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KAMAL AL-DIN BIHZAD AND AUTHORSHIP IN PERSIANATE PAINTING

Bihzād was one of the painters. He painted extremely delicately, but he made the faces of beardless people badly by drawing the double chin too big. He drew the faces of bearded people quite well.

Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Bāburnāma*, ca. 1529¹

It is difficult to find an artist more perplexing than Kamal al-Din Bihzad (d. 1535–36).² In the history of Persianate painting he bests all other painters before and after in the quantity of recollections about him and his work.³ Contemporary and later writers are unanimous in their praise of Bihzad, the Mughal ruler Babur's slight and curiously specific criticism being by far the exception rather than the rule. Bihzad became, in Armenag Sakisian's words, "a rhetorical figure of comparison" and even supplanted Mani,⁴ false prophet and painter of mythical skill in the Persian cultural tradition, as a paragon of excellence. Because Bihzad has garnered copious encomia, his contribution to the Persianate art tradition recognized again and again, the artist's life and work seem tantalizingly within reach, unlike so many artists who were only given passing notice.

Scholarly thinking and writing on Bihzad have embraced the wealth of references to him that are recorded in the primary literature. Driven by the promise of Bihzad's extraordinary achievement conveyed in these sources, scholars have sought to reconstruct the artist's biography and extant oeuvre using a small group of "signed" manuscript paintings. We even have a portrait of the artist Bihzad, mounted in an album assembled for Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76),⁵ an image that points yet again to the artist as a person. Key among the group of core manuscripts assigned to Bihzad is the *Būstān* of Sa'di, copied by Sultan 'Ali al-Katib (al-Mashhadi) and dated 1488. It contains four paintings "signed" by Bihzad, including the seduction of Yusuf (fig. 1).⁶ After identifying a corpus of documented work,⁷ stylistic, technical, and subject-related features thought typical of, and

peculiar to, Bihzad were then picked out and described. Having isolated them, these features attained the status of diagnostics. Visual extrapolation opened up a process in which unsigned works were identified as being made in the early, middle, or late stages of the artist's life (underwritten by the teleological concept of the artist's evolution, of his inexorable stylistic trajectory), in relationship to fixed points in his dated corpus. Then attributed works were judged for their authenticity, fleshing out the oeuvre still further. The method is a long established one in the discipline of the history of art, and it was used yet again in Ebadollah Bahari's recent monograph on Bihzad.⁸ But, as we shall see, this method of stylistic analysis, more specifically its operative conditions, is actually ill-suited to certain aspects of the practice of painting in the Persianate milieu of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Since the early 1900's scholars have championed Bihzad, and although their motivations are rarely stated, a desire to promote an individual artist in an art tradition believed to comprise so many anonymous makers does come to the fore. Here, at long last emerged an artist who could rival the European art tradition's list of heroes: F. R. Martin, writing in 1909 and 1912, raved about Bihzad, asking rhetorically whether or not his portraits matched those of Memling, Holbein, and Raphael; Ali Ahmad Naimi, writing as late as 1948, compared Bihzad to Jean Fouquet and François Clouet.⁹ Comparisons between Bihzad and European artists were positively *de rigueur*.

One unspoken reason behind the adulation may have been to enhance the saleability of a "nameable" artist on the early-twentieth-century art market.¹⁰ But without inspecting such fundamental aspects of the field's social and economic culture, the construction and refinement of Bihzad's role *qua* painter in the Persianate tradition has continued unchallenged,¹¹ despite more recent attempts to adjust our vision of him. Thomas Lentz proposed a curative of sorts in

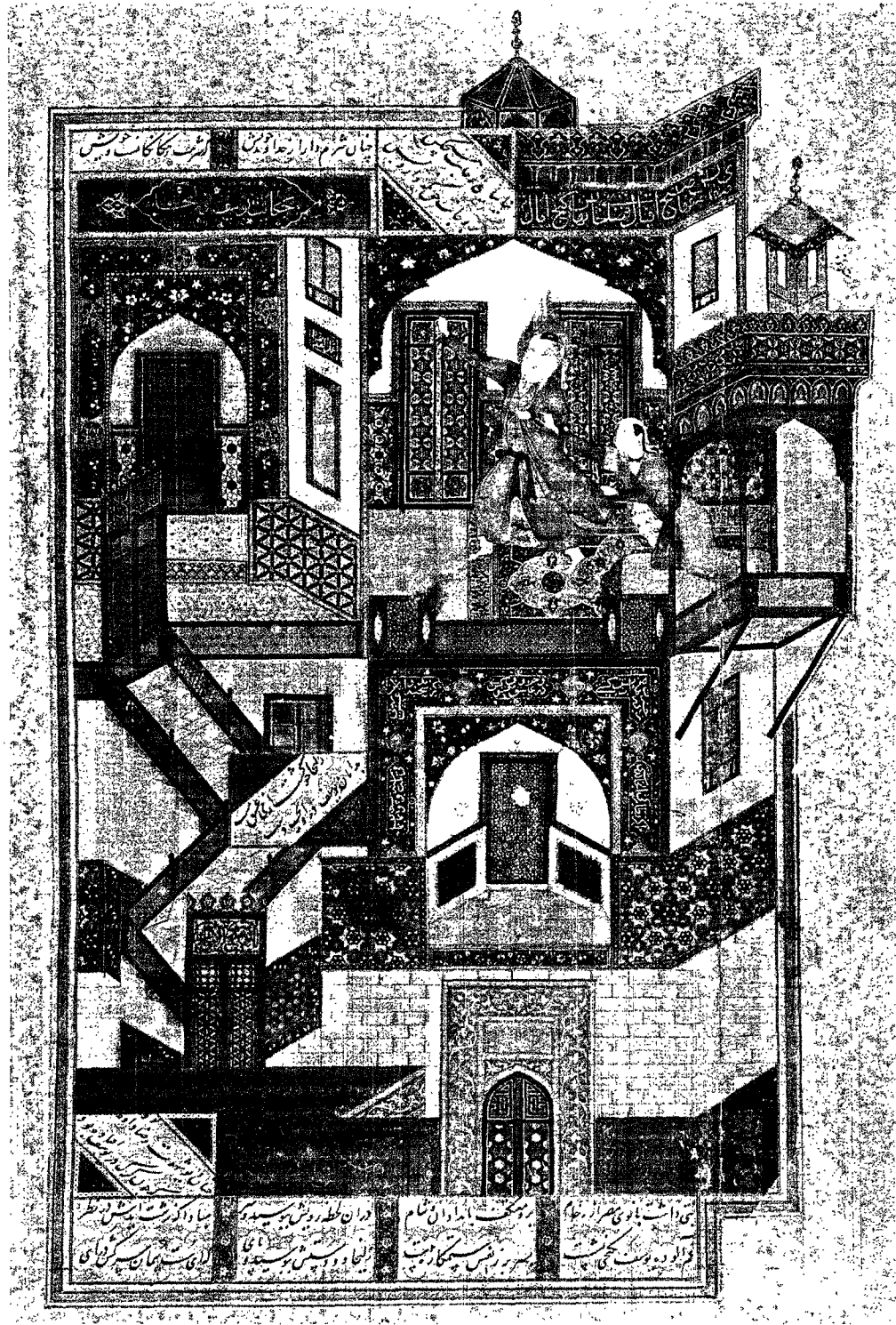


Fig. 1. The seduction of Yusuf. Manuscript illustration from a *Būstān* of Sa'di, copied by Sultan 'Ali al-Katib [al-Mashhadi] for Sultan Husayn Mirza, dated Rajab 893 (June 1488) (fol. 52b). Opaque pigment on paper. Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908. (Photo: courtesy Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

his examination of the "Bihzadian" legacy, mainly the mythologizing of Bihzad by writers of the Safavid and Mughal traditions, a process in which Babur also played a role. In Lentz's final reassessment, Bihzad became one of several artists moving toward the expression of new pictorial values and the inflection of visual narratives with sufi themes in painting of the late Timurid period (ca. 1485–1506).¹²

Scholars have argued that Bihzad's own contribution to the Persianate painting tradition had been to reintroduce a temporal dimension to manuscript illustrations by depicting figures in a greater variety of postures and attitudes, engaged in speech and gesture, a pictorial elaboration that went beyond the text's strict narrative requirements almost to challenge and subvert the story's central subject. The focus on peripheral action produced lively compositions and enabled an unprecedented layering of meaning. The introduction of a "psychological" dimension is also noted. Also critical to Bihzad's "naturalism" was the depiction of everyday activities and the variety of facial features which stress the diversity of figures that populate the crowded compositions.¹³ Color also plays a role. By reintroducing earthy tones and complex color mixes, his palette went beyond the primary and narrow secondary range that had dominated Persianate painting since the early fifteenth century.¹⁴

One of many problems that remains to be addressed, however, touches the heart of scholarship on Bihzad and by extension the methods used to study painting in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Iran. In essence it is the notion that Bihzad, or any other artist, is somehow available to the viewer, visible and present in the work. It revolves around the concept that there is a direct and inevitable connection between person, hand, and the image made, and it depends on the supposition that an artist will always be himself: hence the assumed viability of stylistic analysis as one of the connoisseur's tools. Indeed, Babur's statement on the bearded and beardless subjects of Bihzad's painting is tempting because it would appear to be a near contemporary performance of one of the modern connoisseur's activities, i. e., to identify traces of the painter as a set of particular features within the painting's matrix.

Although Babur's judgment of the most and least successful aspects of Bihzad's work is unusual, it cannot be neglected, and more important it points to the possibility of identifying an artist's work within a

painting. One might also mention the numerous attributive notes inscribed on unsigned paintings and drawings. The many potential reasons for these attributive notes have never been dissected, and they are generally viewed against the modern construction of Bihzad's style to determine their plausibility.¹⁵ Sometimes the attributive note is understood as a way of hoodwinking a potential buyer or to augment the status of the work by claiming it to be a "real" signature.¹⁶

But curiously these attributive notes offer further evidence of a relationship between the work and the post-production viewer in which authorship¹⁷ was determined, but by what methods? The main question that this essay addresses is where an artist might be understood to subsist in the painting, examining whether or not the concept of authorship established for post-Renaissance European painting—derived from Vasari's concept of *maniera* (hand), and still very much present in the methods used to study Persianate painting—does indeed obtain to the Persianate painting tradition. Moreover, by exposing the tensions that exist between modern and pre-modern conceptions of authorship, is it possible to come closer to a mid-sixteenth-century notion of the painter's agency?

Vasari's method presumes two facts. The first equates elements of style with the individual. In a formulation most clearly articulated by Giovanni Morelli (1816–91),¹⁸ refined by Bernard Berenson,¹⁹ and adopted by modern connoisseurs, the painter cannot help but leave his mark through characteristic features, tell-tale inflections, habitual modes of expression and solutions for executing a particular detail in such and such a way.²⁰ The second is that in a workshop made up of specialized and hierarchically organized practitioners the master's role was to oversee production and to execute the most complex parts of the painting.²¹ Thus, features thought characteristic of the master artist can and do appear in the work as a kind of overlay to a metropolitan style. This is the mechanism that would explain how Bihzad left his mark on Herati painting of the late Timurid period and accounts for Bahari's use of the adjective "Bihzadian" and Stuart Cary Welch's concept of a painting supervised by a master (like Bihzad) and executed by identifiable painters, as well as some unidentifiable by name but labeled "A" through "F."²²

HERMETICISM

Before I go on to discuss Bihzad and paintings thought to be by him, one problem requires discussion: the Persianate painting tradition's hermeticism. For the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries no single painting survives that can be paired with a recorded textual response. And although the practices of talking and thinking about pictures are attested, the paucity of recorded verbal description and the lack of one-to-one matches between texts and the paintings they describe require a different interpretive maneuver if texts are to be illuminating. Thus, in the absence of an ekphrastic literary tradition, the interface between text and image is an especially slippery one and the lack of one-to-one matches between paintings and their verbal descriptions maintains the divide. Thus, it is problematic to describe and gauge the forms of response that paintings elicited from their viewers. And even when a language of description is used to call attention to or praise particular techniques or pictorial competencies, it can seem esoteric.

A rare example, one of Zayn al-Din Mahmud Vasifi's recollections of cultural life at the Timurid court in Herat, is truly tantalizing in its reference to a group of viewers and their visual engagement with a painting. In his *Badā'i al-waqā'i* (completed in 1538–39),²³ Vasifi describes an event at a *majlis* (lit.: assembly, literary gathering) held by the Timurid statesman, poet, and man of letters Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (d. 1501). A single-sheet painting by the artist Bihzad, depicting 'Ali Shir Nava'i leaning on a cane in a garden, was presented to its subject.²⁴ A discussion of the painting followed as four members of the *majlis*, perhaps passing it around from one to the next, each composed and recited a rejoinder to the painting:

Mawlānā Faṣiḥ al-Dīn . . . said, "Master, when I saw those blossoming flowers, I wanted to stretch out my hand, pick one and stick it into my turban."

