

A DRAFT OF TEN LINES FROM SWIFT'S POEM TO JOHN GAY

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RECENTLY, while examining in another connection Rylands English MS. 659, in Item 9, page 3 I came across a draft in the hand of Jonathan Swift of ten lines from his poem of 1731 addressed to John Gay in his supposed capacity of treasurer to the Duke of Queensberry. The poem has most recently been edited by Sir Harold Williams in his *Poems of Jonathan Swift* (1937).¹ Sir Harold followed the untitled text of Faulkner's Dublin edition of 1735 (*Works*, ii, 417-25) and used the title appearing in Faulkner's table of contents: "*To Mr. Gay on his being Steward to the Duke of Queensberry.*" Faulkner's prefatory note explained that Swift began the poem upon the mistaken information that Gay had been appointed treasurer to the Duke:

The Author having been told by an intimate Friend, that the Duke of Queensberry had employed Mr. Gay to inspect the Accounts and Management of his Grace's Receivers and Stewards (which, however, proved afterwards to be a Mistake) writ to Mr. Gay the following Poem.

Swift himself explained the genesis of the poem in a letter of 13 March 1730-1, and there he quoted verses that are now lines 57-64 of the published version:

Mr. Pope in all his letters complains he has no acquaintance with you and is utterly ignorant of your affairs. Your situation is an odd one. The Duchess is your treasurer, and Mr. Pope tells me you are the Duke's; and I had gone a good way in some verses on that occasion, prescribing lessons to direct your conduct in a negative way, not to do so and so, etc., like other treasurers; how to deal with servants, tenants, or neighbouring squires, which I take to be courtiers, parliaments, and princes in alliance, and so the parallel goes on, but grew too long to please me. I will copy some lines:

Let some reward to merit be allowed,
Nor with your kindred half the palace crowd;
Nor think yourself secure in doing wrong,
By telling noses with a party strong.

¹ Oxford Press, ii, 530-6. Hereafter referred to as *Poems*.

Be rich, but of your wealth make no parade,
 At least before your master's debts are paid ;
 Nor in a palace, built with charge immense,
 Presume to treat him at his own expense.

Then I prove that poets are the fittest persons to be treasurers and managers to great persons, from their virtue and contempt of money, etc.¹

At some later time Swift rearranged the order of the poem and developed it into a lengthy political attack "upon Walpole's stewardship of the nation's affairs", as Sir Harold Williams has observed (*Poems*, ii. 531). The passage Swift quoted in his letter, and the lines which immediately followed it, however, contain the kernel of the original poem to Gay, as Swift first conceived it, when he was misinformed about his friend's supposed stewardship. The ten lines with which I am concerned were finally represented by the following portion of the poem (ll. 61-70) as it has been printed (*Works*, ii. 420-1 ; *Poems*, ii. 533) :

61. Be rich ; but of your Wealth make no Parade ;
 At least, *before your Master's Debts are paid.*
 Nor, *in a Palace built with Charge immense,*
Presume to treat him at his own Expence.
65. Each Farmer in the Neighbourhood can count
 To what your lawful Perquisites amount.
 The Tenants poor, the Hardness of the Times,
 Are ill Excuses for a Servant's Crimes :
 With Int'rest, and a *Praemium* paid beside,
70. The Master's pressing Wants must be supply'd ;

The verse paragraph is concluded by three additional couplets (ll. 71-6) aimed directly at Walpole and added most likely at the time when Swift rewrote the poem as a political attack.

Item 9, page 3 of the Rylands MS. contains two versions of the ten lines above : the first is probably a rough preliminary draft representing the first stage of composition ; immediately below it is another, more polished version, representing the second stage of composition. The two opening couplets of the published version also appeared in the lines Swift quoted in his letter to Gay. They also appear as they were first conceived on

¹ F. Elrington Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, 6 vols., 1910-14, iv. 202-3.

this page of manuscript from the Rylands Library, which therefore must have been written previous to 13 March 1730-1. The page is headed "Gay Maitre d'hotel", possibly Swift's tentative title when he first conceived the poem; the two stages of work are crossed with two "X"s; one couplet has been deleted and rewritten, and there is some minor cancellation and interlining. In spite of this the page is easily read, being written in a rapid careless hand at the start, but, lower down, with more care.

