

The Illustration of the Old Man of the Sea and the Story of Sindbad the Sailor : Its Iconography and Legendary Background

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The Illustration of the Old Man of the Sea and the Story of Sindbad the Sailor: Its Iconography and Legendary Background

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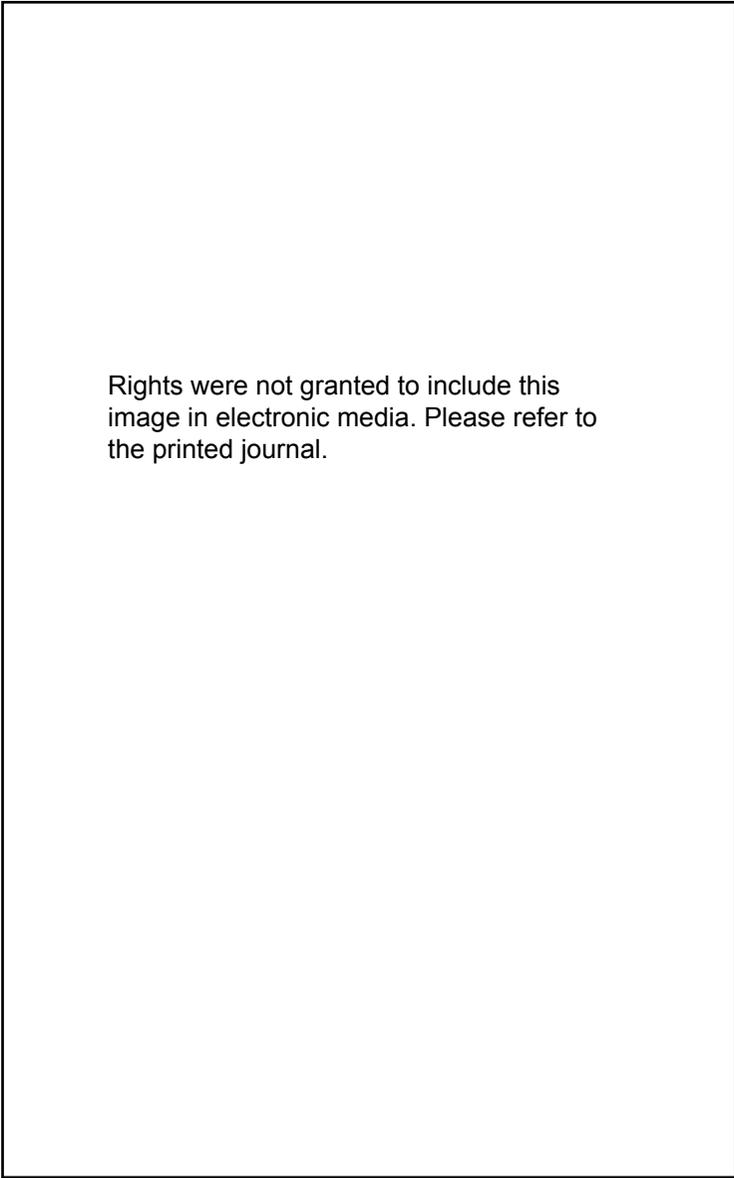
INTRODUCTION

The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights is a collection of folktales with a long oral tradition. Most of the illustrations of manuscripts, except those produced during modern times, such as those drawn at the courts of the Persian Qajar Dynasty and at courts in India, were not created at art studios attached to royal courts. This may explain why few studies have been carried out on illustrations of *The Tales of One Thousand and One Nights* painted as miniatures in Arabian Persia.

Researchers on Islamic art, including Ettinghausen, have called the illustrations, attached to manuscripts of *the Wonders of Creation* (*'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*) and others, pseudo-miniatures of *the Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.¹⁾ Those pseudo-miniatures of *the Arabian Nights' Entertainments* include illustrations of many stories relating to "Sindbad the Sailor, and one of those has an illustration depicting "Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea."²⁾ (Fig. 1)

At first glance, it looks like an illustration depicting the story of "the Old Man of the Sea" in the fifth voyage of Sindbad. However, if we examine the details closely, we will notice that the lower half of the old man's body is depicted as fish-tailed. Thus, his painted figure is definitely inconsistent with the story, because there the old man is described as having a black complexion and legs that are rough surfaced like the hide of a water buffalo.³⁾ The old man rides on Sindbad's shoulders and strangles or kicks him with both his legs. This could not be the description of the behavior of an old man who has a fish tail and no legs. M. I. Gerhardt has pointed out that the same illustration can be seen in Volume 3 of the Fasquelle Edition⁴⁾, translated by Mardrus. However, Gerhardt did not discuss this illustration in detail, because the Fasquelle Edition did not have any explanation or footnotes referring to it, and because there was no source cited for it. (Fig. 2)

The purposes of this paper are to clarify why an illustration was drawn that is inconsistent with the content of the story as we all now know it, to clarify the legend that was behind the production of this depiction of "the Old Man of the Sea," and to discuss the genealogy of that depiction.



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Fig. 1
Kitāb al-Bulhān, MS.BODLEY OR.133, fol.43r. 1399. Bodleian Library, Oxford

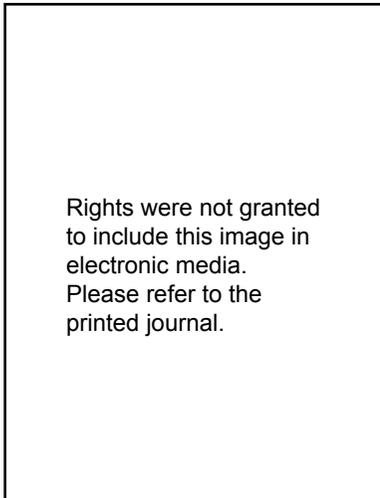


Fig. 2
Translated by Mardrus, Fasquell
Edition, vol.3, pl.63, 1921
“Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea”