Mawlānā Šāhibdārā . . . said, "I too had the same desire, but [then] it occurred to me that if I stretched out my hand, all the birds would fly off the trees."

Mawlānā Burhān . . . said, "When I looked at [it], I held back my hand and my tongue and I kept silent for fear that his Excellency the Mir might become angry and frown."

Mawlānā Muḥammad Badakhshī . . . said, "Mawlānā Burhān, if it were not unseemly and impudent, I would take that stick out of His excellency the Mir's hand and hit you over the head with it."²⁵

Structurally, the *majlis* anecdote²⁶ follows a pattern of performance current at the court, that is, a group of literati or boon companions improvising in sequence and reciting poetry or prose *viva voce* when called upon to do so.²⁷ Each participant in the chain of response tries to outdo the previous one in crafting an eloquent and witty rejoinder to the painting. The verbal structure, a linguistic joust of sorts, has its own life and momentum, the painting becoming a mechanism through which members of the court broker and restructure social relationships by exercising their literary prowess.

Although this kind of verbal engagement seems to transport us away from the visual—the painting threatens to disappear after its catalytic role has come to an end—it does demonstrate one form of social and verbal structure through which paintings could be set in motion, a context in which a painting was activated. The assessment of the painting's visual effect, impressing the respondents by its power, moreover, provides a specific criterion for measuring the painter's success expressed not only in terms of technical virtuosity and refinement. In each case, the response is framed around the reality of the image, a form of presence achieved not by naturalism (viz., the use of modeling to suggest a dominant light source; perspectival structure; shading to suggest volume; individuation of physiognomic features), but by the perfect and minute execution of detail. The image is understood as a continuous field of signs, each one is given equal legibility, and their cumulative power is to overload the senses with visual information by which the painting becomes "real." Thus, an approximation of reality is not achieved by the spatial construction of the composition and by such techniques as shading and modeling—by the illusory function of mimesis—but by the all-over treatment of a painted surface that is replete with detail, with the equally precise articulation of each element and its parts. The painting offers the eye no respite, no place where forms shade off into an unstable relationship between the pigment and what it represents. Areas of color steadfastly maintain their "thingness."

This example of verbal and visual engagement with a painting is rare only because it was recorded as part of a series of somewhat nostalgic recollections of a courtly life that Vasifi had left behind in Herat and that he wanted to recreate at the Uzbek court.²⁸ The anecdote recorded by Vasifi and the aspects of

the painting that it mentions suggest an altogether different conception of the real from those "naturalistic" features described in modern scholarship and assigned to Bihzad, e.g., earthy palette, diverse physiognomy, and psychological dimension. Bihzad's contemporary audience made no mention of those features.

As I noted, the distance between texts and art works poses one kind of problem for the study of Persianate painting, its tradition, creative processes and aesthetics, as well as the methods or behavior of viewers in the activity of looking. To some degree, the hermeticism of painting and its experience can be circumvented by examining paintings in a particular context, one made expressly for visual engagement with a series of selected examples. The context is the codex-format album, a place where paintings, drawings, and calligraphies were brought together for viewing by a circumscribed audience consisting of members of the royal court, at least in the sixteenth century. The album's compiler structured the materials not only for visual but also for verbal engagement, for a series of discussions that presumably took place around the open album but that were not recorded. Numerous album prefaces, composed to accompany specific albums, contain references to the collections' future audiences who will examine their contents.

An attempt to recover an internal theory of authorship is hampered by the hermetic aspect of the visual tradition and the nature of textual sources that talk about it.²⁹ Even when the texts—album prefaces, treatises, biographies, histories—are brought together they do not amount to a fully expressed theory of art, neither a complete theorization of depiction in the process of production nor in the context of painting's reception. Indeed, such a level of consciousness, a theorization of representation, has never been allowed even as a postulate. Emphases in texts about art include references to an artist's biographical details, personal qualities, and particular area(s) of expertise, inventions of techniques, and patron affiliations. Sometimes the writer may comment on the artist's achievement by selecting adjectives to express the qualities of the works that he produced, but such remarks are always made in abstract terms without reference to specific examples.

So is it possible to bridge the gap between texts and images? One possibility is presented to us by the album just mentioned, a site of aesthetic concern. The album constituted a visually and verbally discursive

space.³⁰ In what follows, I will focus on the materials, practice, and tradition of Persianate painting while also examining an implicit principle of authorship formulated by Dust Muhammad in an album that he compiled for the Safavid prince Bahram Mirza in 1544-45 and for which he also composed a preface.³¹ In its original form the album contained numerous examples of single-sheet paintings and drawings ascribed to Bihzad.³² After detailed study of these items, some additional single-sheet paintings and manuscript illustrations ascribed to Bihzad by other people and other artists will be discussed. Finally, a wide array of commentaries about Bihzad will be examined, and several threads drawn together to develop a theory of drawing and to support the notion that the "armature"—the shape of a given form—is the primary locus of authorship.

DUST MUHAMMAD'S THEORY OF THE AUTHOR-PAINTER

For Bahram Mirza's album, Dust Muhammad brought together specimens of calligraphy, painting, and drawing produced between the late fourteenth century and 1544-45, the year of the album's completion. In addition to supervising the album's arrangement and decoration and selecting its materials, Dust Muhammad composed a preface in Persian that would accompany the collection. It opens with praise of God, the Prophet Muhammad, the Twelve Shi'ite Imams, the reigning shah of Iran (Tahmasp, Bahram Mirza's brother), and Bahram Mirza, before going on to narrate histories of calligraphy, painting, and drawing. A history of art is laid out in terms of a series of biographies of artists and calligraphers, each one connected to the next by master-pupil relationships. Anecdotes are interlarded at key points in the histories of practice. In the section dealing with the history of depiction, Dust Muhammad has this to say about Bihzad:

The pupil and son of the aforementioned sayyid, the most excellent of the moderns in depiction, pride of the ancients in illumination and outlining, the rarity of the age, Master Kamaluddin Bihzad, is beyond all description. In this album [his work] is much in evidence, and he had the honor of being attached to the royal library of His Majesty the Sultan Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp the Safavid the Musavid the Husaynid Bahadur Khan, by whom he was shown great favor and at whose court he bade farewell to life and was buried next to

the grave of the great poet Shaykh Kamal of Tabriz. The chronogram for his death is "Cast a glance at THE DUST OF BIHZAD'S GRAVE," which was composed by Amir Dost Hashimi.³³

Dust Muhammad situates Bihzad within a long chain of practice, noting that Bihzad was trained by his father Mirak Naqqash (also known as Amir Ruh Allah). His statement that Bihzad's work was "much in evidence" in Bahram Mirza's album is no exaggeration; the album once contained no fewer than twelve works ascribed to him, but six of them were removed during the early years of the twentieth century.³⁴ Each example bears an illuminated or colored inscription in *nasta'liq* script, of attributions made by Dust Muhammad. Viewed as a group, Bihzad's works illustrate his ability to perform in a range of art techniques and subjects, his relationship to his father and master Mirak Naqqash and to Mawlana Vali Allah (Mirak Naqqash's master), his response to examples of Chinese painting of the Ming period, and ultimately his impact on the next generation of artists.

The album's materials constitute a highly self-referential corpus that embodies the notion of artistic genealogies of painting and calligraphy. Stylistic affiliations and kinships are illustrated by the works—visual relationships between discrete works are found across the album's numerous folios—and parallel the construction of a history of art laid out in the preface. This is the visual logic of Bahram Mirza's album as Dust Muhammad conceptualized it.

What is immediately striking about the corpus of paintings and drawings that Dust Muhammad ascribes to Bihzad is its diversity of subject, technique, and style, and visual idioms employed by the painter. In fact, it is so diverse that it calls into question the relationship between Dust Muhammad's criteria for establishing "authorship" and those of the modern connoisseur. Without Dust Muhammad's attributions it seems improbable that modern connoisseurs would have arrived at the same grouping, especially if following the hallmark features derived from the close scrutiny of Bihzad's signed manuscript paintings.³⁵ The conundrum is of great interest, and Dust Muhammad's attributions when viewed in their entirety as a system offer a rare occasion to examine mid-sixteenth-century notions of authorship and of the artist's creative processes. The album is thus of special importance, given the absence of a written tradition in which certain aspects of a theory of art—

the role of the artist being but one—are laid out.

An appreciation of Bihzad's consummate expertise in illumination (*tazhib*), outlining (*tahrir*), and depiction (*tasvir*) required the user to examine the album as a totality. Dust Muhammad's ascriptions in *nasta'liq* facilitated this task by flagging specific examples. The degree of completion of Bihzad's works varies considerably, a feature that affords the viewer access to the processes of design and execution as revealed in the sublayers of incomplete or partially executed areas. In some of Bihzad's studies the design has been drawn but the coloring is incomplete; some drawings are completely executed works, made as designs for manuscript illustrations or as independent works; and a last group are complete single-sheet paintings, perhaps the type of paintings mentioned by Vasifi to Keldi Muhammad. The corpus reveals Bihzad's processes in the domains of expertise outlined by Dust Muhammad and the post-production viewer could gain much from their analysis.

A critical inspection of the methods used in stylistic analysis to determine a painter's presence and of their application to Persianate painting produces three problems. The first emerges from what initially seems to be a rather mundane problem, so much so that no one to my knowledge has brought it up. This is the question of the material properties of pigment and the techniques of its application to the prepared paper surface. For manuscript paintings and single-sheet works alike, the pigment's surface never gives itself away; it does not break down into a series of visible brushstrokes no matter how close the eye moves in toward it. An artist's presence is not suggested by the stroke of the brush in a technique that denies the eye access to the hand's movement. Laid out in blocks of unmodulated color, the fields of pigment are polished in the final stages of production to bring the entire surface together, producing an obdurate and intact surface. Agency is not revealed through brushwork by a set of gestural traces. This feature tends to shift the recognition of an author's presence from brushwork to either characteristic and repeated elements like eyebrow inflections, or the rendering of hands, ears, drapery folds, etc.,³⁶ or to aspects of design (*tarh*: drawing), and the architecture or overall structure of the composition. For some, Bihzad's principal ability has rested exactly in the ordering of the painting and its constituent elements.³⁷ The identification of an artist might also be possible through particular color choices, harmonies, or em-

phasis of palette,³⁸ but given the collaborative nature of manuscript painting and the non-expressive application of pigment, how could one ever be sure of pinpointing those surfaces executed by an individual painter?³⁹

The second problem involves the methods of image making in, and the conceptual aspects of, Persianate visual culture. These suggest various and more complex relationships between person, hand, and image than that allowed for in the post-Renaissance European model. We might begin with the illustrated manuscript, arguably the primary context of painting in the Persianate cultural sphere. The collaborative nature of painting and indeed of every aspect of the manuscript's production has long been recognized and, as I noted earlier, it usually results in models of workshop production in which the named artist is generally considered to be a directing agent, overseeing the project and perhaps executing the most difficult elements. As such it is another kind of import, another grafting of a method.

A *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 1494–95, and made for the Timurid amir 'Ali Farsi Barlas, is considered a part of the Bihzad core group.⁴⁰ One of its twenty-two paintings illustrates the *mi'rāj* of the Prophet Muhammad (fig. 2). In 1605 the Mughal emperor Jahangir ascribed this painting to 'Abd al-Razzaq, giving sixteen others in the manuscript to Bihzad and five to Mirak. But a drawing for the painting done in a fine black ink line on ivory paper is mounted into the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album (fig. 3): here Dust Muhammad attaches the note "black pen [drawing] by the wonder of the age Master Bihzad and others (*va ghayruhu*)." Although the discrepancy between Jahangir's and Dust Muhammad's attribution is an interesting one—challenging, perhaps, Jahangir's self-proclaimed competence as a connoisseur⁴¹—Dust Muhammad's ascription acknowledges collaboration, the presence of more than one author even in the drawing stage, in the underlying structure of what will become the painting. At this point the authorship function in drawing/design would seem to be coming to the fore.

By the late fifteenth century a new terrain for the artist, the single sheet, gained currency; it was a format that became more common in the course of the sixteenth century with the increased production of album collections. Artists sometimes attached their names to these single-sheet paintings and drawings. Neither of these painting contexts—manuscript or

single sheet—or the schema of the maker's place in them, however, are as straightforward as they would appear. That entire compositions and single figures or compositional groups from earlier paintings were often repeated has been known for some time now.⁴² As late as the fifteenth century, a time often identified as marking the beginning of a new concept of the artist—signaled mainly by the more frequent application of signatures—painters looked back to early-fifteenth-century models for their narrative paintings. A comparable creative dynamic obtains in the case of the single-sheet painting, as suggested by a series of examples in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album.

