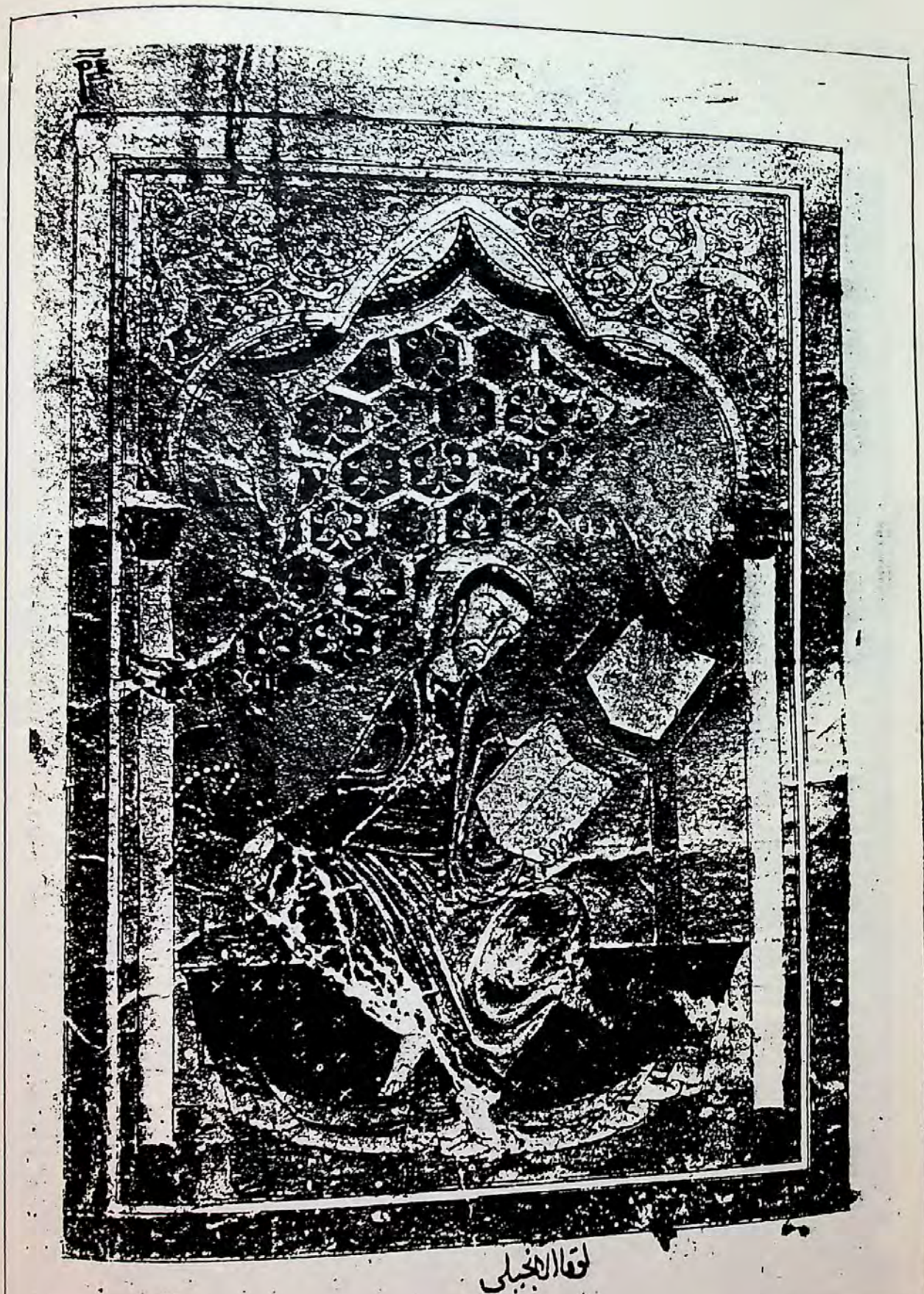


Fig. 21:
a, b



AFTER BAHGAT AND MASSOUL





لوقا الانجيلي



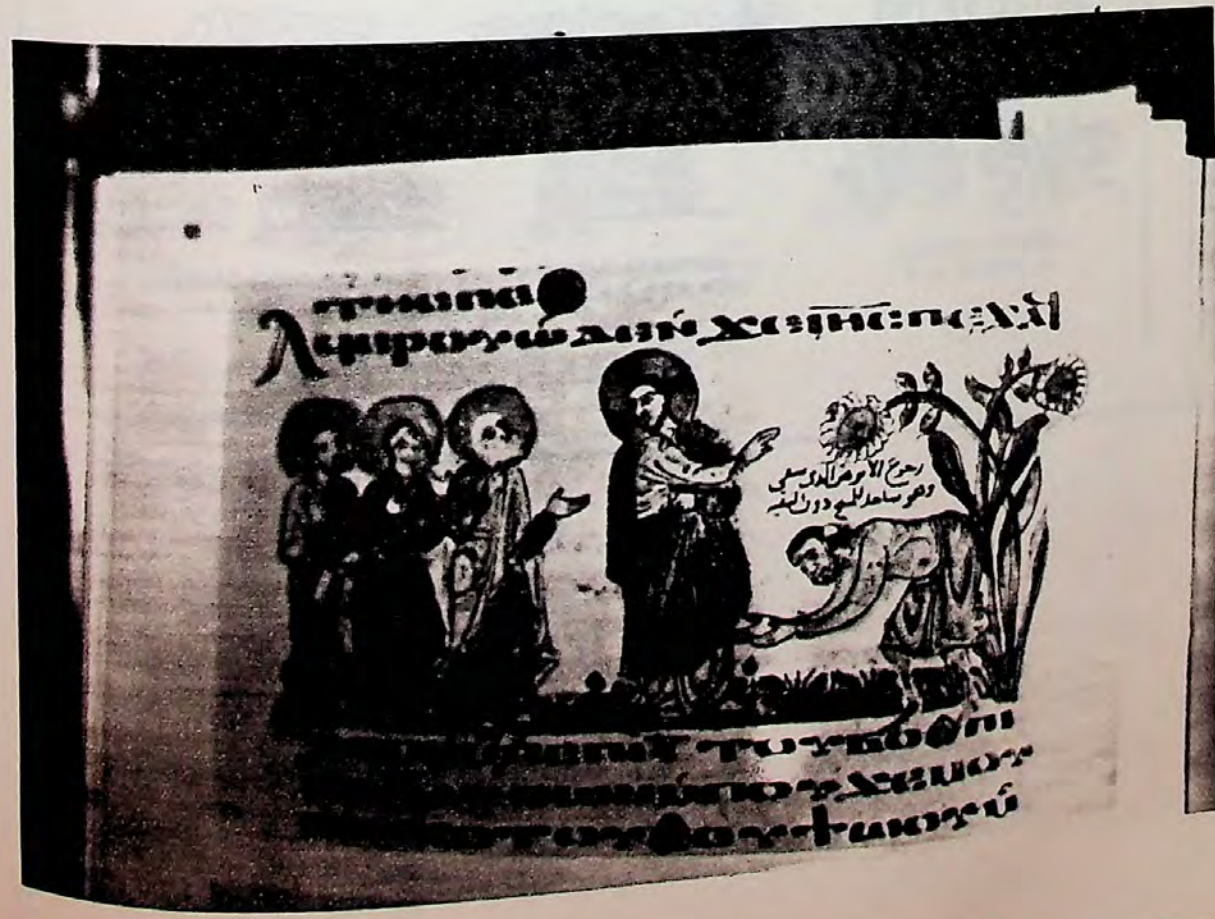




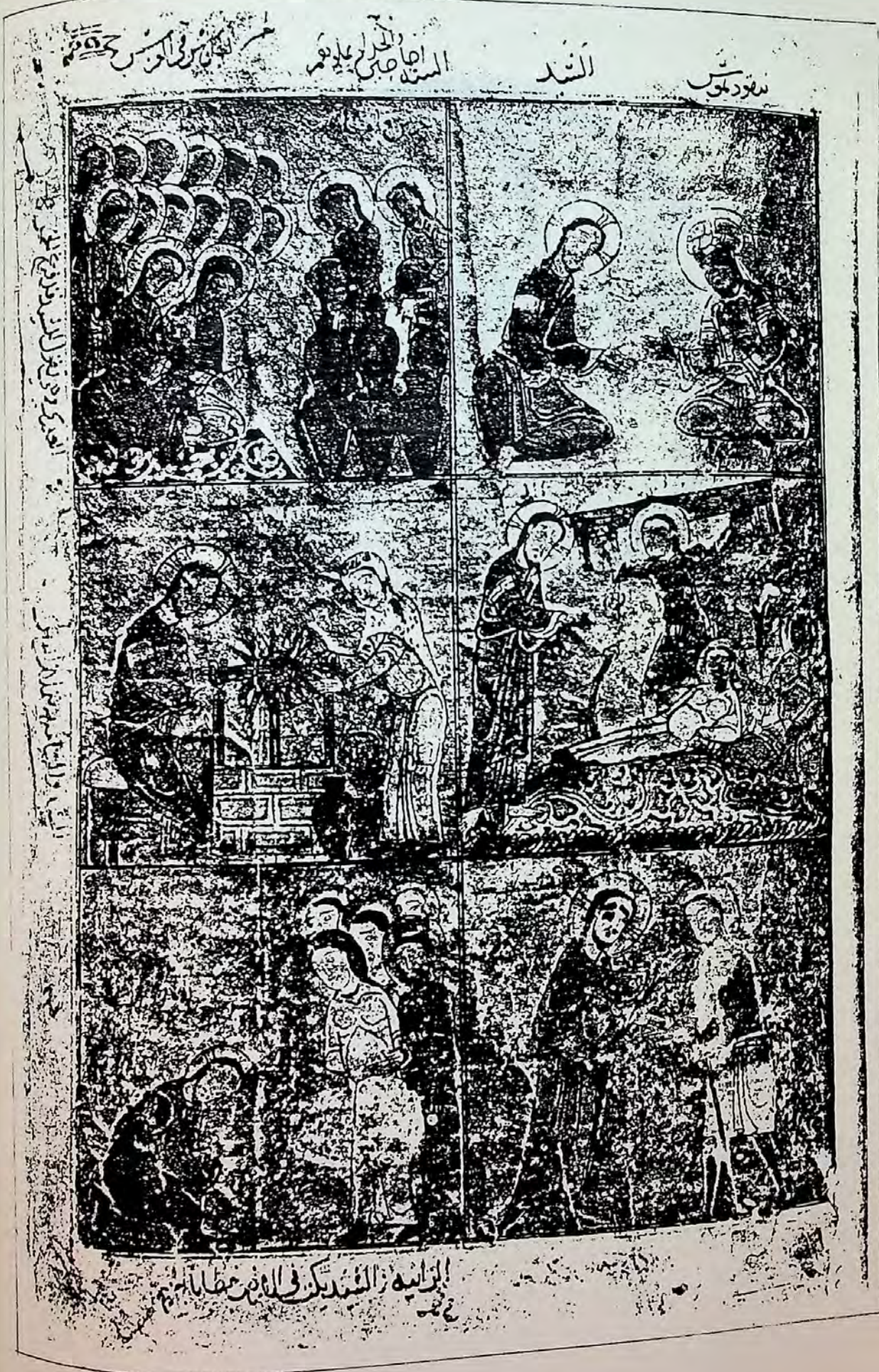


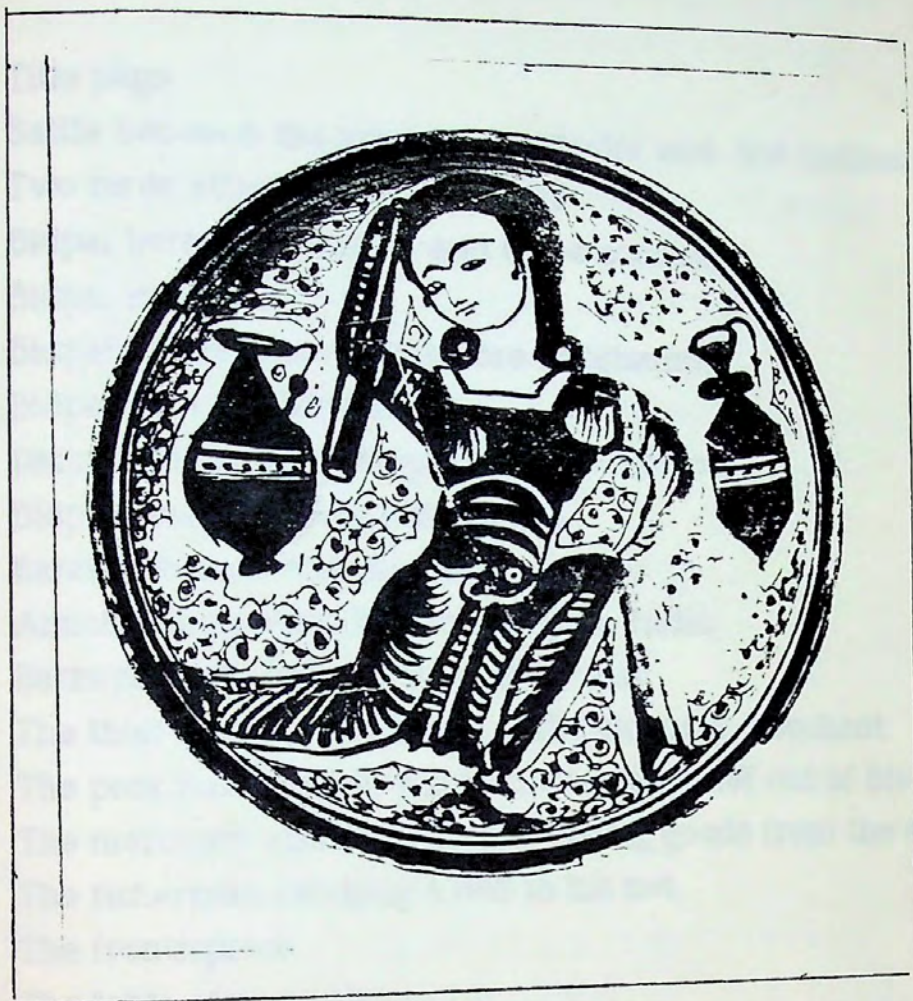
Fig. 31



الصَّوْرَةُ عَرَضٌ بِالْمَجَارِحَةِ وَأَسْتَأْذِنُ الْمَلِكُ مَقَالَهُ جَزَا وَمَنْ لَا يَذْأَفْتَال





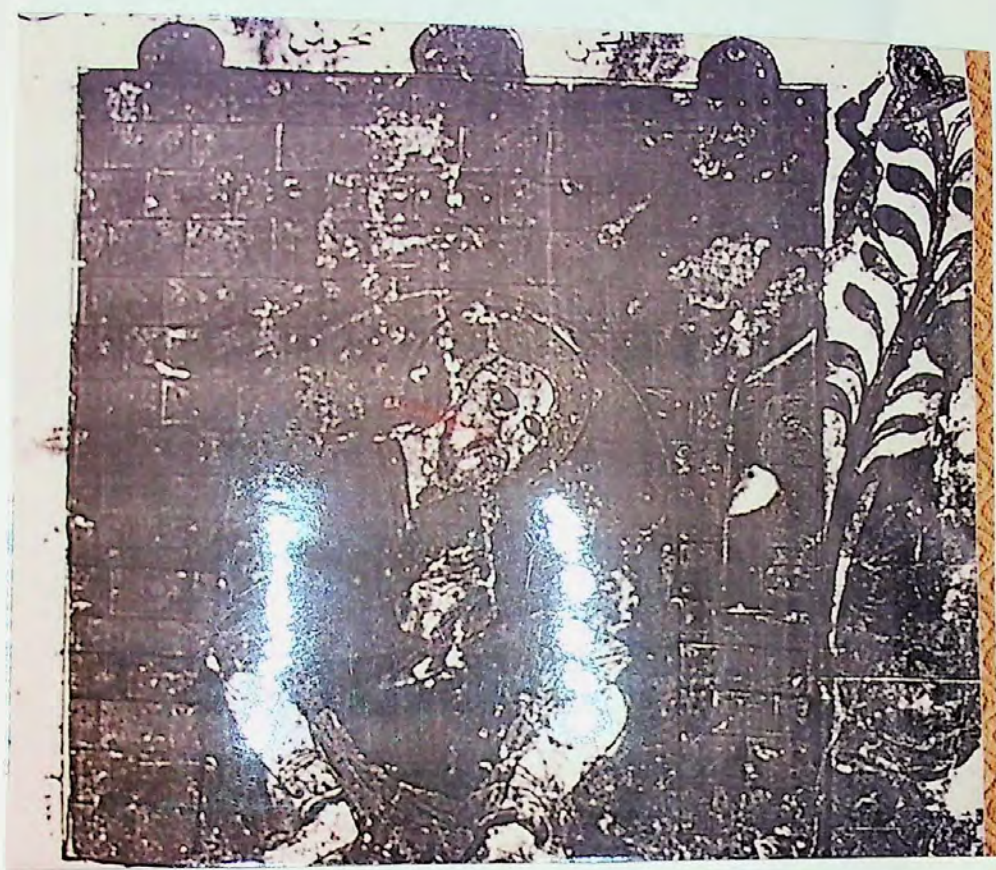


List of Plates

- 1 f. 1v Title page.
- 2 3v Battle between the army of Alexander and the Indians.
- 3 6 Two birds attacking the elephant.
- 4 10 Bidpai before Dabshalim and three courtiers.
- 5 11v Bidpai in prison.
- 6 12v Bidpai chained, brought before Dabshalim.
- 7 14v Bidpai advising Dabshalim.
- 8 15v Dabshalim ordering Bidpai to write the book.
- 9 17v Bidpai bowing before Dabshalim.
- 10 19 Barzuya before Anushirwan.
- 11 20v Anushirwan orders Barzuya to go to India.
- 12 23v Barzuya conversing with Anushirwan.
- 13 27v The thief robbing the house of the sleeping merchant.
- 14 29v The poor naked hungry man drives the thief out of his house.
- 15 30v The merchant and companion stealing goods from the store.
- 16 33 The fisherman catching a fish in his net.