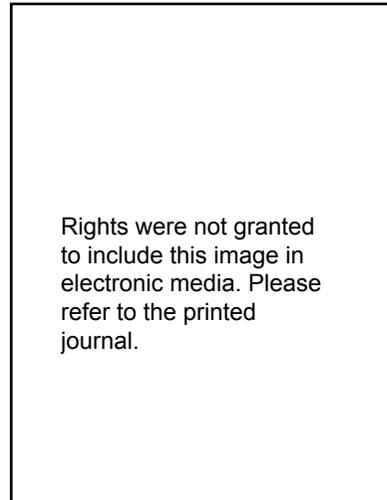


Fig. 3
Translated by Lane, 1839
“Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea”

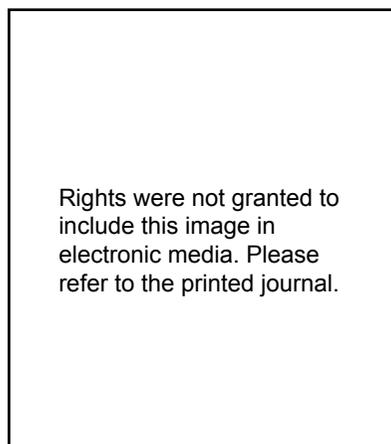


Fig. 4
Translated by Burton, 1897
“Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea”

1. THE MINIATURE DEPICTING THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA

The illustration is contained in the BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript now owned by the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript consists of two different books. The illustration of “the Old Man of the Sea” comes from *The Book of Happiness (Kitāb al-Bulhān)* which forms the first half of the volume (up to folio 178). It is mentioned in the postscript that the author of the original book was Abū Ma’shar al-Balkhī, an astronomer of the 9th century, and that the original was copied in 1399. It is also said that the illustrative miniatures were completed at the Imperial studio during the reign of the last ruler of the Jalāyrid dynasty, Aḥmad ibn Uways (ruled 1382-1410). These miniatures can be broadly classified into six categories, according to their subject matter. The first category refers to astronomy (including dates, the signs of the zodiac, and the movements of heavenly bodies). The second is related to prophesy and fortune-telling. The third depicts demons and supernatural creatures. The fourth deals with legendary and marvelous stories that were popular at that time. The fifth discusses the seasons and the types of labor performed in different months. The sixth states the characteristics of the climate in the region. But the order of some events is a bit confusing. For example, there is text included only in the section dealing with astronomy, while there is no text for the sections dealing with demons, legendary stories or the climate. Each folio only has an inscription in its upper area. Needless to say, the miniature of “the Old Man of the Sea” belongs to the fourth section, dealing with legendary and marvelous stories.

The illustration of “the Old Man of the Sea” is also contained in the Fasquelle Edition, translated by Mardrus. The present author investigated the illustration at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and found that it had been copied exactly as it was from an illustration (fol. 79 verso) in a book dealing with astronomy and astrology, listed as “*Matalī*, Ms. Suppl. turc 242”. This manuscript had been prepared in commemoration of the wedding of a princess of the court of Murad III, according to his orders, issued at the Turkish Ottoman Empire court in the 16th century (1582). *Matalī* is the name of the translator. The manuscript itself does not carry any postscript indicating the name of the book or its author.⁵⁾

It is certain that there was an original book, written in Arabic, from which those two manuscripts were copied. However, except for those two illustrations and those carried in books copied in modern times, no miniature of “the Old Man of the Sea” has yet been found.⁶⁾ Apart from the artistic style, the subject matter of the miniatures contained in those two manuscripts bear considerable resemblance to each other, in both the section dealing with astronomy and those dealing with legendary stories. Therefore, there is no doubt that the *Matalī* is one of the manuscripts copied from the same original book.⁷⁾

In this paper, I will discuss the depiction of “the Old Man of the Sea”, focusing on the illustration contained in the BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript owned by the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which seems to have been copied about 150 years

earlier than the *Matali* manuscript.

Carboni, who published a monograph on the No. 133 manuscript, and the text written in Arabic was also deciphered. However, like Lord T. W. Arnold, Carboni argued that Folio 43r depicted “Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea”, only briefly touching on this as one of the episodes in *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*.⁸⁾ However, the inscription in the upper part of the illustration does not contain the word “Sindbad”, and Carboni also said that the word after “shaykh al-bahr wa ...” could not be read clearly.⁹⁾ Therefore, as suggested by Gerhardt, there is a very good possibility that a story related to a sailor and “the Old Man of the Sea” existed in the past, which has not been handed down to the present time.¹⁰⁾

D.S. Rice examined the illustrations depicting the seasons and the types of labor associated with the various months, contained in the BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript. He pointed out that the miniatures portraying legends, but unaccompanied by any specific text except simple titles, contained enough detail for people at the time to understand the stories.¹¹⁾ I examined this manuscript and found that it was well preserved, and showed no traces of re-drawing or re-painting, except that Folio 43r. had been repaired using paper tape: once in the lower left area and twice near a tree on the right.

When one takes a close look at the illustration, one can see trailing vines in the background, a water jar filled with red liquid (probably fermented grape juice or wine) in the lower left, and a young Arabian sailor putting his hand on the jar. A monster, “the Old Man of the Sea”, is hanging on his shoulders. The composition of the illustration is so designed that one’s point of view moves from left to right, along the trailing grape vines, and then on to the right hand of the sailor, leading the viewer to anticipate that what will happen next will relate to the wine.

In the story, “the Old Man of the Sea” drinks the wine Sindbad has made and gets drunk. The monster then lets go of Sindbad’s body and is killed. Therefore, it is clear that the illustration titled “... and the Old Man of the Sea” has something to do with the episode, “the Old Man of the Sea”, in the fifth voyage of Sindbad. “The Adventures of Sindbad” are said to have been completed in the 10th century, or in the 11th to 12th centuries at the latest.¹²⁾ It is thus worthy of note that in addition to the depiction of “the Old Man of the Sea”, this BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript, which was produced in the 14th century, contains a variety of illustrations including one of the “Canyon of Diamonds”, an episode from the Adventures of Sindbad, and one of “The City of Brass”, another episode from *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights* (see Appendix 1.) When we examine *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights* from the aspect of the history of literature, it may be no wonder that the episode of “Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea” is contained in the section of “marvelous stories” in this manuscript.