One line drawing depicting two lynx and two antelopes in a landscape is ascribed by Dust Muhammad to Bihzad, but he goes further: the ascription reads, "Copied (*naql*) from the work of Mawlana Vali, executed by the servant Bihzad."⁴³ From Dust Muhammad's preface to the album, in the part that provides a history of art, we learn that Mawlana Vali taught Bihzad's father Mirak. The pedagogical relationship between Bihzad and his father is structured for the album viewer on one of the album's pages (fol. 83b). Here two drawings, one of two combatants (ascribed to Mirak) and one of a lion (ascribed to Bihzad), and one partially completed painting of a Qalandar dervish (ascribed to Bihzad) are placed together. The proximity of works by father and son on a single page allowed for comparison.

The Qalandar dervish (fig. 4) sandwiched between the drawings of the lion and the two combatants is a jocular figure depicted seated, one leg tucked underneath him, the other bent at the knee and drawn toward the body. The arms are held at either side, elbows bent, and arms raised with hands opened. The sinicized facial features, gnarled ear, wispy mustache, and beard, and open mouth set in a toothy smile are features that reveal the figure's source, a Chinese Ming-period group composition.⁴⁴ A Chinese source is also suggested by the nailhead lines executed in black ink to establish the major contours of the dervish's outer and under garments and in the contrasting technique of wash and stippling used for the figure's face and hands. Two modes of execution are combined. Close inspection of the figure in those areas lacking pigment and thickly inked lines, however, reveals an underdrawing in an unweighted line. Thus, in making his consummate copy from a model of the Chinese tradition, Bihzad first laid out the armature

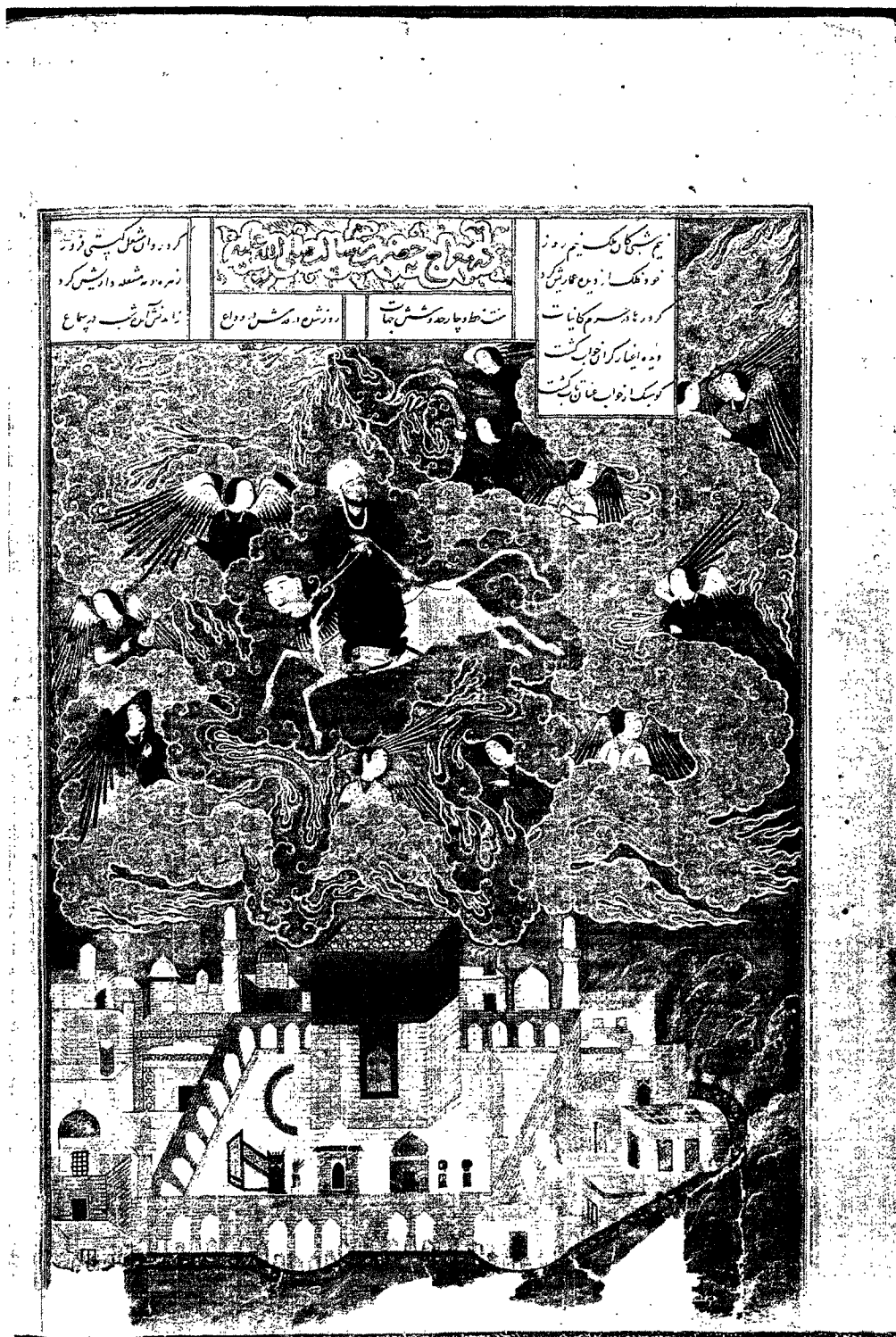


Fig. 2. *Mi'raj* of the Prophet Muhammad. Manuscript illustration from a *Khamsa* of Nizami, dated 900 (1494–95) (fol. 5b). Opaque pigment on paper. British Library, Or. 6810 F5V. (Photo: By permission of the British Library, London)

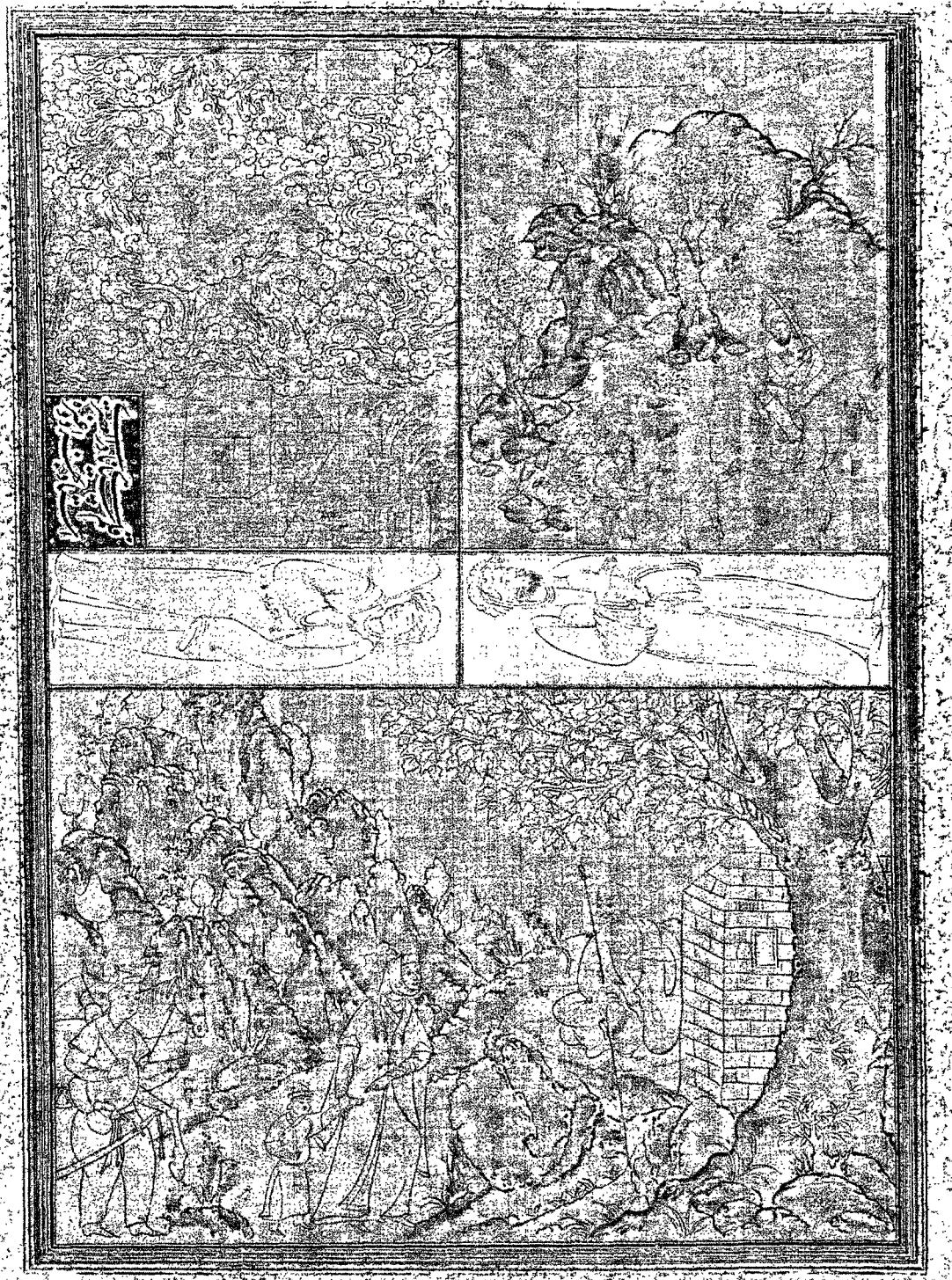


Fig. 3. *Mi'raj* of the Prophet Muhammad. Drawing ascribed to Bihzad. Ink on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 55b (drawing at top left of album page). (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)



Fig. 4. Qalandar Dervish. Incomplete painting ascribed to Bihzad. Opaque pigment and ink on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 83b. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

in an altogether different drawing technique used most commonly for the drafting of manuscript illustrations.

The drawing of two lynx and two antelopes by Bihzad shows the painter's process of selection and response to a model made by his artistic "grandfather" Mawlana Vali. The Qalandar dervish demonstrates Bihzad's response to yet another model, this one extracted from a non-Persian visual source. Another processual genealogy is shown by a work on fol. 71a. It depicts Rustam lassoing Rakhsh (figs. 5 and 6) and is inscribed with the caption: "Design (*tarh*) of Master Bihzad, work [*kār*: drawing and coloring] by Master Dust Muhammad."⁴⁵ Here Bihzad is credited with the armature and Dust Muhammad with the re-performance of the design. Dust Muhammad presumably selected a design by Bihzad—i.e., not working over an actual sheet drafted by Bihzad—reproduced it in

an inky line (fig. 6), and then began to apply pigment. Again, the incomplete nature of the work affords a view of the various processes involved in its execution. These examples show that despite the possibility the single sheet offered an artist for a free and open terrain in which to act compared to a manuscript painting by several makers the single sheet could also be a site of imitative practices. Thus, despite the solitary artist's performance, the image made could refer and respond to the designs of contemporary or earlier generations of artists.

Dust Muhammad's conception of the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album was very much about giving physical embodiment to lines of transmission in painting and drawing as well as to calligraphy, bringing together the album's many objects and, in the process of recontextualizing them, producing written and painted genealogies. Across the album's many pages



Fig. 5. Rustam and Rakhsh. Incomplete painting ascribed to Bihzad and Dust Muhammad. Opaque pigment and ink on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 71a. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)



Fig. 6. Rustam and Rakhsh. Detail of Rustam. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 71a. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul).

closely interrelated types and subjects could be found, including a Chinese Ming-period falcon (fig. 7) to which Bihzad subtly responded (fig. 8) through a series of modulations of the feathers and the general outline, or shape, of the subject; and a drawing of a seated dervish over blue paper (fol. 111b), and a painted version—now in Dublin but once in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album⁴⁶—bearing the ascription “Portrait of a Dervish from Baghdad, done by Master Bihzad.” The experience of leafing through the album’s many folios activated the mind into recollecting images that had come before and perhaps directed the mind to think about, to anticipate, what might come. The album’s phenomenology thus accorded memory an especially important function.

Clearly this series of images in the album and Dust Muhammad’s ascriptions problematize the concept that the single sheet can be a straightforward terrain for identifying a singular author. The examples show a creative process and principle that is bound up in the practice of responding to models, in much the same way as manuscript painting brought together an aggregate of compositional elements designed by many makers. Moreover, the examples also challenge that operative condition of stylistic analysis, viz., that the artist can only be himself, by demonstrating that he could clearly be something other than himself and was capable of imitating and of reproducing the style of other artists in a highly tuned form of virtuosity. Bihzad’s stylistic breadth, or range, is amply demonstrated by the very diversity of visual modes and idioms that he could work in and through, responding with equal competence to Persianate and Chinese examples. Moreover, the works by Bihzad in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album emphasize his competence in line drawing but also show his expertise in coloring, illumination, and in the handling of a variety of subjects. His works are a testament to his technical virtuosity and visual acumen, to his ability to perform in someone else’s style, to improve a model.