Rylands English MS. 659, Item 9, page 3.

1. Gay Maitre d'hotel
 Nor in a palace built with charge immense.
 Regale your Master at his own expense.

Every one can count

5. To what yr lawfull perquisites amount

Unwisely of y^r wealth you make parade
 When half his Grace's debts are left unpayd.

To supply some urgent pressing want with present
 Sum, with treble interest & praemium

10. Be rich but of y^r Wealth make no parade
 At least before yr Mas^{tr}s debts are payd
 [Each farmer in your Neighbourhood can count]
 [To what your fees and perquisites amount]
 Nor in a Palace built with charge immense
15. Regale your Mas^{tr} at his own expence.
 Each farmer in the Neighbourhood can count
 To what y^r lawfull perquisites amount
 The tenants poor, the hardness of the times
 Are stale excuses to conceal y^r crimes.¹

The two versions here presented are the earliest of rough drafts and show the start of the slow evolution of these lines

¹L. 2: "pla" deleted before "palace"; "with" written twice. Ll. 12-13: Cancelled; "Legal" "honest" interlined. L. 14: Word heavily cancelled at start, "Nor in" written above the line.

towards their finished form. By comparing the first half of the page (ll. 2-9) with its second half (ll. 10-19), and the latter with the published version of this portion of the poem (ll. 61-70) it is possible to deduce something about Swift's method of composing decasyllabic couplets. He began by jotting down a series of rough couplets, each one set off by a dash, which captured, in a haphazard way, the separate notions that would eventually make up the verse paragraph toward which he was working. In so doing Swift paid little attention to the niceties of precise diction, meter, length of line, nor was he too much concerned about the logical relationship of one couplet to another. The main thing appears to have been to get down in any shape his thoughts as they occurred to him. For instance, five couplets are roughed out and marked off in the upper half of the page. Four of them reappear in the second half, but now they are rearranged and are more carefully controlled as to line-length, meter, and diction. A new final couplet has been added to replace the one rejected from the upper part of the page. Similar changes appear when the second half of the page is compared with the final version.

What Swift appears to try for first of all is to establish the general thought and exact rhyme of each couplet. Possibly he had already formed in his mind the first couplet he jotted down (ll. 2-3). He experienced some difficulty in writing it out, since he began to write *palace* as *pla* and he repeated the word *with* unwittingly. But his difficulties may come as much from an impatience to get the line down as from any trouble about its thought or wording. Virtually the same couplet appears lower down on the page (ll. 14-15) but changed now as to its position, for a reason to be explained. In the published version it retains its position as the second couplet of the verse paragraph, but there it is once more altered, in terms of the diction of the half-line, to read "*Presume to treat him at his own Expence*". In this form it was quoted by Swift in his letter to Gay.

Swift appears to have noted down the second couplet, (ll. 4-5) principally to fix the rhyme words. The half line "Every one can count" was followed by a whole line ending in *amount*. In the lower part of the page (ll. 12-13) this half line was expanded to its proper length, but then the entire couplet

was deleted and rewritten (ll. 16-17). The phrase "your fees and perquisites" was altered to read "yr lawfull perquisites", the form in which it also appears in the printed version (l. 66).

The third couplet (ll. 6-7) eventually became the opening one of the verse paragraph below (ll. 10-11) and of the printed version (ll. 61-62). Swift quoted this couplet in his letter to Gay. As Swift first jotted down the couplet, its tone was too strong and monitory, its diction negative, its meter pedestrian :

Unwisely of y^r wealth you make parade
When half his Grace's debts are left unpayd.