The only inconsistent point is that the lower half of the old man is depicted as fish tailed.

2. THE EPISODE OF “THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA” AS SEEN FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE

Since the illustration was found, many translators and researchers dealing with *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*, including Hall, M. J. de Goeje¹³⁾, E. W. Lane¹⁴⁾, Sir. R. F. Burton¹⁵⁾, and M. I. Gerhardt¹⁶⁾, have discussed the source of “The Old Man of the Sea”. Hall, de Goeje, and Lane have argued that this fabulous monster was inspired by an orangutan. In particular, Lane discussed “the Old Man of the Sea” in detail, citing some descriptions in *the Wonders of Creation (‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt)* written by Qazwīnī. As a result, he concluded that the name, “the Old Man of the Sea”, was not so important and that there was no doubt that Arabians had given this name to monkeys at the time. In fact, the illustration of “the Old Man” on his *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights* (Fig. 3) adopted the figure of an orangutan, and thus we can find that the views of translators are reflected in the details of illustrations. However, Galland’s first edition¹⁷⁾ does not contain this illustration. Letchford, the illustrator of Burton’s edition, drew this old man as a human figure, in the climax scene where he is drunk with wine and is about to be killed by Sindbad, rather than portraying the usual scene of “the Old Man of the Sea” riding on Sindbad’s shoulders. (Fig. 4) In his *Terminal Essay*¹⁸⁾, Burton said that the original form of the episode of “the Old Man of the Sea” was found in *The Love of Camarupa*, an adventure story about Camarupa, an Indian prince. Lane also pointed out that “the Old Man of the Sea” originated in episode¹⁹⁾ of *The Love of Camarupa*. However, Lane suggested that Francklin, who had translated “Camarupa” into English, wrote in a footnote: “This monster is widely familiar, and is the same monster as that called Duwāl Pā”.

On the other hand, the monster Duwāl Pā is described in detail in *the Wonders of Creation (‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt)* of Qazwīnī. We can also find mention of “the Old Man of the Sea (shaykh al-baḥr)” described as a monster in the section “the Water Man (Insān al-Mā’)” in that book.

Lane said in his paper: “Water Men (Insān al-Mā’) resemble human beings except that they have tails. A dried one was found in our time (Qazwīnī’s age). They inhabit the sea of Syria and sometimes go ashore to stay in their homes on land. They have white mustaches. People call them ‘the Old Men of the Sea (shaykh al-baḥr)’. Although Qazwīnī wrote that one dried-up body of an old man of the sea was found, this was actually a kind of monkey”.²⁰⁾

In response to Lane’s opinion, Gerhardt suggested: “Behind this story, where a monster inspired by an orangutan appears, there seems to be a more complicated issue than was previously thought, probably a folk tale of the sea related to the Sirens.”²¹⁾ She also said that “... this old man of the sea, as pointed out by Lane, appears in the *‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt* of Qazwīnī and it bears a resemblance to the water man with a fish tail called by him ‘the Old Man of the Sea’”. As mentioned above, the textual sources of “the Old Man of the Sea” have been enthusiastically discussed. How then has this monster been discussed from the aspect of the history

of fine art?

3. THE ICONOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF “THE OLD MAN AND THE SEA”

Is there something connecting the half-man half-fish image, like “the Old Man of the Sea” in the No. 133 manuscript, to the Water Man also called “the Old Man of the Sea” in Qazwīnī’s document and to the depiction of Duwāl Pā?

In the manuscripts of *the Wonders of Creation* (Appendix 2) that I examined, “The Water Man (Insān al-mā’)” is depicted as the figure of a human being with two legs and a tail like that of a monkey. In addition, its face is not always an old man’s face. (Fig. 5). Actually, these figures evoke monkeys, as Lane argued. That is, one can say that people at the time imagined the tail of “the Water man” not as a fish tail but as the tail of a monkey. Besides, the description of “the Water Man” with a white mustache and the description of “the Water Man” also called “the Old Man of the Sea” are not necessarily found in all the copies of manuscripts of *the Wonders of Creation* (*‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt*).²²⁾ Only the monster called “The Old Man of Judah (shaykh al-yahūdi)” was depicted as an old man with a mustache in all copies of *the Wonders of Creation* (Fig. 6). This monster is also an amphibian; that is, he usually inhabits the water, just like “the Water Man” but goes ashore and lives on land for a certain period (during the Sabbath). “The Old Man of Judah” is not drawn as a half-fish image, but he is illustrated as a figure having the body of a frog below the neck.

Duwāl Pā monsters are described as follows: “They have very attractive faces and figures and resemble human beings, but their two legs do not have any bones and look like thin, soft leather strings. They creep along and beg travelers to carry them on their shoulders. When a traveler accedes to the monster’s request, it jumps on his back and winds its legs around his neck. The traveler will try to throw it off, but the monster scratches the traveler’s face and forces him to carry it, becoming just like a vehicle for the monster.”²³⁾ Duwāl Pā is usually depicted as a young man with a round face (Fig. 7)²⁴⁾ and rarely drawn as an old man with a mustache. The lower half of his body is, as written in the text, depicted in the form of soft, leather strings. In a manuscript written in Persian (MS suppl. persan 332, owned by Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris)²⁵⁾ produced at the court of Aḥmad ibn Uways during the Jalāyrid dynasty, about 10 years earlier than the No. 133 manuscript, the legs of the monster were not drawn as a divided pair, but rather as a single, long, fine snake-like thing that winds around its victim (Fig. 8). The illustration (fol. 134v.) in the Or. 14140 manuscript owned by the British Library shows a scene where a number of monsters are looking at one of their fellows, who is riding on a victim’s shoulders.