SINGLE SHEET WORKS: LIONS AND CAMELS

The formal interdependence exemplified by the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album studies of falcons and dervishes is also found in other subjects, such as the chained and belled lion and the camel with its keeper. These two sets of interrelated subjects take us from the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album to a place beyond

its frame, turning our attention again to the question of the painter’s index of authorship.

The first is a study of a chained and belled lion, done in subtle inky lines with stippling and fields of colored wash, and ascribed to Bihzad (fig. 9). It appears on the same page as the Qalandar dervish, also ascribed to Bihzad, and the two combatants ascribed to Mirak, Bihzad’s father. Some folios later in the album, a painted version of the same crouching, chained, and belled lion appears again (fig. 10). Here the lion is depicted in a landscape; it lies on a bluish hillside with a leafy tree, tufts of grass, and a thin strip of sky above the horizon. Although the painting lacks an attributive caption, it is nearly identical to the first in the outline of the body and in the internal features of the face. Although the painting’s immediate visual resonance is the tinted drawing that came before it, assuming that the viewer followed the strict linear order of the album’s folio sequence, it would not necessarily be ascribed to Bihzad’s hand. But like other works gathered in the album it could have been made after a design by Bihzad, to whom Dust Muhammad credits the tinted drawing.

Looking outside the Bahram Mirza album turns up other versions of this subject. A nearly contemporary album compiled by Shah Quli Khalifa for Shah Tahmasp, Bahram Mirza’s brother, contains an unattributed ink drawing framed in an elaborate stenciled border (fig. 11). This lion is depicted pacing, but is still belled and chained to a post that lies beyond the frame. While the lion’s general facial features bear a resemblance to the design attributed to Bihzad (fig. 10), its orientation is reversed. A second Safavid-period album contains an example of the same subject ascribed in a note to Shah Muhammad Isfahani.⁴⁷ Other examples abound. Three studies of the belled and chained lion were published by Martin in his *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (1912).⁴⁸ Martin’s catalogue notes indicate that two of the studies are in the Imperial Library, St. Petersburg, and each one has an ascription reading “done by Master Bihzad” (*kār-i Ustād Bihzād*). These ascriptions are executed in different hands and techniques however: one looks as if it were done in an outlined and perhaps illuminated *nasta’liq* script, the other is simply penned in ink.⁴⁹ The third study published by Martin, owned by him at the time, and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts the full-bodied lion in a recumbent posture, done in ink and stippled opaque pigment with an ascription to Mas-

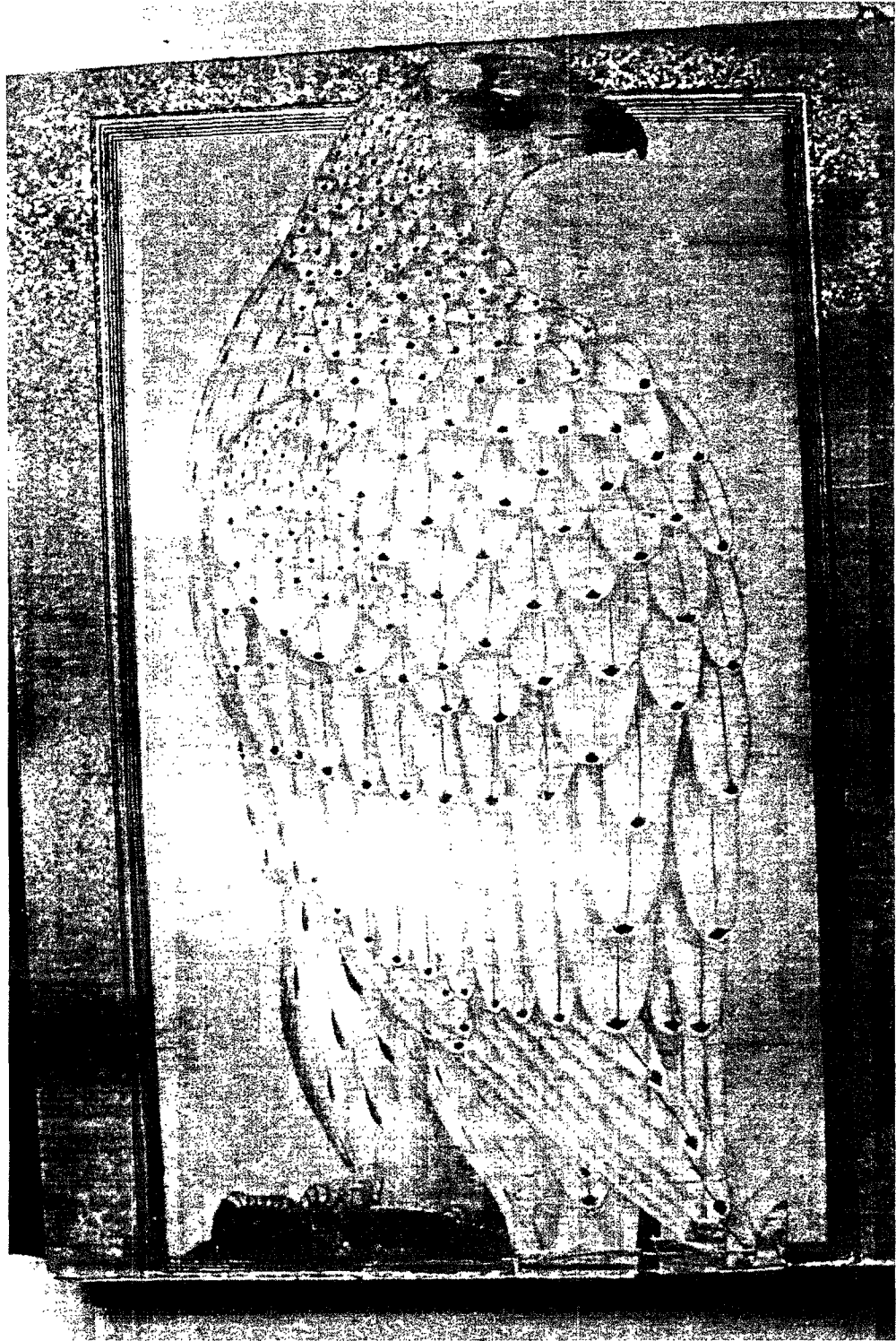


Fig. 7. Falcon. Chinese, Ming period painting. Opaque pigment on silk. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 18a. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

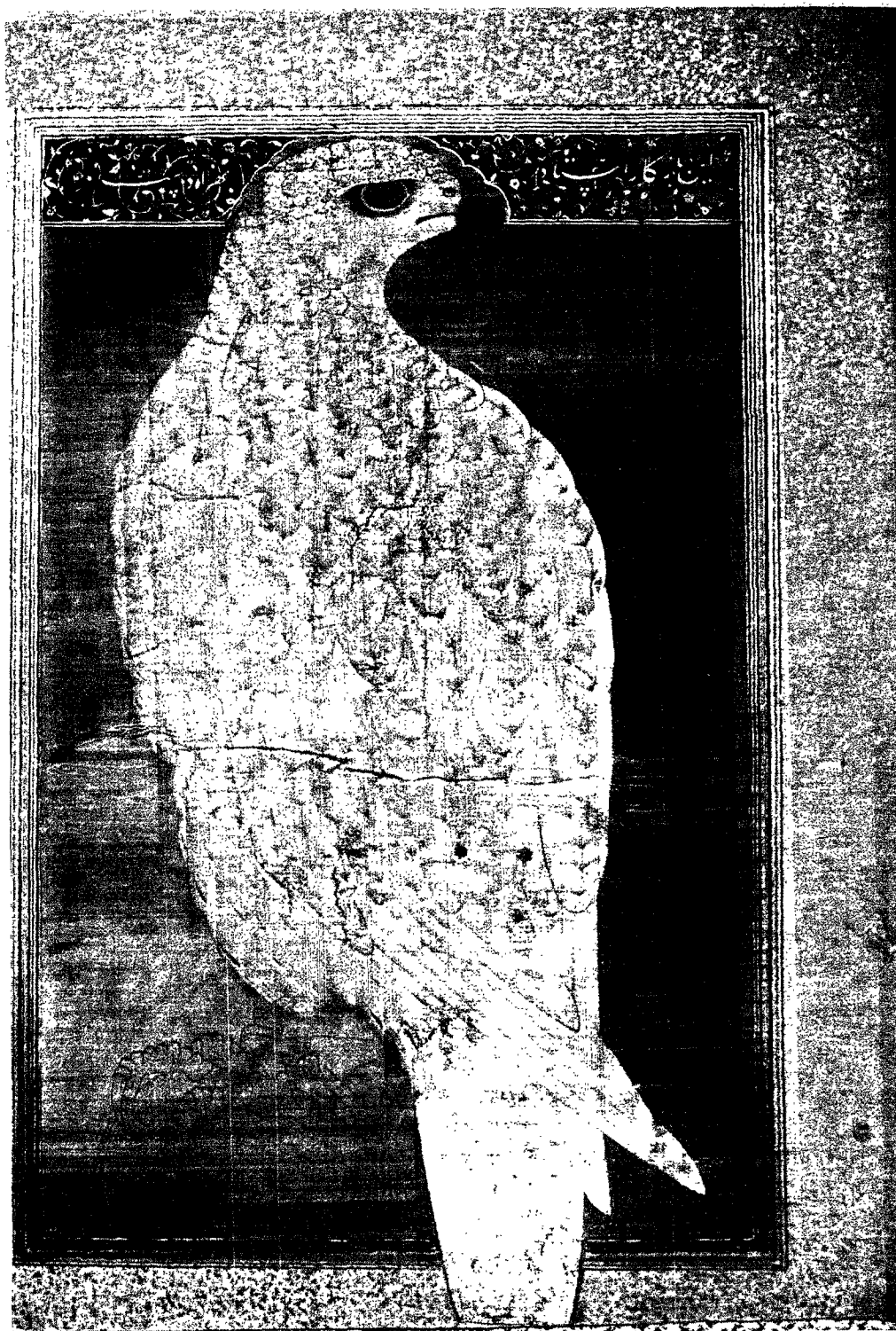


Fig. 8 . Falcon. Painting ascribed to Bihzad. Opaque pigment on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 119b. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)



Fig. 9. Chained and belled lion. Ascribed to Bihzad. Opaque pigment and ink on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 83b (det.). (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

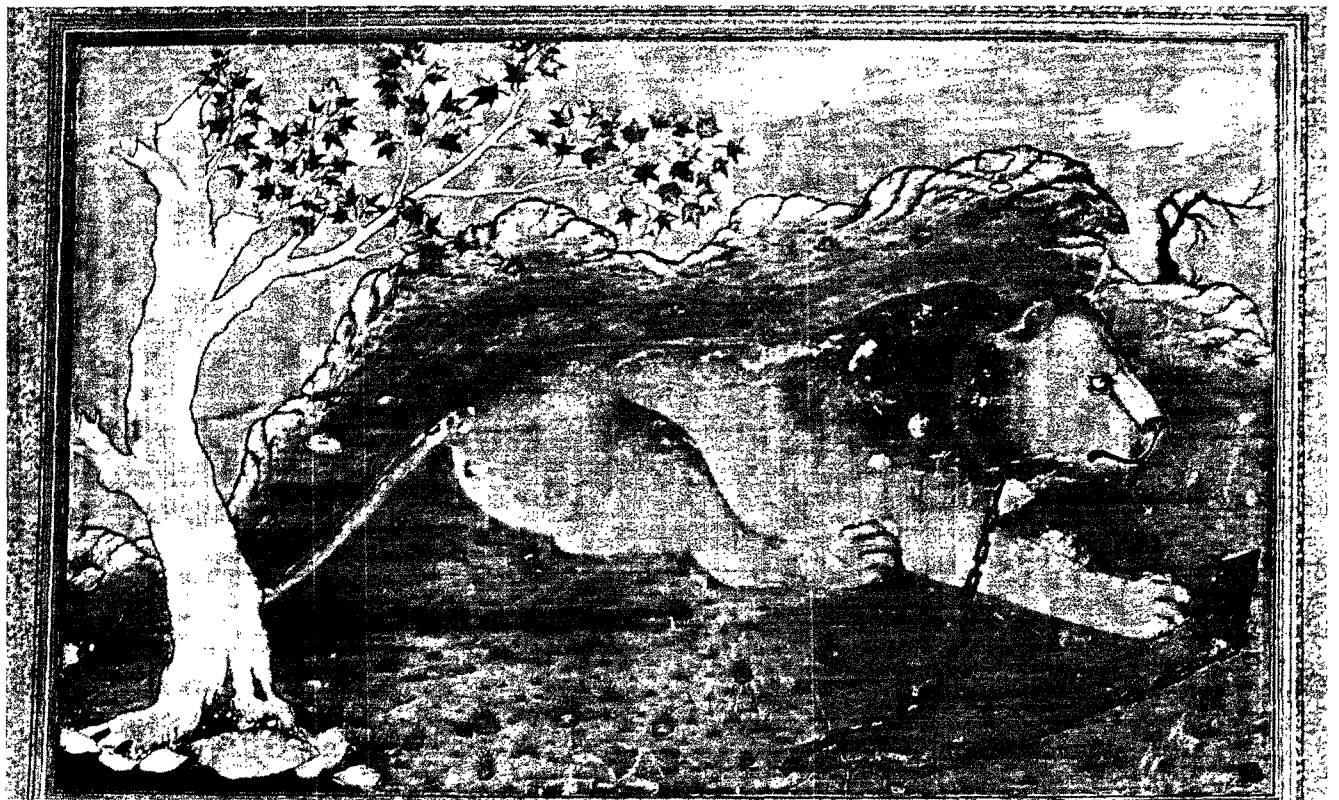


Fig. 10. Chained and belled lion. Painting in opaque pigment and gold on paper. Topkapi Palace Library, Bahram Mirza album, H. 2154, fol. 100a. (Photo: Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