Swift appears to have perceived these defects almost at once. In rewriting the couplet lower down on the page (ll. 10-11) he conceived the happy notion of addressing Gay in a more genial and hortatory tone by changing the first words in each line, by removing some of the negatives, and by varying the meter :

Be rich but of y^r Wealth make no parade
At least before yr Mas^{rs} debts are payd

The altered tone and subtler rhythm made two plodding lines come briskly alive. Realizing this, Swift promoted the couplet to its opening position in the verse paragraph where it also remained for the final version :

Be rich ; but of your Wealth make no Parade ;
At least, *before your Master's Debts are paid.*

An interesting thing about the fourth couplet is that it is written down as a prose sentence (ll. 8-9). The first line contains extra syllables, the second lacks one, and the first rhyme word *Sum*, although there was space to write it, runs over into the second line. Here again Swift seems to be most interested in getting down the general idea and the precise rhyme words. Something about this couplet did not please him, however, since he rejected it below. It is typical of his conserving genius that when the couplet appeared in the final version (ll. 69-70) Swift had altered and expanded the idea considerably, but he retained the word *Praemium* within the first line, and preserved the word *Sum* to rhyme with *come* in the couplet immediately following (ll. 70-71).

In the second half of this page of manuscript Swift polished and fitted the parts. He replaced the rejected couplet with another (ll. 18-19), deleted and then rewrote a second couplet. The lines here are of proper length and in tighter meter. Swift's main concern in the second stage of composition was to refine the diction within the couplets for more precision, and to rearrange the couplets to form the emerging pattern of the verse paragraph. The logical pattern of the verse here established is also followed in the printed version, although Swift continued to tinker with the diction, in terms of the half-line especially. "Regale y^r Mas^r at his own expence" (l. 15) is changed to read "*Presume to treat him at his own Expence*" in the printed version (l. 64); "Are stale excuses to conceal y^r crimes" (l. 19) becomes "Are ill excuses for a Servant's crimes" (l. 68).

We may say, then, that in composing a portion of this poem of 1731 to Gay, Swift began by jotting down some generally related notions that were beginning to form into rhymed clusters in his head. Other couplets he recorded to fix the general idea and the exact rhyme by writing them down as half lines or even as prose sentences. In the next stage Swift rearranged the couplets to establish the framework of the verse paragraph, and he adjusted the line-length, improved the meter, altered and refined the diction for greater precision. Sometimes he changed single words and phrases; more often he altered the diction in terms of half line units. When, by a happy stroke, he perfected a mediocre couplet, Swift seized the advantage at once. He was equally perceptive and firm about altering radically or rejecting an imperfect couplet, although his artistic economy forced him to conserve as much as was possible of his original words and thought. He established the structure of the verse paragraph without great difficulty, but he continued to refine and sharpen the diction of half lines for greater precision and pointedness.

THE JOHN RYLANDS *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN* AND THE BODLEIAN *NAWĀ'Ī* OF 1485: A ROYAL TIMURID MANUSCRIPT

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THE great Persian Art Exhibition at Burlington House in 1931 brought before the public for the first time a number of royal manuscripts of the first importance. Some had remained quite unknown until the time of the Exhibition, like the now celebrated *Kalīla wa Dimna* and *Shāhnāma* from the Gulistan Museum, Tehran,¹ whilst others were but imperfectly known from a few scattered reproductions. Among the latter a very high place was taken by the set of four volumes from the Bodleian Library, Oxford, of which only two were actually exhibited, containing romantic poems in Chaghatay Turkish by the scholar-statesman Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1440-1501). It does not seem to have been hitherto realized that the fifth volume, completing the *Khamsa* or Quintet, is in the John Rylands Library (MS. Turk. 3). The set is dated 890/1485, and was executed at Herāt for Prince Badī' al-Zamān, son and joint successor of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā.