R. Wittkower has pointed out that the monsters and odd-looking races who appear in Qazwīnī’s manuscript bear a remarkable resemblance to those fictitious races and animals found in illustrations produced in the Western world, for

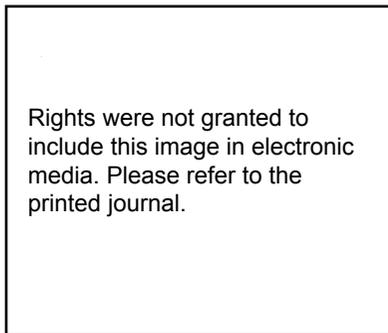


Fig. 5
 “The Water Man (Insān al-Mā’)”
 Wasit, 1280
 Cod. Arab. Monac. 464, fol. 72v.
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

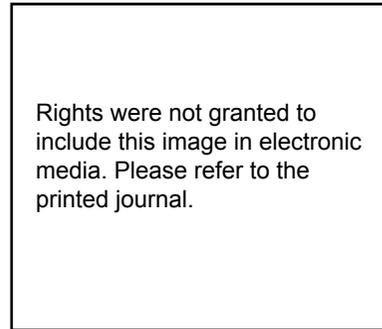


Fig. 6
 “The Old Man of Judah (Sheykh al-Yahūdi)” 1280
 Cod. Arab. Monac. 464, fol. 69v.
 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

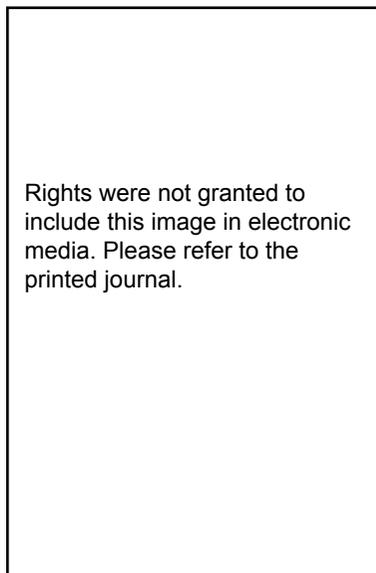


Fig. 7
 “Duwāl Pā” *Wonders of Creation*,
 fol. 86v., 15th Century
 Islamische Museum, Berlin

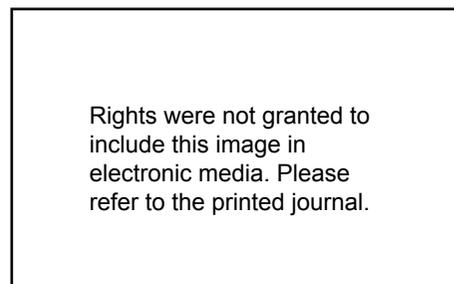


Fig. 8
 “Duwāl Pā” *Wonders of Creation*, MS.
 suppl. persan 332, fol. 200v. 14th Century
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

example, those which appear in the Hereford map and the like. He adds that behind this fact must lie the same original figures. According to him, those monsters and odd-looking races originated from books written in ancient Greece and Rome, including those by Herodotos.²⁶⁾ J. A. Badiee advanced the same opinion in her report on the illustrations of the Sarre Qazwīnī. She cited some examples, such as “a human with the head of a dog”, “a human with his face located in his chest”, and “a human with leather string-like legs” which also appear in Duwāl Pā.²⁷⁾ In his “Natural History”, Pliny the Elder wrote: “It is reported that the Plemyua race does not have a head, but their mouth and eyes are attached to their chest. The Satyurus race has a human shape, but they do not have an ordinary human nature. The shape of the Aegipans is usually as shown in their pictures. The *Himanpodes* race has leather string-like legs and they creep instead of walking. The Parusi race was originally Perician, but it is said that they went to the Hesperides as attendants of Herakles. There is nothing more to say about Africa.” “Races living in inland Africa (vol. 5-8 - 46)” of Pliny’s “Natural History”.²⁸⁾ (Italics by the author). As mentioned above, one can see what seems to be the original Duwāl Pā race. Badiee also argued that depictions of Duwāl Pā are found in European manuscripts and as decoration of churches built during the European Middle Ages. As she pointed out, we can find descriptions of a human with the head of a dog and a human with his face in his chest in many books, and they are also to be seen in illustrations of manuscripts and on the tympanum in Vezelay. However, I have not been able to find any illustrations of humans with leather string-like legs as decorations of churches or in the illustrations of manuscripts such as “Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East”²⁹⁾ and the “Libre de monstruosis hominibus”.³⁰⁾ In addition, there are no descriptions of humans with leather string-like legs in *the Indian History*³¹⁾ of Ktesias, often cited as a source of *the Marvels of the East*. It seems that this “human with leather string-like legs” was not incorporated into the tradition of illustrations in the Western world.

Furthermore, “Camarupa” pointed out by Burton, the monster in question who attacks the prince Camarupa is described as an old man having two ordinary legs. However, this book does not have any illustrations³²⁾ nor does it contain any mention of “the Old Man of the Sea” anywhere. In an episode of “The Fifth Voyage of Sindbad”, the old man indicates his wishes to Sindbad using gestures, while in the Camarupa, the old man induces the prince with words to carry him on his shoulders.

As one can see from the above discussion, we find it difficult to connect the illustration depicting “Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea” directly to the illustrations depicting “Water Men” and “Duwāl Pā”. The legend of Duwāl Pā may be a literal source of “the Old Man of the Sea”, but between “Duwāl Pā” and “the Old Man of the Sea” one needs an intermediate stage, like an episode from “Camarupa”. Unfortunately, no illustrations depicting such a story are presently known to exist.