- 17 34 The frontispiece.
- 18 34v The table of contents.
- 19 36v The idol.
- 20 38 Two thieves on the roof, The owner beats the third indoor.
- 21 43v The allegory of mankind.
- 22 44v Title page of the chapter of the Lion and the Bull.
- 23 47 The carpenter beating the monkey who is trapped.
- 24 48 Kalila and Dimna conversing.
- 25 49v Dimna talking to the lion.
- 26 51 The fox biting the drum.
- 27 52 Dimna talking to the lion.
- 28 52v Dimna introducing the bull to the lion.
- 29 53v Two goats who killed the fox while fighting.
- 30 55 The ascetic telling the real story to the judge.
- 31 56 The crow consulting the jackal.
- 32 57 The crab killing the heron while flying.
- 33 58v The lion jumping in the well while the hare is watching.
- 34 60 Two fishermen catching a fish in their net.
- 35 66 The animals attacking the camel.
- 36 67 Two ducks flying with a tortoise while people are watching.

- 37 f. 69v The rogue's father climbing down the burning tree.
38 71v The lion attacking the bull while Dimna is watching.
39 77 The trial of Dimna.
40 78 The quake doctor giving medicine to the king's maid.
41 83 The parrot attacking his trainer in front of his master's guests.
42 84v The fowler watching the pigeons in the net.
43 86 The crow seeking friendship with the mouse.
44 87v The crow flying the mouse to the river.
45 89v The ascetic and guest seated while mouse climbs to the basket.
46 90v The ascetic's guest beats the mouse with a stick.
47 94v The owls attacking the crows.
48 95v The king of cows consulting his ministers.
49 97 The crow advises the birds.
50 101 The thieves deceiving the ascetic.
51 102v The wife hugging her husband in fear of the thief.
52 103v The devil and the thief who wanted to rob the ascetic.
53 104 The carpenter under the bed listening to his wife and lover.
54 106v The crows attacking the owls' cave.
55 108v The old snake carrying the king of frogs on his back.
56 110 The goat sucking his mother's neck.
57 113v The jackal talking to the donkey.
58 114 The lion attacking the donkey.
59 116v The ascetic beats the weasel.
60 117v The mouse cutting the net where the cat has been trapped.
61 121 The king talking to the bird who is perched on the roof.
62 125 The lion talking to the jackal.
63 127v The lion talking to his mother.
64 131 Irakht talking to the king.
65 137 Irakht bowing before the king.





لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ فَتَوَجَّعَ فِي نَفْسِهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ ابْنٌ كَمَا تَبَيَّنَ
إِلَيْهِ بِذِكْرِ يَوْمِهِ أَيَّامَهُ كَمَا ذَكَرَ أَبَاؤُهُ وَأَجْرَهُ مِنْ قَسَلِهِ فَلَمَّا عَرَفَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ
عَلِمَ أَنَّ مَا يَقُومُ ذَلِكَ الْإِسْنِدُ أَدْعَاهُ وَخَلَّاهُ وَقَالَ لَهُ يَا سَيِّدُ الْإِلَهِ



جَلِيمِ الْإِلَهِ دَفَعَتْهُمَا وَأَرْزَقَتْهُمَا وَتَطَرَّتْ عَنْ حَرِّهَا وَبُحْبُكَةِ الْهَوَا
لِلْمَلِكِ لِقَابِهَا فَمِنْ أَرْزَقَتْهُمَا أَحْبَابًا الْأَوْفَادُ وَضَعَتْ كِتَابًا بِذِكْرِ يَوْمِهِ الْمَدَّةِ وَسَيَرَتِهِ
وَنَسِي عَنْ حَرِّهَا وَأَمَّا مَلِكُهُ فَمِنْهُ مَا وَضَعَهُ الْمَأْوَى لِقَابِهَا وَمَذَلَّتْ

الفضل

مَا تَحْتَ إِلَهِهَا السَّيْلَ وَلَيْكَ سَمْعًا عَلَى الْجِدِّ وَالْهَنْزِلِ وَالْهَوَا وَالْجَانَّةِ
وَالْفَسْفَسَةِ فَكَمَلَتْهُ بَيْتًا وَنَحْبًا وَقَالَ قَدْ لَجِسْتُ لِمَلِكِ أَدْرَمَ اللَّهُ أَيَّامَهُ
إِلَى مَا أَمْرُهُ وَجَعَلْتُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَهُ خَلَا قَالَ وَكَمْ هُوَ الْأَجَلُ قَالَ سَيِّئَةٌ



قَالَ قَدْ لَجِسْتُ لِمَلِكِ أَدْرَمَ اللَّهُ أَيَّامَهُ فَسَمِعَتْهُ عَلَى عَمَلِ الْكِتَابِ فِيهِ مَقْبُولًا
فِي الْأَخْلَافِ وَفِي أَيْ صَوْنٍ بَيْنَ يَدَيْ نَفْسِهِ وَبَعْدَ مَا أَنْشَدَتْهُ جَمِيعَ
لَقَائِمَتِهِ وَقَالَ لِمَلِكِ أَدْرَمَ اللَّهُ أَيَّامَهُ فَسَمِعَتْهُ عَلَى عَمَلِ الْكِتَابِ فِيهِ مَقْبُولًا



من العلم ان بلغه عن كتاب الهند علم الله اصل كل ادب وراس كل علم
والدليل على كل منفعة ومفتاح عمل الآخرة وعلمها ومعرفته النجاة من
قوتها فامر الملك وزره بزر جمهر ان يجمع له عن رجل ادب عاقل من اهل مملكته
يصير بلسان الفارسية ما هو بكتاب الهند ويكون بليغا
باللسان تجميعا جريضا على طلب العلم لم يجهد في استعمال الادب
مبادرا في طلب العلم والتجسس عن كتب الفلسفة فانه بمرجل ادب
كامل العقل والادب معروف بصناعة الطب ما هو بالفارسية
والهندية فقال له بزر وبه فلما ادخل عليه كثر له وسجل بين يديه



وكان قد وُثِّقَ الملك والحاجعة ولكني انما اريد بحبك ومواظبتك علي طاعة خاتمتك
والحفظ من ان ينقطع منك الكلام مع طول حبك عندنا شي يستدركه



على سريرك وادرك ابد دعة في ايمانك وثقة بعمادتك محمد بن
قاسم لم ازل في الجلال والجلال ارض منك غفلا ولا احسن ادبا ولا اصبر على

لَكَ قَاتِلٌ رَزَمَهُ أَهْلُ الْمَلِكِ لَا تَنْظُرْ إِلَى عَنَائِي فِي رِصَالٍ وَأَنْتَ بَيْنِي
وَفِي طَاعِنِكَ فَإِنَّا نَأْتِيكَ لِيَلْمِي بِذَلِكَ لِيُحْيِي فِي رِصَالٍ وَلَوْ لَمْ يَحْيِي لَمْ يَكُنْ لَكَ



عَنْ عِزِّ عَظِيمٍ أَوَّلًا وَاجْبَاعِ الْمَلِكِ دَارِ كَرَمِهِ وَتَرْوِغِ نَصِيحِهِ عَمَّا
الْمُحَارَبِ فِي مَعْصِيَةِ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ لَوْ الْمُسْتَبِدُّ دَرَجَةُ الدَّرَجَةِ حَتَّى يَكُونَ

الكتاب وعليه وبلغ نهاية علمه فيه ينبغي له ان يعمل بما علم منه لينتفع
به ويجعل منه سارا لا يجد عنه فانه لم يفعل ذلك كان مثله كالرجل الذي
رغموا ان سارفا تسور عليه وهو نائم في منزله فعلمه ففان والله لا تسن



حتى انظر ما ذا يصنع ولا ادبر ولا اعلم اني قد علمت به فانا بلغ من سارفا
من الله ففعلت ذلك عليه ثم انه اسيد عنه وجعل النار في منزله وطالب
ثمنه وجعل ما احب من ذلك الرجل النعاس فقام وخرج اللص مما اراد وامكنه



والجمهور منهم من اتبع نفسه في الكذب والتبني فيما يصطلي امره ويتألم
به ما اراد وينبغي ان يكون حقيقته على المطاب نفسه وجشنت نفسه ولا يعرض
لما يحل عليه العيا والفقرا فيكون كالحكامه التي تفرخ الفرس فتوحده
فقد لم لا تمنعها ذلك ان تفرخ فتفرخ موضعها وتقيم مكانها فتوحده
الثانيه من فرادها فتدبر وقد يقال ان الله تعالى في عمل لكل شيء





الباب الثاني من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب الثالث من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب الرابع من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب الخامس من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب السادس من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب السابع من روضة بلاد الهند
 الباب الثامن من روضة بلاد الهند

عليه السلام الحية، المال والبشر وأدرك من هذا الجسد موجوداً إلا فارق
 وأنه مملوؤ لخلقاً فاستدق ذلك بعدد ما الحياة والحياة المتأدية كالتصميم
 الله صلوأ أعضاء إذا زكيت ووضع تحت حجبها ستميز واحد بعد بعضه بعضاً



والجسد كالمسماز تشايف...
 ...
 ...
 ...