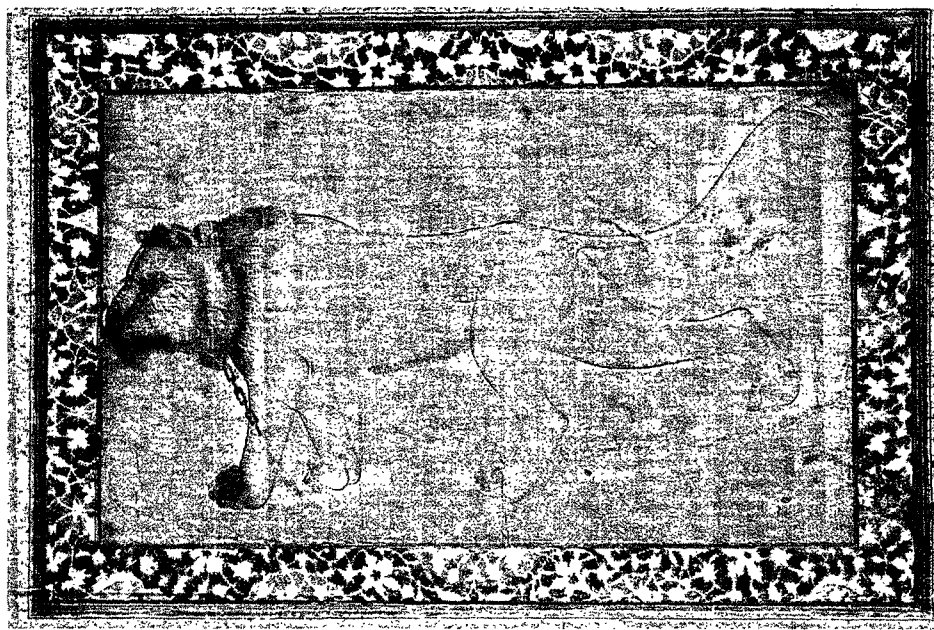


Fig. 11. Chained and belled lion. Drawing in ink and wash on paper. Istanbul University Library, Shah Tahmasp album, F. 1422, fol. 34b. (Photo: Istanbul University Library and Documentation Center, Istanbul)

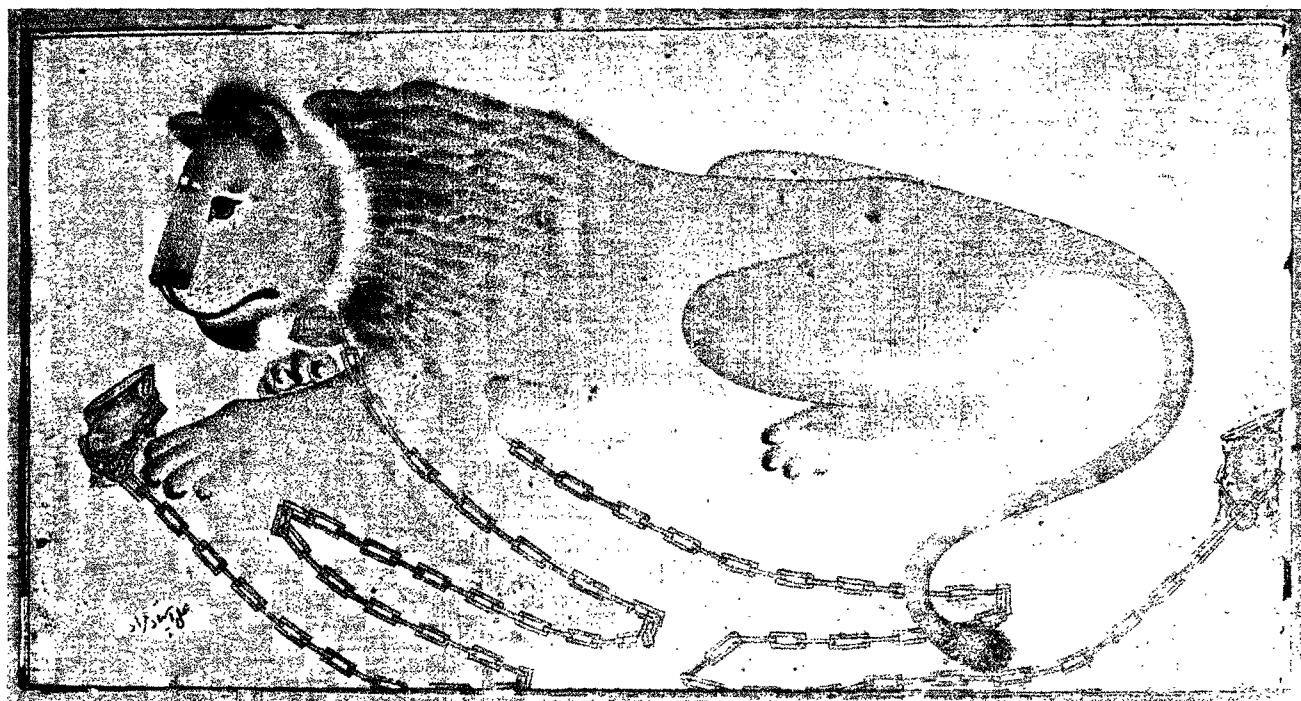


Fig. 12. Chained lion. Attributed to Ustad Murad. Ink, gold, and opaque pigment on paper, mid sixteenth century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14. 582. (Photo: Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission. © 1999 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All Rights Reserved)

ter Murad (fig. 12).⁵⁰ The subject of the chained and belled lion was long-lived, with examples known from as late as the seventeenth century.⁵¹ Even at that late date, artists like Riza-yi 'Abbasi returned to the works of Bihzad and credited the artist in their often detailed signatures.⁵²

The second subject, of which there are many extant examples, is the camel and its keeper. At present, the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album contains two studies of this theme, one ascribed to Bihzad,⁵³ a second one unattributed (fol. 140b). Outside this album, three other examples of the subject are known, and there are, or presumably once were, more. One is a line drawing in the Cleveland Museum of Arts,⁵⁴ the second a stippled ink study in yet another Istanbul album (H. 2162).⁵⁵ The third example is the better known painting signed by Shaykh Muhammad and dated 1556–57 in the Freer Gallery of Art.⁵⁶

This sequence of repeated subjects and types subtly differentiated from each other is common knowledge. Other sets of interrelated images are very well known indeed, for example, the famous painting of two camels fighting in the *Muraqqa'-yi Gulshan* signed by Bihzad in his seventieth year, and a version of it by 'Abd al-Samad (ca. 1570).⁵⁷ The addition here of some previously unpublished examples of repeated subjects reinforces the fact that imitative responses to images were common practice.

One point that must be made is that responses to models by the repetition of compositional elements and their recasting and recontextualizing cannot be adequately explained or always understood as an economy of workshop practice.⁵⁸ It can also signal a fundamental principle of creativity, one that gave shape to a viewer's perceptual framework as part of a contract of communicability. The viewer expected, even anticipated, the artist to imitate.

Elsewhere, I have described this aspect of the painter's process as producing an aesthetic of familiarity, as one of always already knowing. As a creative procedure of depiction (painting/drawing) it finds close parallels in calligraphy and poetry, where practitioners larded their works with references to earlier performances, works of writing and poetry with which the reader was acquainted, that established a context in which one should or could act. This relationship of a practitioner to his tradition, whether in painting, calligraphy, or poetry, was not a tyrannical one.⁵⁹ One operated within a circumscribed but gradually expanding universe of types. Repetition and

response provided a context in which performance was gauged and measured against preceding performances; the sequence of works in the tradition were links in a chain or, to paraphrase a metaphor employed by the Timurid Sultan Husayn Mirza, "pearls of meaning" strung "onto the cord of poetry" and "gems of precision" enhanced "with the garb of adornment."⁶⁰ They formed an intertextual/intervisual culture into which the author could write himself. The images discussed here form a series of nearly duplicated types that rely on pre-established archetypes subtly recast.

Laying out a sequence of subjects (of which the belled and chained lion is only one) tempts one to establish a relative chronology, but even if that were possible, it is unlikely to be of any value.⁶¹ What is intriguing, however, is the possibility that these visual genealogies, series of "originals" that respond to a particular subject grouping designed in the past,⁶² could equally well be ascribed to Bihzad. But to do so would perhaps place the burden of invention solely on him—why stop with Bihzad?—and invoke that specter of origin. But paradoxically, the works in the Bahram Mirza album and outside it allow simultaneously for the tradition's movement and stasis re authorship. In other words, the author's place lies along the axis of an ongoing tradition. He inherits a corpus of subjects, motifs, designs, and themes, and works in and through them. For some privileged authors, culture allowed for the recognition and memory of their specific performances as vertical markers on another axis. A design, like the belled and chained lion, could find its origin in an author.

CONCLUSION

One doubts that a Morellian stylistic analysis could arrive at the same grouping that Dust Muhammad did. The stylistic "incoherence" and heterogeneity evidenced by the group of works in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album, features noted by Blochet for other "Bihzadian" materials,⁶³ have made some scholars question the reliability of their attributions, including those of Dust Muhammad.⁶⁴ But this is less of a problem if one suspends for a moment the notion that the attributive signature is intended to hoodwink, to be a true *faussaire*, a charge repeatedly made in the scholarship of the twentieth century's first three decades.⁶⁵ If one considers only drawing/design, and not the processes of transfer (by the use of a pounce)

or coloring, in an assessment of the attributive note's relationship to the work that it accompanies, the resulting proposition is of an altogether different order. Put another way, in applying a name to a work the attributive note could refer solely to the design (*tarh*),⁶⁶ to the compositional unit or cell, to the outline,⁶⁷ and not necessarily to the executor who would first transfer and copy the design before completing it.⁶⁸ Such a procedure is acknowledged by Dust Muhammad in the phrasing that he uses for the attributive notes that he adds to several works in the album. It is critical that the majority of objects bound into the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album that Dust Muhammad ascribes to Bihzad are works in progress that reveal the underlying drawing and design. Visual analysis of interrelated subjects, moreover, uncovers a specific cultural notion of creativity and originality (which finds its analog in calligraphy and poetry) and the positive value attached to technical virtuosity and to imitative response. To assert that the re-statement of a work or the addition of the attributive note was intended to deceive would miss the point.

The preceding analysis of images in the context of the illustrated manuscript and the single sheet indicates that the processes and techniques of Persianate painting in the period spanning Bihzad's life both prevent and obviate the methods used by stylistic analysis to identify and isolate an individual artist. Brushwork is invisible, suppressed in the process of making the image. Color schemes and palette result from the many makers who worked on an individual work, either in the illustrated book or as a single sheet. Stylistic virtuosity and the practice of imitative response produced artists who could re-perform the works of others and mimic such features as eyebrows and ears. Focusing on these visual aspects of a painting or drawing can only open up an endless cycle of attribution and reattribution, building a stylistic house of cards whose foundation is poorly laid.