Besides, the presence of the adjective phrase “al-baḥr (of the Sea)” inevitably

requires setting scenes involving “Duwāl Pā” near the shore, although it is described as a creature inhabiting the forest in *the Wonders of Creation*. In the No. 133 manuscript, the setting for “Duwāl Pā” is a “place where water springs from between trees,”³³⁾ as described in the text of “The Fifth Voyage of Sindbad”, and therefore a stream runs in the foreground of the illustration and trees are drawn at the background. Thus there remain in the Sindbad story some elements required by accounts of episodes involving “Duwāl Pā”. However, in the case of “the Old Man of the Sea” who appears in “Mataī”, the scene is set at a seashore, with no trees or grass; there is even a big fish drawn in the foreground.

Therefore, it seems certain that at least painters at art studios attached to royal courts and readers of manuscripts at that time had a special image of “the Old Man of the Sea”. This is contrary to Lane’s argument that people used to use the name, “the Old Man of the Sea”, to refer to any monkey figure, with no special implications.

4. “THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA” AND THE GENEALOGY OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF MERMEN

As the forgoing discussion suggests, the illustration of the No. 133 manuscript (fol. 43r) contains all the elements required of the episodes of “The Fifth Voyage of Sindbad”, as do the illustrations of *Mataī turc* 242. It is therefore difficult to believe that they depict a legend related to “the Old Man of the Sea” that belongs to a totally different line and has nothing to do with the episodes of “The Fifth Voyage of Sindbad”. I have not been able to find any episode or illustration³⁴⁾ in which a fish-tailed human rides on a young man in a forest on the land, in any of the legends of the Siren mermaids³⁵⁾ or in the legends of Alexander the Great³⁶⁾ referenced by Gerhardt, in *the Wonders of Creation*³⁷⁾, or in any other stories where spirits inhabiting a sea or river appear. If this is the case, what on earth is the meaning of the two folio illustrations depicting that half-human, half-fish Old Man of the Sea? We can hypothesize that the painters of the two folios used the figure of a monster that was brought to mind by the term “the Old Man of the Sea”, although they had not seen any previous illustrations depicting a specific Old Man of the Sea figure. That is, they simply referenced in their own minds the traditional figure of a half-human, half-fish creature that was popular all over the Mediterranean world from ancient times, which can be traced to “the old man of the sea (halios gerôn)” described in Greek mythology. Gerhardt mentioned that the term “the old man of the sea (halios gerôn)” itself seemed to have been coined in Greece³⁸⁾. The Greek word “gerôn” does not simply mean an old man, but also contains the meaning of “the elder”. R. Hickman argued that the origin of the depiction of “Duwāl Pā” was an illustration showing a giant with snake-like legs³⁹⁾ often found in ancient Greece and Rome. She added that the depiction of this giant was incorporated into the “Shāhnāma” (an epic written in ancient Persia) through the legends of Alexander the Great. However, she did not mention a specific work.

The old man seen in the No.133 miniature is drawn as a creature with a human upper body and a lower body like a scaly fish. In other words, it is a picture of a merman. The depiction of mermen and mermaids has a long history that can be traced back to the arts of Assyria and Babylonia in ancient Mesopotamia. (Fig. 9).⁴⁰⁾ The tradition of a half-human, half-fish figure was handed down to later times, in such figures as Dagan (the chief god of the Philistines) and others. Many such figures were drawn in ancient Greece,⁴¹⁾ where people used to believe in a sea god called “the elder of the sea”.⁴²⁾ In his “Theogonia”, Hesiodos mentioned the name Nereus, described as the chief of the sea gods and called “the old man of the sea”, while in the *Odysseia*, Proteus and Phorcys were also regarded as “old men of the sea”. R. Glynn, a researcher on Greek art, in his report on an illustration on a vase (B.C. 6 century) states that the old man of the sea is equivalent to Nereus. He argued, citing specific examples, that the role of Nereus was replaced by Triton, the son of Poseidon, over the course of time.⁴³⁾ According to his opinion, in some illustrations where Herakles fights with a half-human, half-fish old man of the sea, that old man was Nereus in earlier times but over time the old man of the sea begins to appear as Triton. (Fig. 10). That is, an equivalence between Triton and “the Old Man of the Sea” can be established. A series of illustrations depicting the figure of Triton was drawn in a variety of forms in Greek art,⁴⁴⁾ and later spread to India. The image was particularly often used in Gandharan sculptures.⁴⁵⁾ In Gandhara, Triton was usually depicted as the figure of a child or a young man, but sometimes he was drawn as an old man with a mustache, as seen in Fig. 11. In addition, a lot of statues still exist called Kentauro-Triton or half-fish Kentauros. (Fig. 12) While the Triton figures in Gandhara are slightly different from what are generally called mermen,⁴⁶⁾ the lower body is drawn as fish-tailed. Furthermore, they are not inscribed with the name Triton, but Western researchers only called them Tritons for convenience, because their origin can be traced back to Triton figures in Greek art. Actually, those Triton figures were handed down in the form of a combination of several Greek sea gods.

Anyway, it is certain that the depiction of mermen with human upper bodies and fish tailed lower bodies had spread even as far as India.⁴⁷⁾ In addition, during the period from the 5th to the 7th century, Triton figures similar to those of Gandhara were often incorporated into Coptic art in Christian Egypt (Figs. 13, 14). We could say that these were taken from Greek or Roman art, rather than from any Gandharan influence.⁴⁸⁾ In the 12th century in Europe, the figure of a mermaid was frequently found in sculptures and mosaics for the decoration of Romanesque churches, together with odd-looking figures, such as humans with the heads of dogs.⁴⁹⁾ In the Italian Romanesque period in particular, we can see figures of a merman with a single tail (Fig. 15) as well as figures of mermaids with bifurcate tails, and figures of half-fish Kentauros, like those in Gandharan and the Coptic reliefs.⁵⁰⁾ In contrast, at the same time, mermaid images of this type disappeared in works of art in the Islamic world, although a small number of mermen images of unclear sex and age can be seen on crafted pieces and potteries.⁵¹⁾ There exists a