...
 ...
 ...
 ...

وكيف كان ذلك قال كليله ربهما ان فرجا اراي حارا ليسو خشبة
بين قنبر وهو راك عليها فاعجبه ذلك ثم ان الحمار ذهب لبعض شاة همام
القرود وتكلم ما للبر من شعله فركب الحشمة وجعل طهره في الوشد



فوهمة قبل الحشمة فشد الحشمة في الشق ونزع الوشد طهره من
خزمه فاستأجبه في الحمار واداه ووضعه فاقبل الحمار بهجده
على الحمار من الضرب اسد مما اصابه من الحشمة قال ذمته قد سقطت

طهره همام
زوال من ذي الارض
كذلك الاخطاطين

الوضيعة وان الاربعاء الى الميرة الشريفة شديدا والخطاط منقاه
كل حجر القليل رفعة من الارض الى العاقب عيسر ووضعه الى الارض



فمن الحمار قران موزم مائة قداما من الممارك وان يلقه من كان يحضر و...



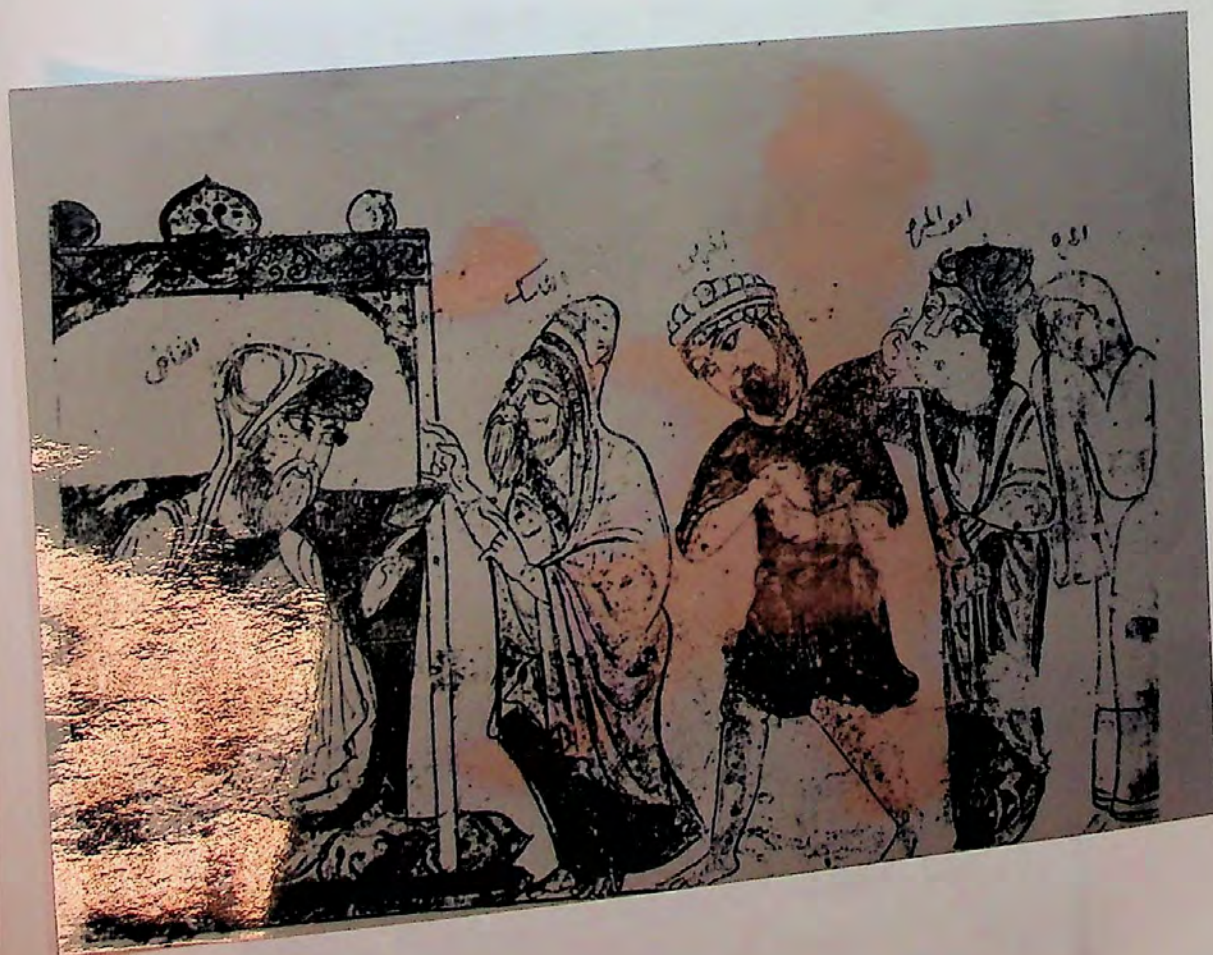
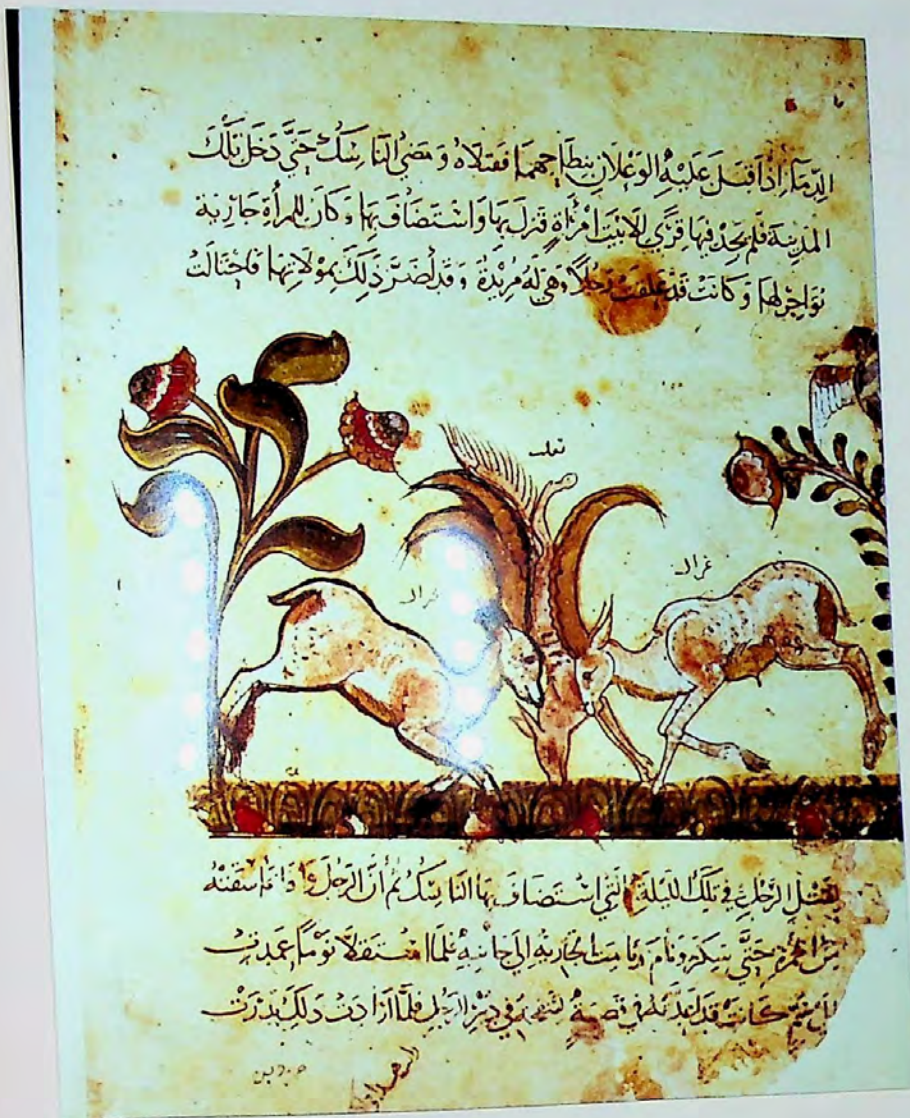
نَشَبَ إِلَيْكَ وَرَجَعَ إِلَى مَكَانِهِ وَدَخَلَ دُشْتَهُ عَلَى الْأَسَدِ فَقَالَ لَمَّا كَانَتْ
وَمَا كَانَتْ رَأَيْتَ قَالَ رَأَيْتُ نُورًا هُوَ صَاحِبُ الْحَوَارِ وَالصُّبُوتِ الَّذِي سَمِعْتُ قَالَ فَمَا
قُوَّتُهُ قَالَ لَا سُوْكَةَ لَهُ وَفَدْرُ نَوْتٍ مِنْهُ وَخَارَرُهُ كَحَامِدِ الْأَهْلَاءِ فَلَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ



بِالسَّيْلِ فَلَمَّا لَمْ يَسْتَطِعْ أَنْ يَدْرِكَهُ لَمْ يَنْصُرْ عَنْهُ لَمْ يَنْصُرْ قَالَ الرَّاغِبُ
السَّيْلُ لَا يَنْصُرُ الْبُغْيَاءَ الْخَسِيرَ لَكِنْ يَنْصُرُ الْبُغْيَاءَ الْخَسِيرَ طَوْلًا لِحُلِّ وَعَظِيمِ الشَّجَرِ قَالَ
دُمْنَهُ لَا يَنْصُرُ أَنْ يَهْلِكَ الْمَلِكُ مِنْهُ سَيِّئًا وَلَا يَكْتُمُ عَنْهُ لَمْ يَنْصُرْ مَا نَأْتِي بِهِ فَاصْبِرْ

لَعَلَّهَا شَيْءٌ مَعًا مَطْعَمًا قَالَ الْأَسَدُ ذِكْرُكَ وَمَا ذِكْرُكَ فَانْطَلِقْ إِلَى النَّوْرِ فَقَالَ
لَهُ نَحْمَدُكَ وَلَا نَكْفُرُكَ إِلَّا بِالْأَسَدِ أَرَأَيْتَ لَيْسَ بِكَ وَأَمَّا فِي أَرْضِ
أَنْتَ عَجَلٌ إِلَيْهِ طَائِعًا أَنْ يَوْمَكَ عَلَى مَا سَلَفَ مِنْ نِكَاحِ الْخَازِرِ عَنْهُ
وَمِنْ ذَلِكَ لَفَتَاهُ وَأَنْ لَيْسَ تَخْرُجُ عَنْهُ وَأَجْمَعُ أَنْ يَجْلِسَ إِلَيْهِ فَاجْزِ قَالَ لَهُ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الرَّجَاءِ
وَمَنْ هُوَ هَذَا الْأَسَدُ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَكُمُ إِلَيَّ وَأَنْ هُوَ وَمَا جَاءَهُ قَالَ دُمْنَهُ هُوَ مَلِكُ
السَّيْلِ وَمَعَهُ جُنْدٌ كَثِيرٌ مِنْ جُنْدِهِ فَرَعَبَ شَرِيهَ مِنْ دُونِ الْأَسَدِ
وَالسَّيْلِ وَقَالَ أَنْ أَنْتَ جَعَلْتَ الْأَمَانَ عَلَى نَفْسِي أَقْبَلْتُ مَعَكَ إِلَيْهِ فَأَعْطَاهُ
دُمْنَهُ مِنَ الْأَمَانِ مَا وَفَّقَهُ وَأَقْبَلَ وَالنَّوْرُ مَعَهُ حَتَّى دَخَلَ عَلَى الْأَسَدِ فَاجْتَنَسَ





بها وليد ان يكون تلك مثل العلجوم الذي اذا قتل السرطان فقتل نفسه قال
الغراب وكيف كان ذلك قال ان اوى رعموا ان علجوما عشت في اجمة
كثيرة السمك فعاشرها ما عاشر قرا فطعم الماعز تلك الاجمة وتبدل السمك فاضر



ذلك العلجوم فاصابه جوع وحمد الله على ما خلقه من نباتا يلبس الثمار في امنه فستر
به سرطان في ارجائه وما هو عليه من الكابة والحزن فدان منه وقال ما لي اكل
ايها الطير هكذا حزننا يسا قال العلجوم ويغلا اجزرو وقد كنت

المواظب التي تعلم انه فيها لك سوا فاند ولم يقابل كان حقيقا ان يقابل
عن نفسه كزما دحقا ظانم اهوى كلبته على عنق العلجوم فمات
وتخلص السرطان من الجماعة السمك فاجدهم بذلك وانما صرنا لك هذا المثل



لتعلم ان بعض الجملية مهلكة للجمالة كمن اذ لك على السرطان انبتت
عليه كاز فيه فلا لا يسود من غير ان تتركه فتنك وتكون
تلا ذلك قال الغراب وما ذاك قال تطلع في ماضيه في اكله لعلك ان تظن