It is evident that post-Romantic conceptions of the author, which themselves have been subjected to intense scrutiny and criticism,⁶⁹ find their reflection in scholarly notions about the Persian artist. Early scholarship sought to promote Persianate painting and its artists by highlighting parallels to other great art traditions, and, in so doing, borrowed paradigms of the creative personality. Curiously, early scholars, including De Lorey, Blochet and Sakisian, noted stylistic heterogeneity and expressed the limitations of stylistic

analysis, speaking of the "mirage" of Bihzad. But their work continued nonetheless, and the immense range of meanings that the addition of a "name" placed on a work as a "signature" or as an attributive note could have or of how and where a culture could invest a work with individual presence were not fully explored. Scholars rushed to establish artistic oeuvres using unsuitable methods, spurred on in later years by the lists of names provided in key historiographic works, including Dust Muhammad's album preface.

One could argue that Dust Muhammad's attributions are as subjective as those of any other viewer, whether Jahangir or the modern scholar, except, of course, for the fact that Dust Muhammad's criteria for attaching a name to an unsigned work appear to have been of an altogether different nature from those methods of stylistic analysis which focus on the indexical connection between hand and mark. Even if the accuracy of Dust Muhammad's attributions is in question, one can at least posit that the very fact that he was able to ascribe this group of works to one master suggests that it was expected that a single artist would be able to perform in many and diverse visual idioms. The numerous textual references to Bihzad attest to the high prestige accorded to the artist and his production. But a closer reading of these references suggests varied degrees of critical reception; while many texts single him out and supply a brief biographical sketch, others merely list him as one of several notable artists of Khurasan. In two instances, a comparison is drawn between Bihzad and his contemporary Shah Muzaffar, and an assessment is made of their relative strengths and weaknesses.⁷⁰ Based on Bihzad's performance, criteria of judgment included design (*tarh*), articulation (*ustukhvanbandi*),⁷¹ depiction (*fann al-tasvir*), illumination (*tazhib*), and outlining (*tahrir*).⁷² Two authors note, in poetic form, that if Mani had known of Bihzad, he would have taken his designs (*tarh*) and motifs (*andāza*).⁷³ These references emphasize qualities of design and composition; Bihzad's skill and technique are praised: no mention is made of characteristics like color schemes or an artist's naturalism.

Two main points emerge from the analysis of Bihzad's works and how they were sorted out by Dust Muhammad. The first has to do with imitative practices, with the artist's technical virtuosity and sensitivity to conventions of subject and process. The second has to do with the status accorded to drawing. In the selection of works that preserve some portion

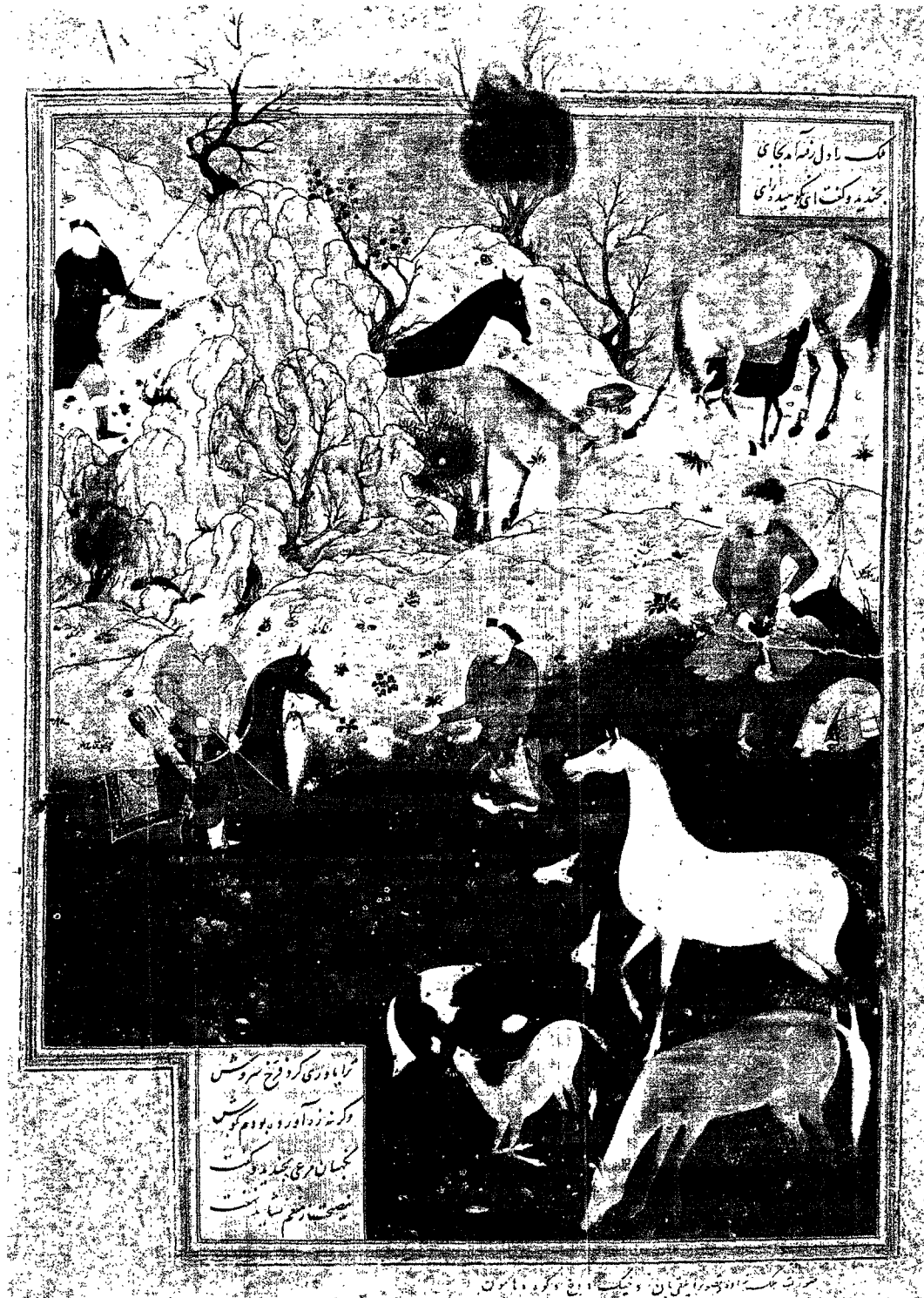


Fig. 13. King Dara and the herdsman. Manuscript illustration from a *Būstān* of Sa'di. Copied by Sultan 'Ali al-Katib [al-Mashhadi] for Sultan Husayn Mirza. Dated Rajab 893 (June 1488), fol. 10a. Opaque pigment on paper. Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908. (Photo: Courtesy General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908, Cairo, and Los Angeles County Museum of Art)



Fig. 14. Sultan Husayn Mirza on horseback. Ascribed to Bihzad. Drawing in ink on paper. Late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14. 570. (Photo: courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced with permission. © 1999 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All Rights Reserved).

of drawing, despite additional processes of coloring, and the general treatment of the work's outline in the album (preserved throughout the various processes of completion and recontextualizing effected in album compilation) underscore drawing's importance.

In praising Bihzad's consummate expertise in design—his skill was so great that Mani would have taken his designs—and in the emphasis given to this aspect of process, what comes to the fore is the apprehension of the outline. It lay at the foundation of both manuscript painting (aggregates of single designs grouped together to form compositions) and single-sheet painting or drawing. Two final examples underscore this point. One, a manuscript illustration from the *Būstān* of Sa'di, depicts King Dara and the herdsman (fig. 13). The painting is inscribed with Bihzad's "signature" (it appears in minute script on Dara's quiver). This painting, like all the others, should be understood as an accumulation of separately made components, design cells that were selected, scaled appropriately, and transferred to the surface of the page. Once the design had been completed, the addition of pigment could begin. But the process of painting does not diminish the apprehension of the components' outlines, and one is also struck by the manipulation of the interval between discrete components.

A second work, a drawing in ink on paper (fig. 14) depicts a turbaned figure (but bearded and mustachioed), outfitted with sword, quiver, bow and bowcase, and mounted on horseback. Two notes are inscribed on the drawing: one in a small medallion on the king's robe reads "the poor one Bihzad" (*al-faqīr Bihzād*); the second, also written along the lower folds of the robe, reads "Portrait of Sultan Husayn Mirza, Bihzad" (*ṣūrat-i Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā, Bihzād*). Affiliations of subject between painting and drawing are immediate, and although some formal elements are altered—the drawing is reversed, for one—the general features of the unit remain constant. The emphasis on the visual perception of outline and interval suggests that the viewer was cued for painting through the experience of calligraphy, of writing. Seeing and reading occurred as two processes. Appreciation of skill in calligraphy, however, required an assessment of letter shape, connection, seating (how the letters related to each other and to an imaginary center line), spacing, and of gauging black ink against white paper. These were the very openings where a

calligrapher could distinguish himself from others, after all, proportional rules and conventions governed the relative scale and shape of each letter. In different ways textual sources and works of painting and drawing point to outlines as the elements invested with authorial presence. They formed a corpus of shapes that were remembered and recalled by the viewer.⁷⁴

Being able to apply a name to a work depended on knowledge of an artist's performance; the lions and camels with keepers series suggests an awareness of designs by Bihzad that we do not find mentioned in the sources. A specific factor, namely, the limited circle in which painting was practiced and consumed, sustained this kind of insider knowledge. Until the middle years of the sixteenth century, there is ample evidence of continuity in court culture, shown mainly by constant references to the past across a broad spectrum of cultural productions and media. The courtly circle constituted a relatively small number of key players, including members of the royal house, their retinue, literati, calligraphers, and artists, as well as a group of elite Persian bureaucrats who shared many of the avocations of the patrons and practitioners. When this circle began to disintegrate in the later years of Shah Tahmasp's reign, the knowledge and practices that it generated could only be partly retained and reproduced by auxiliary patrons who were willing to take advantage of a reduced interest in patronage on the ruler's part. By the last years of the sixteenth century, the context of patronage and artistic practices had so changed that an entirely new set of parameters had to be established for artistic production and valuation.

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NOTES

Author's note: I am grateful to Renata Holod, Thomas Lentz, and Gülru Necipoğlu for their comments on earlier drafts of this essay.

1. Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, *Bāburnāma*, trans., ed. and annotated by Wheeler M. Thackston, *The Baburnama: Memoirs of Babur, Prince and Emperor* (Washington, D.C., and New York: Smithsonian Institution and Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 226.
2. The date of Bihzad's death is provided by a chronogram composed by Amir Dust Hashimi. The chronogram is cited by Dust Muhammad in his preface to the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 2154).

3. Short summaries of Bihzad's biography constructed from primary sources are available in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. "Bihzād" (Richard Ettinghausen); and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s. v. "Behzād, Kamāl al-Dīn" (Priscilla Soucek). The first scholar to compile references to Bihzad was Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des manuscrits Timûrides* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1954), pp. 21–28. For a more recent analysis of materials for Bihzad's biography, see Gottfried Herrmann, "Zur Biographie des persischen Malers Kamāl ad-Dīn Bihzād," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23 (1990): 261–72.
4. Armenag Sakisian, "Les Miniaturistes persanes: Behzad et Kassim Ali," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 62 (1920): 215–33; 223–24.
5. Istanbul, Istanbul University Library, F. 1422, fol. 32b, upper right.
6. The term "signature" as it is commonly used is a bit misleading. Oftentimes the artist's name is hidden in the painting, usually in the context of an architectural representation's epigraphic program. In these instances the name is penned in the same script as that used for the architectural inscription, most commonly *thuluth* or some other script of the canonical "six cursive scripts." In other cases, the name is written in the canonical *nasta'liq* script using a formula that most closely approximates the modern concept of the signature. The artist's name is usually applied in a discrete manner.
The name of Bihzad on the picture of the seduction of Yūsuf (fol. 52b) appears in the chamber at the top left in a small panel between two windows ('*amal al-'abd Bihzād*, "done by the servant Bihzād"). His name on the image of the discussion at the court of a qadi (fol. not available) is located in the final text panel that wraps around the iwan ('*amal al-'abd Bihzād fi sanati arba' tis'in wa thamānin*, "done by the servant Bihzad in the year 894"). The phrase for "eight hundred" is incomplete, the hundred (*mi'a*) implied.
The other two paintings bearing Bihzad's name are of King Dara and the herdsman (fol. 10a) and the beggar being refused admittance to the mosque (fol. not available). The signature on the former is written in a minute script on King Dara's quiver and Bihzad's name appears on the latter on a small piece of paper held by a man to the upper left of the painting.
A double-page painting, which presumably depicts the court of Sultan Husayn Mirza (fols. 1b-2a), also included an artist's name. It was placed in the last panel of the entrance complex, depicted in the righthand painting (fol. 1b) where the doorkeeper beats an unwelcome visitor. The text panel would seem to have been intentionally erased for it is the only one that is abraded. Sakisian attempted to decipher the remnants of text in this final panel and concluded that the erased artist's name was Mirak, Bihzad's father and master. See Armenag Bey Sakisian, "La miniature à l'exposition d'art persan de Burlington House," *Syria* 12, 2 (1931): 163–72.
7. The critical *Būstān* of Sa'di (Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization, Adab Farsi 908) was published in 1931 and regarded as the "main basis of investigation" for the oeuvre of Bihzad (J. V. S. Wilkinson, "Fresh Light on the Herāt

Painters," *Burlington Magazine* 58, 335 [February 1931]: 61–67).