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Fig. 9
 “Merman or a Water Spirit” Musée de Louvre Assyrian Bas-relief, BC. 8th Century

Fig. 10
 “Heracles and the Man of the Sea (Triton), and Nereus” ca.520B.C., Hydria New York, MMA 1906, 1021, 48

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Fig. 11
 “Toriton and Amor” Gandhara, Chârsadda mound, Lahore Museum, No.1183

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Fig. 12
 “Half-fish Kentaurus Ichthyocentar” Gandhara, 1st Century Peshawar Museum, No.14

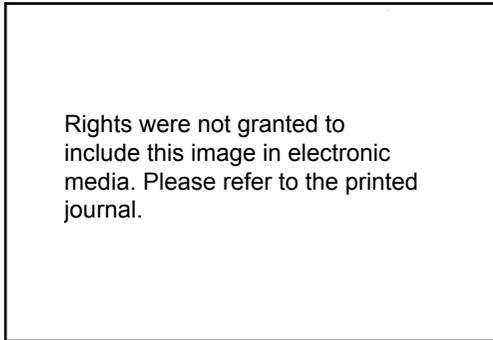


Fig. 13
"Aphrodite and Triton" 6th Century, Musée de Louvre

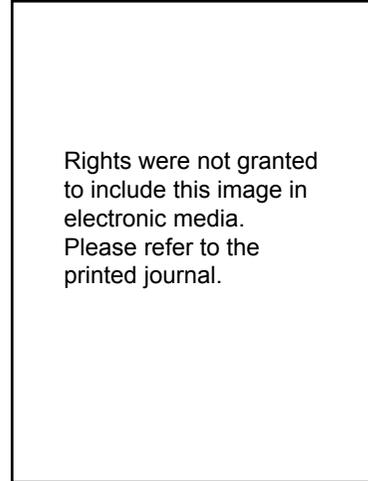


Fig. 14
"Nereid on the Sea Monster"
Alexandrian Style Alter of Henry II, the Cathedral at Achen



Fig. 15
"Merman" 12th Century, Trani Cathedral

figure on a metal vessel of an Islamic mermaid depicted playing an instrument, like the Gandharan Tritons.⁵²⁾

One can conclude from those illustrations that the traditional half-human, half-fish image spread over to the entire Mediterranean world and was handed down to later times, being gradually transformed over time. At the same time, the image of the Old Man of the Sea, drawn as an old merman with a mustache, continued on.

CONCLUSION

The Persian miniatures of “the Old Man of the Sea” produced in the Jalāyrid dynasty were drawn as a half-human, half-fish image carried on a victim in the forest of vine trees. Therefore, the painters must have been aware of the episode of “Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea” in *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*. In particular, the BODLEY OR. 133 manuscript also includes illustrations titled “The Canyon of Diamonds” and “The City of Brass”. It seems that not only the episodes included in the manuscripts of *the Wonders of Creation* but also parts of the episodes in *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights* were a popular legend as illustrated in the manuscripts in the genre called cosmography. However, in the case of “the Old Man of the Sea”, the Islamic painter of the illustration did not have any model for it. If the story of “Duwāl Pā” was regarded in the same as the episode of the “Sindbad and the Old Man of the Sea”, the painter would have used the illustration of “Duwāl Pā” in the manuscript of *the Wonders of Creation*, but the painter who drew this miniature did not use that illustration. Although “the Old Man of the Sea” may be traced back to the monster called “Duwāl Pā” from the aspect of literal history, the image invoked in the consciousness of the painter from the name of “the Old Man of the Sea” was, at least from the aspect of the history of art, a half-human, half-fish image. Therefore, it seems that the painted figure is definitely inconsistent with the story.

Some examples of books where the story is inconsistent with illustrations contained in it are sometimes found in the manuscripts copied in the European Middle Ages, while one can see the same example in not a few Islamic manuscripts. This is probably because when manuscripts were copied, painters might omit some parts or retouch some repeatedly, ending up producing a different scene from the original, or possibly because the painters copied wrongly and drew some parts in the wrong place. In the case of this miniature, it seems that the image of “the Old Man of the Sea” surpassed the contents of the story.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- 1) Ettinghausen, R., *Arab Painting*, Geneva, Skira, 1962, p.140.
- 2) Arnold, T.W., *Painting in Islam*, London, 1928, fig. XV and Carboni, S., *Il Kitāb al-Bulhān di Oxford*, Trino, 1988, tav. 46.
- 3) *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*, translated by Shinji Maejima, vol.12, Toyo Bunko,