The five poems were no doubt formerly bound up in one volume, whose painted lacquer covers, of eighteenth or early nineteenth century date, now enclose the last of them. The others are bound uniformly in half-leather (green) with marbled paper sides. In every volume but the first, original folios, some certainly containing miniatures, have been removed and replaced with modern paper upon which the text has been carefully copied. The whole quintet is as follows :

1. *ḤAYRAT AL-ABRĀR*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 287 (Ethé, *Catalogue*, 2116). 57 fols., 4 miniatures, illuminated double title-page and rosette with dedication to Prince Badī' al-Zamān.

¹ L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and B. Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (Oxford, 1933), Pls. XXVIII, XXXIV-XXXVI, XLIII-L; A. Upham Pope (ed.), *A Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938), vol. v, Pls. 865-74.

2. *FARHĀD U SHĪRĪN*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 408 (Ethé 2117). 78 fols., 1 miniature, and illuminated heading. 2 fols. replaced.

3. *LAYLĀ WA MAJNŪN*. John Rylands Library, MS. Turk. 3. 48 fols., 2 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 7 fols. replaced.

4. *SAB'Ā SAYYĀRA*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 317 (Ethé 2118). 65 fols., 2 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 1 fol. replaced.

5. *ŞADD I ISKANDAR*. Bodleian Library, Elliot 339 (Ethé 2120). 97 fols., 4 miniatures, and illuminated heading. 2 fols. replaced.

This *Khamsa* was among the remarkable collection of Persian manuscripts formed by Sir Gore Ouseley in the course of his missions to the court of Fatḥ 'Alī Shāh in 1810-12. In 1858 the Bodleian acquired thirty-nine of the choicest from the collector's son, the Rev. Sir Fred. Gore Ouseley, Bart., and in the following year Mr. J. B. Elliot of Patna presented 422 manuscripts to the Library, almost all of which he had purchased from Sir Gore Ouseley's collection on the latter's death in 1844. The four Bodleian Nawā'ī volumes were included in this munificent gift. The John Rylands *Laylā wa Majnūn*, however, seems to have become somehow separated from its fellows, probably at the time of Sir Gore Ouseley's death, and found its way into the Bibliotheca Lindesiana (whose book-plate it bears, as well as that of Sir Gore Ouseley), and so eventually into the John Rylands Library.

The two volumes exhibited at Burlington House in 1931 are fully described by Binyon, Wilkinson, and Gray¹ under nos. 79 and 80, and the miniatures in all four are discussed on page 91, where the authors, with only a slight reservation, attribute them *en bloc* to the artist Qāsim 'Alī. This attribution rests on an intercolumnar "signature" in red ink on the *Mystics in a Garden*,² the last miniature in the last volume of the set. This inscription recalls immediately the similar

¹ *Op. cit.* This will be subsequently referred to as BWG.

² BWG, Pl. LXVI.



LAYLĀ AND MAJNŪN FAINTING IN CAMP
Rylands Turk. MS. No. 3, fol. 16b



MAJNŪN VISITED IN THE DESERT BY SALĪM

Rylands Turk. MS. No. 3, fol. 34a

From the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī

“signatures” of Qāsim ‘Alī on four of the miniatures in the celebrated British Museum Nizāmī of 1495,¹ though the wording is slightly different—*ṣawwarahū Qāsim ‘Alī* in the British Museum Nizāmī, and *al-‘abd Qāsim ‘Alī* in the Bodleian Nawā’ī. The latter formula was used by Qāsim ‘Alī’s master Bihzād on several well-authenticated works,² sometimes prefixed by *ṣawwarahū*.