Sakisian noted four manuscripts that would serve as a core group in the analysis of Bihzad's style (Armenag Sakisian, "Oeuvres et données nouvelles se rapportant à Behzād," *Journal Asiatique* 220 [1932]: 298–300; 298). The most important manuscript from this group was the *Būstān* of Sa'di. Eustache de Lorey also considered this manuscript as central to the establishment of Bihzad's oeuvre (idem, "Behzad," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, July–August 1938: 25–44; 26). A few years before, a second core manuscript, the *Khamsa* of Nizami in London (BL Or. 6810), was published in 1928 with all of its paintings illustrated (F. R. Martin and Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Nizami Ms. Illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak, and Qasim Ali* [Vienna: n. p., 1926]). Martin and Arnold focused on questions of attribution.

In 1938, Eric Schroeder dealt with what he called the "Bihzad problem." Schroeder based his comments on the "judicious summaries" of manuscripts attributed to Bihzad's hand. See Eric Schroeder, "The Persian Exhibition and the Bihzād Problem," *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art* 7, 2 (March 1938): 3–14; 3.

8. Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1996). While the entire book is an example of this method, the author refers to the chronological arrangement and gives his criteria on p. 51. Another study that unabashedly accepts this method is Francis Richard, "Un manuscrit méconnu, l'anthologie poétique de la B. N. illustrée et signée par Behzād," *Studia Iranica* 20 (1991): 263–74.
9. Martin's text reads: "... is it not still more wonderful that such masterpieces should have been made in Persia just at the same time as the great artists in the Netherlands were creating the work which we consider unique of its kind? Cannot these eastern portraits be compared with the very best portraits of Memling and his contemporaries? Are they not as good as good Holbeins?" (F. R. Martin, "Two Portraits of Bihzād, the Greatest Painter of Persia," *Burlington Magazine* 15 [April–September 1909]: 4–8; 8). Also see idem, *Les miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté 1485* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912), n.p.; and Ali Ahmad Naimi, "Behzad," *Afghanistan* 2 (April–June 1948): 63–66; 65.
10. Full research on this subject still needs to be undertaken. One example, however, is offered by a single-sheet hunt scene rendered in black and colored inks on paper and shown at the great "Exhibition of Persian Art," Burlington House, London, in 1931. The drawing was published separately with the headline, "Attributed to Behzad: An Art Gem at Burlington House" (*The Illustrated London News*, 10 January 1931, p. 61). The accompanying text praises the work, comments on the attribution to the "great master" Bihzad, and also mentions the owner, Mr. E. Beghian "of whose collection it is a gem." The separate publication of the drawing and its attribution (based solely on style and on no attributive note) can only have augmented its resale value. The drawing is now owned by the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., no. 54.32.
11. Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*.
12. Thomas W. Lentz, "Changing Worlds: Bihzād and the New

- Painting," in *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting*, ed. Sheila R. Canby (Bombay: Marg, 1990), pp. 39-54. Lentz explains that Bihzad's name became synonymous with changes in later Timurid painting as a product of the "relentless propagandizing by later authors." This hypothesis would seem entirely consistent with the way in which Bihzad is referred to in some primary sources. Bihzad is merely listed as one of numerous artists active in Herat and is not given preferential treatment.
13. Stchoukine went so far as to propose that the figures were based on "direct observation," but noted that the new naturalism was found largely in facial expression (idem, *Les Peintures des manuscrits timûrides*, p. 120).
 14. The new "naturalism"—the reintroduction of temporal duration, varied postures and facial expressions, and an earthier palette—was defined against the painting tradition developed in the last years of the fourteenth century through the early fifteenth century, and "perfected" under the patronage of the Timurid prince Baysunghur, a grandson of Timur. In Baysunghur's manuscripts, the illustrations were sparsely populated by figures that were considered to be idealized human types, frozen in stasis, arranged in a balanced composition, and perfectly painted in jewel-like colors. For a summary of the "Baysunghuri" visual idiom and its key illustrated manuscripts, see Thomas W. Lentz, "Painting at Herat under Baysunghur ibn Shah Rukh," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1985, esp. chap. 2.
 15. Equally problematic are those reasons that might explain the addition of the artist's name (or signature) to a painting. Was the name added at special moments in a life, or does its presence embody a particular, but by no means regular, set of factors that led to the production of the painting? Did it arise from a contractual stipulation between artist and patron, for example? Seeing the artist's name in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries as a precursor to the late-sixteenth-century signing practice may be unwise, for the late sixteenth century was a time when variables in the cultural equation worked to make the signature commonplace.
 16. Martin stated that most of the works ascribed to Bihzad were the "dubious productions of his pupils" (F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th Century* [London: Holland Press, 1912], p. 43). Stchoukine remarked, "Les oeuvres attribuées à Behzād, avec plus ou moins de raison ou de fantaisie, par les critiques et les amateurs de l'art aussi bien en Orient qu'en Occident, dans les temps anciens et à l'époque moderne, sont très nombreuses" (*Peintures des manuscrits Timurides*, p. 25), and concluded that some were simply added to increase the object's value on the market. E. Blochet pursued another line of reasoning to explain the impetus to attach Bihzad's name to unsigned works: "En fait, les amateurs persans, pas plus que les collectionneurs européens, ne connaissent d'autres noms d'artistes que ceux qui leur ont été transmis par le tradition littéraire du *Habīb al-siyar* et de *l'Alamarāi-Abbassi* aucun peintre hormis les virtuoses dont les chefs-d'oeuvre s'étagent entre 1470 et 1540" (idem, "Les peintures des manuscrits persans de la collection Marteau," *Monuments et mémoires* 23 [Paris, 1918-19]: 129-214; 166).
 - The attributive phenomenon was also noted by Ettinghausen: "The problem is greatly complicated by the fact that as a result of Bihzad's fame his signature has been wrongly added to miniatures for centuries, be it for financial profit or to provide a collector with a page by a celebrated painter; or his works have been copied, including his signatures, either in toto or in parts, or they have been finished or restored after his death" (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. "Bihzād").
 17. The use of the terms "authorship" and "author" requires explanation. In using the term I refer exclusively to the conceptual and manual aspects of an image's production, processes effected by an "author." I do not engage in the debate, the result of an exchange between Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault, which questions the author's relationship to the work at the level of hermeneutics and the emphasis of the author's autonomy (his creativity is placed apart or outside of culture's discursive practices). For a concise summary of the genealogy of the concepts of "author" and "authorship," and of the Barthes/Foucault exchange, see Donald E. Pease, "Author," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 105-17.
 18. For a summary of Morelli's comparative method inspired by methods in contemporary botany, zoology, and anatomy, see Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "The Role of Perceptual Learning in Connoisseurship: Morelli, Berenson, and Beyond," *Art History* 13, 1 (March, 1990): 104-17; 104-6. For a general study of connoisseurship and attribution, see Carol Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988).
 19. Bernard Berenson, "Rudiments of Connoisseurship," written in the 1890s and published in 1902.
 20. Soudavar observes that Bihzad's "landscapes are always barren and deserted; trees are depicted with crooked branches and no leaves," and continues, "For example, a distinctive crooked branch with a sharp angle, almost a signature motif, recurred throughout Behzād's career" (Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collections* [New York: Rizzoli, 1992], p. 97).
 21. The clearest reference to such a structure is made in the document titled *nishān-i kalāntarī-yi kitābkhāna-yi humāyūn bi-ism-i Ustād Kamāl al-Dīn Bihzād nivisht* ("Decree of appointment of Ustād Kamāl al-Bihzād to head the royal library"). The decree, dated 27 Jumada I 928 (24 April 1522), is contained in Khwandamir's *inshā'* manual. It notes that Bihzad will head all those employees of the royal library and even "other groups who are engaged on such works within the protected lands." The document continues by emphasizing that all employees should regard Bihzad as their "head and superior, and execute the works of the library in accordance with his approval and estimates." While the text quite clearly implies a sort of bureaucratic/accounting role for Bihzad, nowhere is there a specific reference to his direct involvement in aesthetic decisions. The above translations of the text are from Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, p.

185. Bahari also provides the Persian text.
22. Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, p. 82; and Martin Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982). The "history" of the *Shāhnāma-yi Shāhī* is constructed according to a sequence of project directors, beginning with Bihzad, with the stylistic analysis of paintings adding auxiliary hands (a group of named and unidentified artists labeled A through F). For a summary of the methodology employed by Dickson and Welch, see the review of their book by Priscilla P. Soucek in *Ars Orientalis* 14 (1984): 134–38.
 23. Zayn al-Din Mahmud Vasifi Haravi, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i'*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, 2 vols. (Tehran: Bunyād Farhang-i Irān, 1349/1972).
 24. The painting is described as ". . . a scene from the life [of 'Ali Shir]—in which there was [depicted] a blooming garden with many different species of trees with beautiful variegated birds in their branches, while on every side there were flowing streams and blossoming rosebushes. [In the midst of this] stood the pleasant figure of the Amir leaning on his cane, with plates full of gold in front of him for distribution as gifts (*sachiq*).” Trans. from Maria E. Subtelny, "The Poetic Circle at the Court of Timurid Sultan Husain Bayqara and Its Political Significance," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1979, app. 4, p. 208.
 25. Vasifi, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i'*, trans. Subtelny, p. 209; for Persian text see Vasifi, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i'*, ed. Boldyrev, 2: 149–50.
 26. I use the term coined by Cynthia Robinson. For her specific definition and contextual usage, see Cynthia Robinson, "Seeing Paradise: Metaphor and Vision in Taifa Palace Architecture," *Gesta* 36, 2 (1997): 145–55.
 27. The best studies on cultural life at the late Timurid court, especially the institution of the *majlis*, are Subtelny, "Poetic Circle at the Court" and "Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat," in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in honorem Georgii Michaelis Wickens*, ed. Roger Savory and Dionisius A. Agius, *Papers in Medieval Studies* 6 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), pp. 137–55.
 28. On the Uzbek appropriation of a Timurid-defined courtly culture, see Maria E. Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983): 121–48.
 29. One of the most important avenues of textual study—but one that goes well beyond this essay's scope—would be the thoroughgoing analysis of language and genre. At present, these very aspects have been avoided, and the texts' language or literary style generally dismissed as meaningless verbiage.
 30. David J. Roxburgh, "Our Works Point to Us': Album Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids," Ph. D. diss., 3 vols., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1996.
 31. Istanbul, TSK, H. 2154 (149 fols., 484 × 345 mm).
 32. David J. Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct?: F. R. Martin and the Bahram Mirza Album," *Muqarnas* 15 (1998): 32–57.
 33. Trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), p. 347.
 34. For description and discussion of ex-Bahram Mirza album materials, see Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct?," pp. 33–42 and 48–54.
 35. A variety of responses to the range of idioms in Bihzad's work are found in scholarly writing; they basically hover between belief and disbelief. Sakisian's essay of 1920 noted the stylistic heterogeneity of a group of works that Martin had attributed to Bihzad: ". . . caractère hétéroclite de l'oeuvre miniatures attribué à Behzad. . . . On a l'impression de se trouver en présence des productions d'une demi-douzaine d'artistes." He concluded by suggesting that this was a confusion that must be righted (Sakisian, "Miniaturistes persans: Behzad et Kassim Ali," pp. 216–17). In 1938, Eustache de Lorey cast doubt on the use of style as a means of identifying works by Bihzad, and wrote: "Enfin, qui peut nous assurer que Behzād n'ait en pour s'exprimer qu'une seule manière et un seul type?" To make his point clear, de Lorey likened Bihzad to the modern artists Renoir and Picasso. Despite his questioning, de Lorey then proceeded with an examination of works thought to be by Bihzad and summarized the essential characteristics of the artist's works (de Lorey, "Behzad," p. 26).
 36. These are the elements that Morelli termed *Grundformen*, patterns repeated by the artist in those spaces of the painting not governed by larger forces of the school. See Maginnis, "Role of Perceptual Learning in Connoisseurship," p. 105. The pervasiveness of the Morellian method is evident in Richard, "Un manuscrit méconnu," p. 273.
 37. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 95. Soudavar here interprets Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat's commentary on Bihzad where he is compared to Shah Muzaffar. Earlier in the century, Laurence Binyon, commenting on a double-page painting ascribed to Bihzad then in the collection of Philip Hofer, remarked: "What impresses one especially is the reposefulness of the design, and the beauty of the relations between figures. A deep sense of harmony controls the composition" (Laurence Binyon, "The Persian Exhibition. II. Paintings," *Burlington Magazine* 58, 334 [January 1931]: 9-15; 10).
 38. De Lorey suggested that an expanded study of Bihzad would also entail an examination of the artist's palette (idem, "Behzad," p. 44). In recent years, Soudavar has argued that Bihzad's palette was a subdued one "marked by an underlying grayish tone visible in the blues, greens, and pinks, . . . perhaps even melancholy in character" (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 97) in marked contrast to the bright palette of Bihzad's contemporary Shah Muzaffar (ibid.).
 39. Unless we assume, of course, as so many scholars have, that a "signed" manuscript painting represents the work of a single painter. The division of labor among painters in a single painting is suggested by a document, the so-called 'Arzādāshī, datable on internal evidence to the late 1420's. It is a progress report that describes the various projects underway in the Timurid *kitābhāna* and survives in an album (Istanbul, TSK H. 2153, fol. 98a). The main body of the report describes various manuscripts and their stages of completion. Specific tasks are outlined and usually the artist responsible for each one is named. The document is of great interest precisely because it identifies passages within a painting completed by individual artists, for example, "Amir