- Heibon-sha Ltd, 1981, p.102.
- 4) Mardrus, J.C., *Le Livre des Mille Nuits et Une Nuit*; [ill. par le facsimile de miniatures, encadrements et enluminures.. persans et hindous.] Paris, Fasquelle, s.d., 1921, tome. 3, planche. 63 (“Le viellard de la mer sur le dos de Sindbad”)
 - 5) *Vers l’Orient ...*, ed. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1983, p.28.
 - 6) There is no illustration in the first edition of *The Tales of a Thousand and One Nights* translated by Mardrus (called *Revue Blanche*) published before the publication of Fasquelle’s edition. Mardrus, J.C. *Le Livre des Mille Nuits et Une Nuit*; trad. Littérale et complète du texte arabe. Paris, 1900-904. 16 vols.
 - 7) Rice drew the conclusion that the No.242 manuscript owned by Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris is a Turkish adaptation of the No.133 manuscript owned by the Bodleian Library, judging from both the text and illustrations. Rice, D.S., The seasons and labours of the months in Islamic art, *Ars Orientalis* 1, 1954, p.4.
 - 8) Carboni, *ibid*, pp.87-88.
 - 9) Carboni, *ibid*, p.10.
 - 10) Gerhardt, M.I., *The Art of Story-telling - A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Night*, Leiden, 1963, p.240 and *idem*, *The Old Men of the Sea, from Neptune to Old French Luiton, Ancestry and Character of Waterspirit*, Amsterdam, 1967.
 - 11) Rice, *ibid*, p.3.
 - 12) Shinji Maejima, *ibid*. (postscript) pp.305-6.
 - 13) de Goeje, M.J., De reisen van Sindbaad, *De Gids* 53, 1889, p.301.
 - 14) Lane, E. W., *The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called, in England, The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, a new transl. from the Arabic, with copious notes: new ed. [...] by E. Stanley Poole. London 1877, vol.3 pp.97-99. (note 64: The Old Man of the Sea).
 - 15) Burton, R.F., *Terminal Essay upon the History of the Nights in the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (vol.X), 1886, p.153. Japanese version: *The World of the Tales of a Thousand and One Nights*, translated by Masahumi Ohba, Togensha, 1963, p.88.
 - 16) Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-telling*, p.240.
 - 17) Galland, A.I., *Les Mille et Une Nuit, contes arabes*, trad. en françois; nouv. ed corrigée Paris, 1726, 12 livres en 6 vols.
 - 18) Burton, *ibid*, Japanese version p.88.
 - 19) Franklin W., *The Love of Camarupa*, London, 1793, pp.72-81.
 - 20) Lane, *ibid*, p.98.
 - 21) Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-telling*, p.240.
 - 22) The German version translated by Ethé also mentions “Has a single tail” but does not include the expression “with a white mustache”. *El-Kazwīnī, Kosmographie; übers. von H. Ethé, I. Halbband: Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, Leipzig, 1868, p.267; Wüstenfeld, F., ed., *Zakarija Ben Muhammad Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini’s Kosmographie*, Göttingen, 1848, p.130.
 - 23) ‘Ajā’ib al-Makhlūqāt, fol. 86r., Berlin, Islamisches Museum; Hickman, R., *Schätze Islamischer Buchkunst*, Berlin, 1989, p.22; The explanation is a slightly different in the Wüstenfeld edition, p.122.
 - 24) Kühnel, E., Das Qazwini-Fragment der Islamischen Abteilung, *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen* Bd. 64, Berlin 1943, pp.59-72.
 - 25) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. suppl. persan. 332, fol. 200v., 1388. For this manuscript, refer to Blochet, E., *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux- Turcs, arabes, persans-de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1926, p.79. I. Stchoukine suggested that most of the miniatures included in this manuscript were retouched at later times. Stchoukine, I., *Les peintures des manuscrits Timurides*, Paris, 1954, pp.32-3.

- 26) Wittkower, R., Marvels of the East, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5, 1942, pp.159-197. Japanese version translated by Y. Ohno and Y. Nishino, *Allegory and Symbols - The History of Relationship of Illustrations Between the East and the West*, 'Chapter 3. Marvels of the East - Study of the History of Monsters, Heibonsha', 1991, pp.81-140.
- 27) Badiee, J.A., *An Islamic Cosmography, the Illustration of the Sarre Qazwini*, Ph.D. dissertation, the University of Michigan, 1978, pp.128-9.
- 28) *The Natural History of Pliny the Elder*, translated by S. Nakano, M. Satomi, vol. 1, Yuhikaku, 1986, pp.217-8.
- 29) Wittkower, R. Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the marvels of the East, *Allegory and Migration of Symbols*, Boulders, 1977, pp.75-92. Japanese version translated by Y. Ohno and Y. Nishino, *Allegory and Symbols - The History of Relationship of Illustrations Between the East and the West*, 'Chapter 4. Marco Polo and the Pictorial tradition of the marvels of the East', pp.141-170.
- 30) Thomas of Cantimpre, *Libre de monstrosus hominibus*, Bruges, Cod. 411. Claude Kappler, *Monstres, Démons et Merveilles*, Paris, 1980, p.119, fig.19.
- 31) McCrindle, J., *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian*, Amsterdam, 1879 (reprint 1973).
- 32) Because the original book used by Franklin for his translation is unknown, it is unknown whether it contains illustrations.
- 33) *ibid.*, Shinji Maejima, p.120.
- 34) Ettinghausen, R. with Guest, G.D., The Iconography of a Kāshān Luster Plate, *Ars Orientalis* vol.4, 1961, pp.25-64. In this monograph, Ettinghausen discussed the illustration of humans living under water in detail. (pp.45-55)
- 35) Gerhardt, *The Old Man of the Sea*, pp.10-15.
- 36) Bacher, W., *Nizāmīs Leben und Werke und der zweite Teil des Nizāmīschen Alexanderbuches*, Göttingen, 1987.; Regarding the legend of Alexander the Great in the Western Countries, refer to Ross, D.J.A., *Alexander Historiatus, A Guide to medieval illustrated Alexander Literature*, 2nd ed., Frankfurt am Main, 1988.
- 37) *Marvels of India of Buzurq bn Shahriyar*, translated by K. Fujimoto, N. Fukuhara, Kansai University., 1978.
- 38) Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-telling*, p.240
- 39) Hickman, R., *Schätze Islamischer Buchkunst*, Berlin, 1989, pp.20-23.
- 40) Black, J., and Green A., Merman and Mermaid, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia; An Illustrated Dictionary*, British Museum, 1992, pp.131-2.
- 41) Triton is the son born of Poseidon and Amphitrite. He is a demigod with the head and torso of a human and the lower body of a fish, and is said to blow on a conch shell. At later times, "Triton" came also to refer to many similar gods. For varieties of illustrations regarded as depicting Triton, refer to the following texts. Among them, we can see an illustration depicting Triton, who has the lower body of a fish projecting from the hip, in addition to the usual two legs, and an illustration of Kentauro-Triton. E. Fehrle also reported that Triton had come to be regarded as "the old man of the sea (halios geron)". Fehrle, E., Triton und Tritonen in der Kunst, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. LW.H. Roscher, Leipzig, 1916-24, vol.5, pp.1162-1208.
- 42) Glynn., R., Halios Geron, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, IV, Zürich und München, 1991, pp.409-410. In this paper Glynn argued that the "Old Man of the Sea" had originally been a nameless sea god, but was transformed to Nereus, Proteus, and to Phorcys from the aspect of literary history, adding that in art history, the illustration of Nereus had

been regarded as the “Old Man of the Sea” and there was no mythology of the “Old Man of the Sea” himself .