The most redoubtable champion of Qāsim ‘Alī was M. Sakisian, who built him up into a figure almost greater than Bihzād himself;³ but however much we may sympathize with M. Sakisian’s enthusiasm, we must bear in mind two sobering thoughts: firstly, that for every genuine signature or attribution on a Persian miniature there are at least fifty that are demonstrably false, and that therefore, even when an attribution appears plausible, it should not be accepted without considerable reservations; and secondly, that the comments and judgements of oriental writers on matters of art are as a rule highly personal, and should not necessarily be taken as factual statements. A case in point is the account of Qāsim ‘Alī written by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt in the first half of the sixteenth century, in which the artist is described as “almost Bihzād’s equal”.⁴

M. Ivan Stchoukine has gone into the question of these “signatures” of Qāsim ‘Alī in his *Peintures des Manuscrits Timurides* (Paris, 1954, pp. 69, 70) and an admirable and closely

¹ Or. 6810, fols. 106*b*, 144*b*, 175*a*, 273*a*; remains of similar inscriptions, with the name erased, occur on fols. 157*a*, 190*a*, 214*a*. F. R. Martin and Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Nizami MS. in the British Museum, Or. 6810* (Vienna, 1926), Pls. 13, 17, 19-22, 24. This publication, which reproduces all the miniatures and the illuminated double title-page, will be subsequently referred to as MA.

² For example, in the Cairo *Būstān* (BWG, p. 86 and no. 83, Pls. LXVIII-LXXI) and the British Museum Nizāmī Add. 25900 dated 846/1442 (A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), Figs. 76-8).

³ Arménag Bey Sakisian, *op. cit.*, chap. vii; “Les miniaturistes persans Behzad et Kassim Ali” in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 5e période, ii (1920), 215-33; “L’école de miniature à Hérat au XVe siècle” in *La Renaissance de l’Art français*, iv (1921), 146-50, 292-7; “Le miniaturiste persan Kassim Ali” in *Revue de l’Art ancien et moderne*, lix (1931), pp. 87-96.

⁴ BWG, p. 91 and Appendix II.

reasoned article¹ on the British Museum Nizāmī of 1495, a manuscript in which the problem is still further vexed by the presence of one or more marginal attributions on most of the miniatures, and of an autograph note by the Emperor Jahāngīr (who formerly owned the manuscript) apportioning them among the artists Bihzād (sixteen), Mīrak (five), and ‘Abd al-Razzāq (one), but making no mention of Qāsim ‘Alī. When two marginal attributions appear on the same miniature they are, of course, mutually contradictory, and they also contradict the red Qāsim ‘Alī “signatures” wherever these occur. After examining the published views of Martin, Schulz, Blochet, Kühnel, and Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray on this manuscript, M. Stchoukine argues convincingly that it is inconceivable for Jahāngīr, who prided himself on his observation of details in judging miniature paintings, to have failed to notice these red “signatures”, or if he did notice them, not to have alluded to them in his note. He therefore concludes that the name of Qāsim ‘Alī was added to the miniatures in question at some period after the reign of Jahāngīr. If we accept this conclusion in the case of the British Museum Nizāmī, we must also accept it as applicable to the Qāsim ‘Alī “signature” in the Bodleian *Ṣadd i Iskandar*. This is not, of course, to say that the miniature cannot be the work of Qāsim ‘Alī, but only that the inscription in itself is not valid evidence to that effect.

We are thus thrown back on our own resources, and must examine the thirteen miniatures in this *Khamṣa* of Nawā’ī on their own merits. Such an examination leads inevitably to the conclusion that, though homogeneous, they are the work of several different artists. They seem to fall, in fact, into four groups. Group A comprises Elliot 287, fols. 7a and 34a, and Elliot 339, fols. 77b and 95b. These are the four best miniatures in the series, in so far as one can discount the lamentable damage to *Alexander building the Rampart*,² and are worthy

¹ “Les peintures de la Khamseh de Nizami du British Museum, Or. 6810,” in *Syria*, xxvii (1950), 301-13.