لم تقدر على ذلك إلا بهلاك الأسد فلا تقدم عليه فإنه غدري مني وبذلك تم



أرني منة من البعول على الأسد بالما ك...
الأسد اجلسك عني منذر ما لراك لا خير كان لفظك قال ديس
خير فلكس أرباب البيل قال الأسد رهل جرد أسر قال دمنه مبدت ما
ثم بكنز المديريه ولا أجد من جند قال وما زال قال كلام فطبيع

قال الأسد قبل فمته ذلك ولا اظن الثور يقضي ولا يجزى العوايل وكيف
يفعل ذلك لم يزد مني شوا فطو ولم ادع خبير إلا بعلته معة ولا أمينة إلا
بلغته لاهما قار اللبسم لا يزالان فبنا ما صبحا حتى وقع إلى الملة التي لست له
يا هل ولا فهوها أهل بماذا بلغها النسر ما فوهما ولا نسما أهل إلى أنة والنجور
قار اللبسم الفاسح لا تقدم الشطار لا يصح لهم الأمن فيزوهووا لراشع
وقد هنت العاهة على جوه كذبا الكلب الذي يبط لمستقيم فلا يركب الشوا ساطم



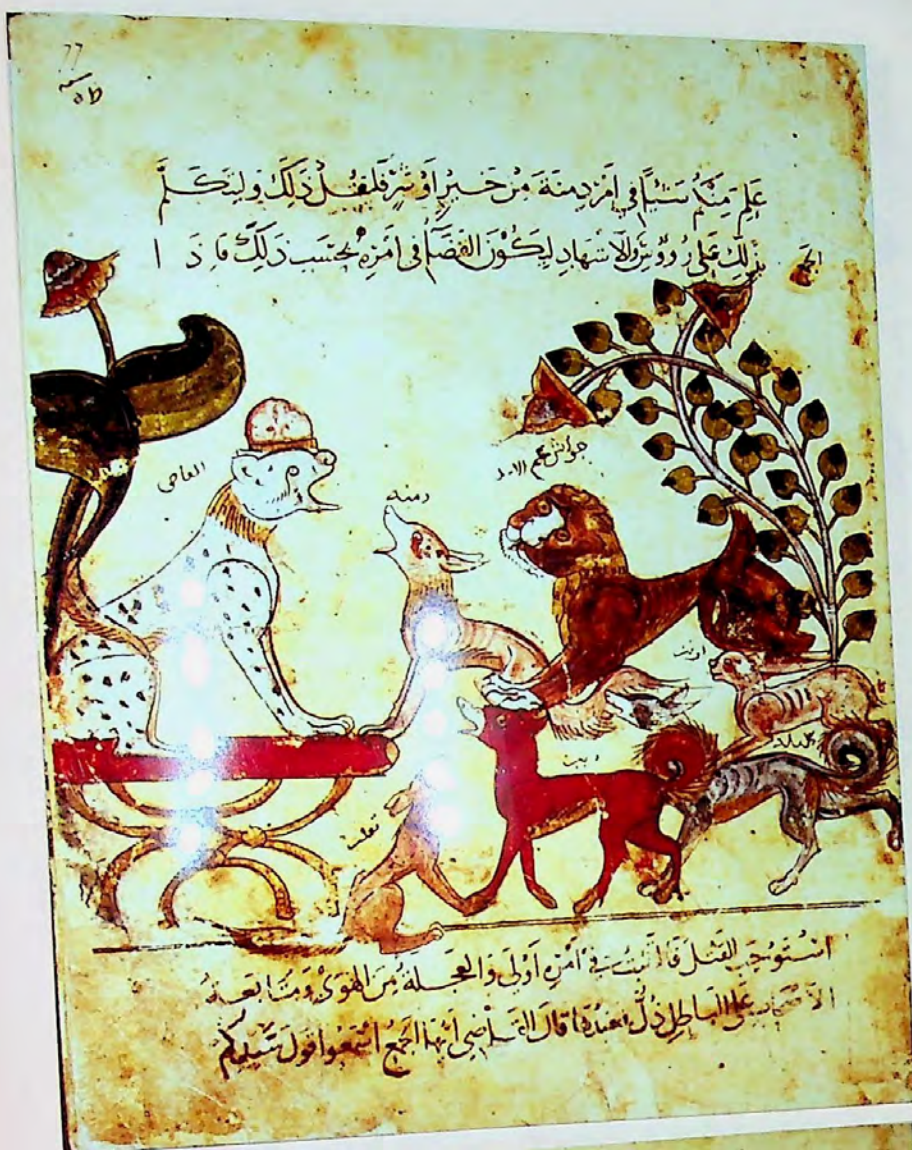
وكانت في ذلك اليوم...
وعاخر الزمان...
وكانت في ذلك اليوم...
وعاخر الزمان...



المشاعل ان كان افعانك اشد فاعلى ولا ياتي لست اقدر ان اشبع
منهم ولا احسن من ان كان راي لا شديك على غيرهم على راي ولا يعنى
ذلك ولا يعنى عنى شيئا وفريقا اخر السلاطين من عدل بين الناس ولوا الى بيتك









لا تخفى فضله وإن هو لخصاه كالمسك الذي لا يمتنع دأب من البشر
الطيب والآخر المانع فلا الحذر إذا أشد العداوة عداوة الجوهر وهو
عداوة كعداوة الفيل والأسد فإنه لما قتل الأسد الفيل أو الفيل الأسد



فإن العداوة التي بين البشر تضررك وإنما تضرها عليك على كذا لما لو
أطيل احتجانه لم يمتعه ذلك من طفاية النار إذا صبت عليها وإنما العداوة
ومصلحتها لصاحب الجنة يحملها في جسمه والعداوة لا تستأثر