- Khalil has finished the waves in two sea scenes of the Gulistan and will begin to apply color" (Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* [Washington, D.C., and Los Angeles: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989], app. 1 "Arzadasht," trans. and annotated by Thackston, pp. 364–65; 364).
40. London, British Library, Or. 6810.
 41. For the relevant passage where Jahangir boasts of his un-failing ability to identify individual artists, see idem, *The Tuzuk-i Jahangiri; or Memoirs of Jahangir*, trans. A. Rogers and ed. H. Beveridge, 2 vols. in 1 (London, 1909–14), 2: 20–21. Of interest here is Jahangir's statement, "If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eyebrow." As a statement about the interconnectedness of painter, hand, and image it would seem remarkably close to the post-Renaissance European paradigm and to challenge the notion that I am arguing for in a Safavid context, albeit at some temporal and geographical remove from the Mughal Indian setting. But the comment and method of Jahangir should give us pause, yet another warning that we pay close attention to changing concepts of painting and its practice over time as well as to differences between regional traditions of painting practiced at the pre-modern courts of Iran and India. Surely, they cannot all be lumped together and understood according to some monolithic, all-encompassing concept.
 42. The use of early-fifteenth-century models in the late fifteenth century was known from the very beginnings of Bihzad scholarship in this century. See Sakisian, "Les miniaturistes persanes: Behzad et Kassim Ali," p. 222; Schroeder, "The Persian Exhibition and the Bihzād Problem," p. 4; F. R. Martin, *Les Miniatures de Behzad dans un manuscrit persan daté 1485* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1912); and Stchoukine, *Peintures des manuscrits Timûrides*, p. 122. Stchoukine observed that these models were subtly differentiated by slight alterations (in design or coloring) and he described the corpus of available models as the "patrimony of the Iranian school" (ibid., p. 122). For more recent discussions about the repetition of compositions, in whole or in part, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, app. 3 and chap. 3; and Ada Adamova, "Repetition of Composition in Manuscripts: The *Khamsa* of Nizami in Leningrad," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, in the series, *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas* vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), pp. 67–75.
 43. Geneva, Collection Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, no. Ir. M. 94. The drawing was once part of a folio in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album (see Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct," 49, fig. 7).
 44. It is possible that the figure was available to Bihzad only as a single figure and not necessarily as a group composition. Most of the Chinese paintings in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album depict single figures. Three earlier studies of the fifteenth century, two bound into the Diez albums, Berlin, and a single sheet in New York, offer additional evidence of copies made from Chinese figures. The Buddhist lohan offered a useful and apparently appealing iconographic type for portraying dervishes. For illustrations of these works, details about their iconography, and pertinent bibliography, see Basil Gray, "A Timurid Copy of a Chinese Buddhist Picture," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), pp. 35–38; and Toh Sugimura, *The Encounter of Persia with China: Research into Cultural Contacts Based on Fifteenth-Century Persian Pictorial Materials*, Senri Ethnological Studies, 18 (Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1986), chap. 2, esp. pp. 45–50. A formally related subject, also in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album, depicts "Three Chan Eccentrics" (fol. 55a). Its addition to the album establishes yet another visual inference of interrelationship.
 45. The Dust Muhammad referred to in the caption is not one and the same with the album's compiler and preface author. Dust Muhammad the painter is identified as Dust-i Divana/Dust-i Musavvir. See Chahryar Adle, "Les artistes nommés Dust-Mohammad au XVIe siècle," *Studia Iranica* 22 (1993): 219–96.
 46. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, acc. no. 3094.5. The painting was once part of a folio in the 1544–45 Bahram Mirza album (see Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct," p. 51, fig. 16).
 47. Istanbul, TSK, H. 2161, fol. 139b. This album is currently known after Amir Ghayb Beg, the person in whose name it was compiled. It currently contains folios misbound into it from different original albums. The general features of fol. 139b—mainly its borders—do not match the core group of folios that are without doubt from the original album compiled for Amir Ghayb Beg. Fol. 139, however, is certainly datable to the Safavid period.
 48. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, pl. 86, pt. 2, p. 5, no. 86.
 49. One study depicts only the lion's head and, from the photograph, appears to be a fragmentary drawing (a tear is visible at the lower left corner). The second study ascribed to Bihzad depicts the entire lion in approximately the same orientation as the Shah Tahmasp album drawing but lying and not pacing.
 50. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, cat. no. 14.582. The painting is mounted as one work in a composite album page. Several pages from this dispersed Safavid-period album are known in different collections. They are identifiable by the general physical features of the pages and by small attributive captions written in the same hand. Many of the paintings bear the seal of Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), some of them dated 995 (1587–88). A second page from this dispersed album, also in the Museum of Fine Arts (cat. no. 14.583), includes a drawing of a lion ascribed to Mir 'Ali Shir ('amal-i Amīr 'Alī Shīr), presumably the Timurid-period statesman and man of letters Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i. The picture is a pun of sorts, the subject, a lion, reflecting the artist's name, *Shīr* (Persian: "lion"). For a description of the album folio and an illustration, see Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Les miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston* (Paris: G. van Oest, 1929), pp. 30–31, cat. no. 43, pl. 23.
 51. See, for example, a drawing datable to the first half of the seventeenth century, probably made in Isfahan, and now in

- the Pozzi Collection, Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire, inv. 1971-107/405. For a description and illustration, see B. W. Robinson, *L'Orient d'un collectionneur: miniatures persanes, textiles, céramiques, orfèvrerie rassemblés par Jean Pozzi*, exhibition cat. (Geneva: Musée d'art et d'histoire, 1992), p. 149, cat. no. 263, p. 286.
52. Riza-yi 'Abbasi's works after Bihzad are discussed in Sheila R. Canby, *Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi 'Abbasi of Isfahan* (Oxford: Azimuth Editions, 1996), chap. 8.
 53. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, no. 37.22. The painting was once part of a folio in the 1544-45 Bahram Mirza album (see Roxburgh, "Disorderly Conduct," p. 34, fig. 2).
 54. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, ms. 44.849. The drawing is illustrated in Stuart Cary Welch, *Wonders of the Age: Masterpieces of Early Safavid Painting, 1501-1576* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 1979), pp. 190-91, cat. no. 73.
 55. Istanbul, TSK, H. 2162, fol. 19a.
 56. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, no. 37.21. For a recent discussion of this painting and an illustration, see Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Discovering Shaykh-Muhammad in the Freer Jāmi," *Ars Orientalis* 28 (1998): 104-13; 111-12.
 57. For an illustration of the Muraqqa'-yi Gulshan painting bearing Bihzad's signature, see Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting*, p. 215, fig. 120; for an illustration of 'Abd al-Samad's painting, see Toby Falk, ed., *Treasures of Islam* (Secaucus, N. J.: Wellfleet Press, 1985), p. 247, cat. no. 121. Other subject types attributed to Bihzad include dervishes and the so-called Turkmen prisoners, the latter depicting a kneeling, single figure who is harnessed by a yoke. Modern scholarship has sought to discredit the attribution of these works to Bihzad. For references, see B. W. Robinson, "Bihzad and His School: The Materials," *Marg* 30, 2 (March, 1977): 51-75; 51.
 58. That is the use of models as a convenient method of producing an illustrative program for a manuscript.
 59. For a discussion of imitation in poetic practice, see Paul E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers, 1998).
 60. Sultan Husayn Mirza, "Apologia" (ca. 1485 to 1492), trans. Thackston, *Century of Princes*, pp. 373-78, esp. 376.
 61. A convenient parallel is in the study of manuscript recensions. The identification of variant texts, usually the result of scribal copying leading to intentional or unintentional lacunae and mistakes, produces stemmata. One of the most significant problems in mapping the stemmata emerges when chronology and spatial distribution are factored into the process as variables. In the case of images, yet other problems crop up, namely the identification of similarities and differences between two works "A" and "B" as if "B" were made in response to "A" and not to some third work "C" (the potential range of intermediaries can, of course, be taken to the nth degree).
 62. Richard Schiff's discussion of the original, copy, and master-copy is of great use here; see Richard Schiff, "Mastercopy," *Iris* 1, 2 (1983): 113-27.
 63. Blochet, "Les peintures des manuscrits persans de la collection Marteau," in *Monuments et mémoires* 23 (Paris, 1918-19): 129-214; 165.
 64. Among the many references, see Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, cat. nos. 88 and 90; Ernst Grube, "Prolegomena for a Corpus Publication of Illustrated *Kalīlah wa Dimnah* Manuscripts," *Islamic Art* 4 (1990-91): 301-481; 315.
 65. For example, Martin writes: "The custom of placing Bihzād's signatures on miniatures has caused far more confusion than benefit. Real signatures executed by the artist are extremely rare, being recognized at once by the care and discretion shewn in their application. It may be taken as a rule that all conspicuous and carelessly written signatures are of a far later date" (Martin, *Miniature Painting*, p. 49).
 66. Of great interest are other meanings conveyed by the noun *tarh*. For example, the word can also have the sense of "laying a foundation," and when construed with the verb *bar dāshīān*, means to take a model or a pattern from something.
 67. Melikian-Chirvani has discussed the prevalence of outline (noting the non-submergence of contour despite the addition of pigment to painting) and defines it as "the recognition of the fundamental nature of figurative art in Iran which is to convey in visual terms the mental images of which the metaphors in poetry and prose are the written expression" (A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Aesthetics of Islam," in *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Falk, pp. 20-24, 22). On the outline, see David J. Roxburgh, "The Pen of Depiction: Drawing in 15th and 16th Century Iran," *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 8, 1 (Fall, 2000).
 68. It is at this stage that alterations could also be made to the received model, perhaps a basic reversal of the design's original orientation or the repositioning of one of its elements (e.g., head, limb).
 69. See, for example, E. S. Shaffer, "The Death of the Artist and the Birth of Art History: Appearance, Concept, and Cultural Myth," in *Reflecting Senses: Perception and Appearance in Literature, Culture, and the Arts*, ed. Walter Pape and Frederick Burwick (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), pp. 189-222.
 70. The two authors are Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat and Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (cited at the beginning of the essay). For the former passage, see Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 361.
 71. The author is Mirza Muhammad Haydar Dughlat. For passage, see Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 361.
 72. The author is Dust Muhammad; see Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 347.
 73. The poem appears in Mir Sayyid Ahmad al-Husayni al-Mashhadi's preface to an album that he compiled for Amir Ghayb Beg in 1564-65. Mir Sayyid Ahmad's preface is in fact a reworking of an earlier example composed by Qutb al-Din Muhammad Qissa Khvan in 1556-57. Qutb al-Din Muhammad's text was later used by Qadi Ahmad.
 74. For example, in writing about the artist Sultan Muhammad, Dust Muhammad concludes: "With the pen of his fingertips, on the tablet of vision, he has drawn a different version at each and every instant" (Thackston, *Century of Princes*, p. 348). In praising a select group of painters, Mir Sayyid

Ahmad writes in 1560-61: "It is no secret that the amazing images and wonderful motifs of the practitioners of this craft are well known in every region. . . . The imaginative power and elegance of nature that this group has, no one of the other arts possesses. The beauty that unveils her face in the tablet of the painter's mind is not reflected in everyone's imagination" (ibid., p. 355). Both passages allude to the theory that images were impressed in the humor, the images from both eyes then transferred to the "composite sense," and thence to the memory (*khayāl*) for storage. The images were later recalled as a set of mental "snapshots."

For a summary of this process, see Priscilla Soucek, "Nizāmī of Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), pp. 9-21; 14.

The process of perception—divided into the properties of storage and recall—derives from post-Aristotelian thought. For a discussion of the "memory image," see Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (rept. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), chap. 2.