² There is a good Bukhārā version of this miniature in another copy of the same poem in the Bodleian (Elliot 340, fol. 80a) dated 960/1553. It has been reproduced by A. A. Pallēs, ‘*Η Φύλλαδα του Μέγ’ Ἀλέξανδρου*’ (Athens, 1935), Pl. 4.

of Bihzād, to whom M. Stchoukine is inclined to attribute the first and last. They are thus not necessarily by the same hand; for example, the superficially similar golden landscapes in *Shaykh 'Irāqī* and the *Mystics* are in reality quite different in treatment. At least it may be said that, if not by Bihzād himself, these four miniatures are very close to his work in both style and quality, and it is also in this group, perhaps, that we may look for the hand of Qāsim 'Alī, if we are prepared to accept Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt's judgement that he was almost his master's equal.

Group B consists of the two miniatures in the John Rylands *Laylā wa Majnūn* (reproduced herewith) and Elliot 317, fol. 14a. These three paintings stand quite apart from the rest, with their small-scale figures and delicate archaism, and suggest an artist who had been trained and whose style had been formed before Bihzād came on the scene. The parallel case of the work of Mīrak in the British Museum *Nizāmī* of 1495¹ will immediately spring to the mind, but though the present manuscript is ten years earlier, there are too many differences in style between these three Nawā'ī miniatures and the works of Mīrak for an attribution to the latter to be possible. Indeed, among the painters attached to the court of Herāt there must certainly have been several representatives of the older generation whose names are unknown to us, and it was doubtless one of them who contributed these three charming miniatures to the set.

Elliot 287, fols. 24a and 28a, and Elliot 408, fol. 66a form Group C. All three miniatures are characterized by rather pale delicate colouring and the same treatment of rocks. The first two are further connected by a close similarity in the faces of their respective principal figures, and by some slightly archaic touches in details of decoration; the first and last by the drawing of the animals; and the second and third by the large scale of the figures.

The last Group D, consists of Elliot 317, fol. 21b, and the first two miniatures in Elliot 339 (fols. 17a and 39a). In these

¹ MA, Pl. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.

paintings the drawing of the faces is weaker than in the rest of the set, and foreshadows Bukhārā work of half-a-century later. They also exhibit a fondness on the part of the artist for arabesque designs on buildings, which are very well executed and of marked similarity in all three miniatures.

The conspectus of the thirteen miniatures that follows sets out the foregoing conclusions in tabular form.

No.	Manuscript	Fol.	Subject	Group	Reproductions
1	Elliot 287	7a	The Prophet and his Companions	A Bihzād?	Arnold, <i>Painting in Islam</i> , Pl. XXII (colour)
2	„	24a	Khwāja ‘Abdallāh Ansārī and his Disciples	C	Gray, <i>Persian Painting</i> , Pl. 6
3	„	28a	Nūshīrwān on his throne, with a Lady	C	BWG, Pl. LXIV (A)
4	„	34a	Shaykh ‘Irāqī overcome at parting	A	BWG, Pl. LXIV (B)
5	„ 408	66a	Farhād hearing of the death of Shīrīn	C	Unpublished
6	MS. Turk. 3	16b	Laylā and Majnūn fainting in camp	B	Herewith, opp. p. 264
7	„	34a	Majnūn in the Desert visited by Salīm	B	Herewith, opp. p. 265
8	Elliot 317	14a	Portrait of a Princess shown to Bahrām Gūr	B	Stchoukine, <i>Peintures des MSS. Timurides</i> , Pl. LXXIV
9	„	21b	Courtiers waiting for their King	D	Unpublished
10	„ 339	17a	Alexander enthroned, and a Beggar before him	D	BWG, Pl. LXV (A)
11	„	39a	Majnūn at the House of Laylā	D	BWG, Pl. LXV (B)
12	„	77b	Alexander building the Rampart	A	Unpublished: badly smudged
13	„	95b	Mystics in a Garden	A Bihzād?	BWG, Pl. LXVI (colour). “Signature” of Qāsim ‘Alī

The two John Rylands miniatures in the above series deserve a fuller description, since they are here published for the first time.