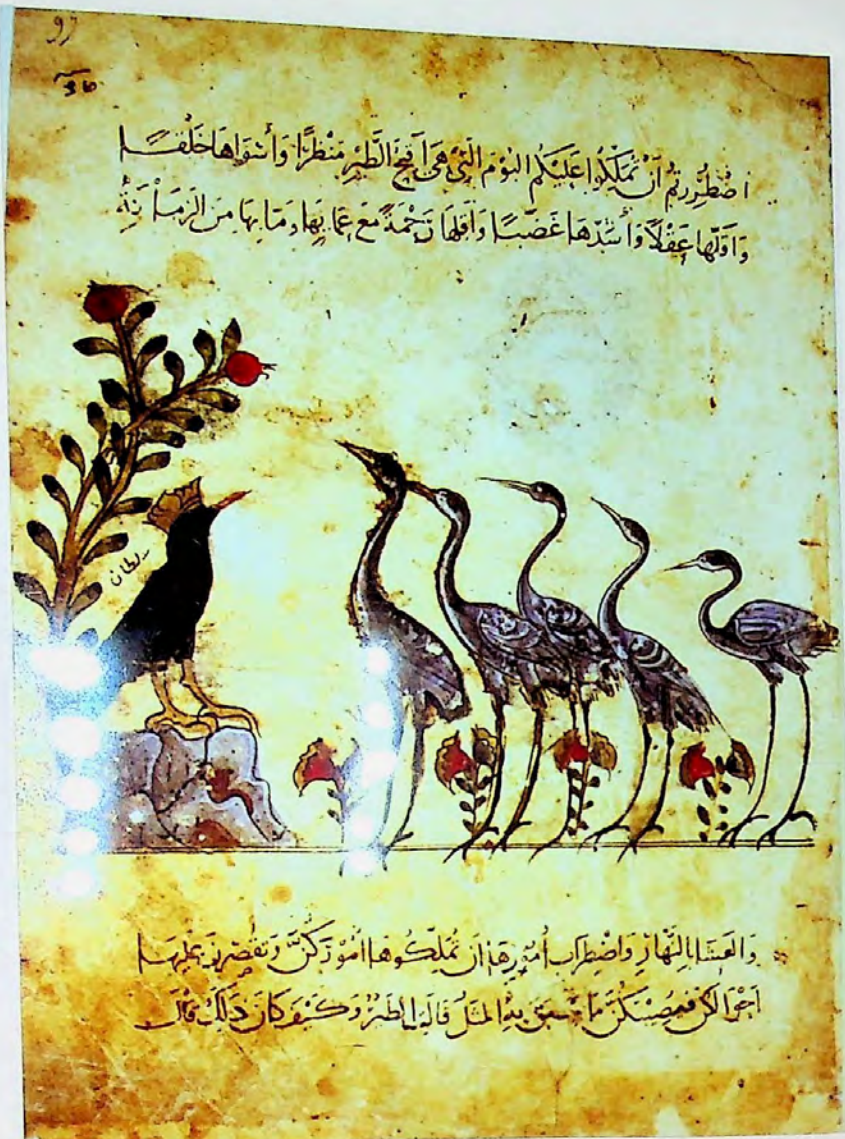
بصيرت السحفاة بمراب ومعه حرد قد عرسته لم يعلم أنه صليها فساهاها
فخرجت إليه وسأله من أين أتيت فأخبرها بقصته حين تبع الحمام ومما
كان من الزنوع وأمر الحرد حتى انتهى إليها فلما سمعت السحفاة سائر الحرد في



يعيش من عبقله وقابله ورغبته به قالت له ما ساء لك إلى هذه الأرض قال
قال العزائب أقصص علي الأخبار التي رويتها لك فاقصصها علي معصما
سألت السحفاة فأنها عندك بمنزلة في هذا الجرد فقال كان من الزنوع









مِنْهَا إِلَّا مَا صَبَدَ قُدُّوسُكَ عَلَيْكَ مَلِكُهَا فَأَنْتَ الْمَلِكُ لَسَرَكُنِي مَقَرُّ إِلَيْكَ رَاصِبًا
وَمَكْرُمَةً وَرَفْعَةً لِي وَكَرِيمَةً وَأَسْتَظِلُّ لَكَ ذَلِكَ فَقَالَ لَهُ الْأَشْوَدُ



قَدْ عَلِمْتُ أَنَّهَا الْمَلِكُ لِي وَرَوْمٌ فَاجْعَلْ لِي زُرْقًا أَعِشْ بِهِ قَالَ مَلِكُ الضَّمَامِ
لَعَنَ زُرْقًا بِذَلِكَ زُرْقًا فَوَقَّعَ مِنْكَ إِذْ كُنْتَ مِنْ كِي قَامَ لِلْبَصْعَةِ عَيْنِ
نَوْسًا وَكَارِيًا

الْيَوْمَ وَمَلِكُهَا فِي جَزْئِهِمْ وَفِيمَا كَانُوا ذِيهِ مِنْ أُمُورِهِمْ قَالَ الْعَرَابُ كَانَتْ



رَشِيرُهُ شَيْءٌ بَطِيءٌ وَاشْتَرَى وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ وَخِيَلَهُ
وَوَدَّ أَنْ يَكُونَ شَيْءٌ بِهِ الْأَلْوَرَةُ الَّذِي كَانَ يَشِيرُ عَلَيْهِ فَقَاتِلَهُ كَانَ جَسْمًا
أَرْنَبًا فَبَلَسُوا فَجَارَ مَا عَالِمًا قُلْتُ بَرِيٍّ مِثْلَهُ فِي الصَّرَامَةِ وَالْعَمْرِ وَخَوْدَةِ الْأَرِي



على امرأته فأتى ونزل في الغلام سائما جيا وعنده أن يود بقطع فأتى
عزرا القصة ويتبع له شؤم فعله في الحيلة لطم على رأسه وقال ليني لم أر ف



هذا الولد لم أعز هذا الحرة دخلت امرأة فوجدته على باب الحمار فقال له ما
شأنك فلهذا الحرة وحسن يعمل ابن عزير وروى عن أبيه أنه قال له هذا مثل من لا يثبت
في امرأته

منه حمر جرد فقال له فريدون وكان الصيادون كمن لم يتدولون ذلك
المكان يصيدون فيه الوجع والظلمة فنزل ذات يوم صيادا فصب حباله فربما
من موضع رومي فلم يلقه ذلك وقع فيه فخرج الجربى يديت وسعى ما يأكل وهو



جربى من رومي فبما هو يسعى إذ صرهم في الشراك فسووا سبيلهم للنفس
فراى طرفة ابن عزير في راحة وفي الشجر يوما يريد الخطا فنه فحمره وأمره وطاف
إن زج وراه اخذ انهم من ان ذهبت مينا وشملا الخطا فنه اليوم وإن





فصل الثالث والعشرون في بيان ما يكون له من
شرا فبينما هم الاشد قص على هذه المفسدة اذ يدل على الاسد بعض
نفسه فاجتمع بين امرين وفي هذا المفسدة مدار الطبع الملك على مراده
بالا من حصة ابن لا يخرج من سعيه فخر واهلها من اعظم من ذلك



خبرني العبد عبدكم وهل اجد شيئا بهذا الا اعزاه الجوز فلما سمعتم
ذلك لم تحض حريصا ومعها عفو ان تظهر للملك عزنا قالت ايها الملك لا

وَيَسِّرْ لِي طَلَبَ الْإِسْلَامِ وَالْإِسْلَامِيَّةِ عَلَى طَرِيقِ الْإِسْلَامِ الْإِسْلَامِيِّ



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