Laylā and Majnūn fainting. The sky is of an intense blue, with stars, and the ground a pale mauve, shading off into various

delicate tints in the rocky horizon. The tents are black. The ground is covered with geometrically disposed grass-tufts and finely painted flowers of various kinds, all somewhat formalized as in Herāt miniatures of the earlier fifteenth century. The bare tree silhouetted against the sky is also characteristic of this earlier work; there are, for example, a number of such trees in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Shāhnāma* of about 1440.¹ This incident is frequently illustrated in manuscripts of Nizāmī, and its canonical composition, as well as that of several other stock subjects, was laid down at the beginning of the Timurid period in the splendid *Miscellany* of 1410-11 in the British Museum.² The scheme of the fainting scene in that manuscript was exactly reproduced (on a slightly expanded scale) about twenty years later in a manuscript probably made at Herāt for Prince Bāysunghur,³ and again as late as 1495 in the British Museum Nizāmī.⁴ But the artist of the John Rylands version appears to have used a composition of his own. In fact, none of the three miniatures attributed to him above is "canonical", so we may perhaps credit him with more independence and individuality than some of his colleagues.

Majnūn visited by Salīm. Here the sky is gold, and the landscape highly variegated. The pool or stream, bordered by lush green vegetation, was a favourite feature in Persian miniatures of all periods; Persia is a dry and thirsty land, and "streams in the desert" are an ever-welcome sight. In this miniature, too, we have an early representation of the light-barked plane-tree (*chinār*) which is such a feature of Safawid painting. In the earlier Herāt miniatures, to be sure, light-barked trees with variegated foliage are found, but they are formally rendered, often suggesting the rigid symmetry of

¹ R.A.S. MS. 239. J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Shāh Nāmāh of Firdausī* (Oxford, 1931), especially Pls. XI, XIV, XVII, XXII.

² Add. 27261. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane*, Figs. 80, 82, 83.

³ Two detached miniatures are known to survive from this *Laylā wa Majnūn* in the collection of Mr. G. K. Kanoria of Calcutta, to whom I am indebted for photographs of them. They are of the style and quality associated with work done under Bāysunghur's patronage.

⁴ MA, Pl. 16.

Noah's Ark trees ;¹ here, however, the treatment is naturalistic. On the other hand, as in the fainting scene, we may observe the rigidly geometrical arrangement of the grass-tufts, the delicate formality of the flowers, and the little bare trees and bushes. The artist has made a gallant attempt in both miniatures to imitate the new softly-shaded rock technique of Bihzād, but has not entirely succeeded in throwing off the old-fashioned "sponge" formula of the earlier Herāt style. However, unlike Mīrak, he has satisfactorily conformed his human figures to the new style. The group of Majnūn and Salīm, encircled by the stream, is reproduced ten years later in the corresponding miniature of the British Museum Nizāmī,² but its position in the composition has been moved over to the right.

These two miniatures are of considerable interest for the study of Herāt painting in the later Timurid period, firstly, because they complete an important dated series of illustrations to Nawā'ī, executed by the foremost court artists during the author's lifetime, and secondly, because they display the efforts of a highly skilled painter of the older generation to adapt himself to the stylistic innovations recently introduced, in all probability, by the individual genius of Bihzād. It must have been very trying for an established craftsman, perhaps over sixty years of age, to feel constrained to remould his style along lines laid down by a junior colleague. Our artist has come through the test well ; he has maintained his originality, evolving a personal style in which the old and new are delicately blended, and has produced three of the most charming and individual designs in this remarkable set.

¹ See, for example, *Survey*, vol. v, Pls. 852, 870, and BWG, Pls. XLV (B), XLVI (B), XLVII (A), XLIX, L.

² MA, Pl. 14.