- 43) Glynn, R., Herakles, Nereus and Triton, *American Journal of Archaeology* 85, 1981, pp.121-32.
- 44) Fehrle, E., *ibid*, pp.1162-1208.
- 45) A sea god Oceanus, usually drawn in a pair with an earth god Gaea was usually depicted as the figure of Triton with the tail of a dolphin, but in time, it is said that his figure came to be drawn as a man having a fish in his hand, a man riding on a fish or a sea monster, or the figure of a merman. Jacqueline Leclercq-Kadaner, *De La Terre-Mère à la Luxure. A propos de “La migration des symboles”, Cahiers Civilization médiévale X VI II*, 1975, Poitiers, pp.37-43. Carpenter also said that it is difficult to distinguish Nereus from Oceanus who are both drawn as half-human, half-fish. Carpenter, T.H., *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece - a handbook*, London, 1991, pp.47-48.
- 46) G. Combaz pointed out that among the reliefs on a railing of Mahabodhi, a merman with a single fish tail, not a furcate tail was found. Combaz, G., *L'Inde et L'Orient Classique*, Paris, 1937, vol. 1 (texte), p. 148 & vol. 2 (Planche-table des titres abrégés, references iconographiques), p.185. In addition, Combaz also suggested the hypothesis that the figure of Triton in Indian art was drawn in many forms and that such a variety was not handed down only from the figure of Triton in Greek art, but transformed in time independently in Indian art. Combaz, *ibid*, texte, pp.150-51.
- 47) J. Boardman pointed out that the two types of figures of “Triton” found in Gandharan art were a general motif used for reliefs and mosaics in the Mediterranean world during the period from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. Boardman, J., *The Crossroads of Asia: The Transformation in Image and Symbol in the Art of ancient Afganistan and Pakistan*, ed. by Errington, E. and Cribb, J., the Ancient India and Iran Trust, 1992, p.125.
- 48) ed. Atiya, A.S., Mythological Subjects in Coptic Art, *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 1991, vol. 6, pp.1750-1768.
- 49) Jurgis Baltrusaitis connected such an illustration with the figure of a merman found in Sumerian art. However, it is difficult to consider that the figure of a Sumerian merman was incorporated, as it was into the Romanesque arts in France and Italy. Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Art Sumérien, Art Roman*, Paris, 1933, pp.141-43.
- 50) K. Ogata. Fertility of the Sea - about the figure of a mermaid with a bifurcate tail, *Decipherment of images and monsters*, Kawade-Shobo, 1991, pp.51-69. In this paper, Ogata said that the genealogy of some figures was unknown, but one (p.53, Fig.2) of those figures seems “a half-fish Kentauros with a furcate fish tail and wings at the hip joints”, the same type shown in Gandharan and Coptic sculputures.
- 51) Refer to Ettinghausen, *ibid.*, p.47.
- 52) Ettinghausen & Guest, *ibid.*, p.625, Figs. 50, 51. Aquatic scenes with watermen in brass basins, 14th Century.

[Sources of Illustrations]

1. Arnold 1928, Fig. XV,
2. Mardrus, Fasquelle, s.d., tome.3, Planche. 63.
3. Lane, vol. 3, p.53.
4. Burton, vol. 4, p.48.
5. Ettinghausen & Guest, p. 626, Fig. 56.
6. Ettinghausen & Guest, p. 626, Fig. 55.

7. Hickman, p.21.
8. Unpublished (Courtesy of Biblioteque Nationale).
9. Black, J & Green, A., Fig. 107.
10. LIMC vol. VI, Nereus 108,12.
11. *The Exhibition of Gandhara Art of Pakistan*, Tokyo, 1984, p.IX-8.
12. Foucher, A., *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, vol.1, Paris, 1905, Fig.123
13. Atiya, vol.6, p.1753.
14. Beckwith, J., *Coptic Sculpture 300-1300*, Fig. 108.
15. K. Ogata, Fig. 1, p.17.

Appendix 1

Subjects of the marvelous stories (22 miniatures*)

1. fol. 33v: A knight defeating a dragon**
2. fol. 34r.: Sage of Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī
3. fol. 34v: Rainbows and fixed stars
4. fol. 35r: Nunnery
5. fol. 35v: Bathhouse of Tiberias
6. fol. 36r: Lighthouse of Alexandria
7. fol. 36v: Great Mosque of Damascus
8. fol. 37r: Monastery of Ravens
9. fol. 37v: Temple of Idols**
10. fol. 38r: Defensive Wall of Gog and Magog
11. fol. 39r: Splendid Castle**
12. fol. 39v: Sultan and an attendant**
13. fol. 40r: Husband and his family
14. fol. 40v: Broken well
15. fol. 41v: Trees of Wāqwāq Island
16. fol. 42r: Acts of a Magician
17. fol. 42v: Burning Rocks and Salamander
18. fol. 43r: The Old Man of the Sea
19. fol. 43v: Monastery of Starling
20. fol. 45v: Pilgrim and the City of Brass
21. fol. 46r: Mountain of Birds
22. fol. 46v: Canyon of Sarandīb and jewels

Notes: * Carboni argues that the number of illustrations in the marvelous stories is 23 folios by adding fol. 29r.

** Because the inscription is unclear or missing, the name of the subject has been given by judging from the contents of the illustration.

Appendix 2

A list of manuscripts with illustrations of *the Wonders of Creation*.

1. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, codex arab. monac. 464, Wāsit (Iraq), 1280 (678 A.H)
2. Sarre Qazwini;
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. No.54, ca. 1370-80

New York Public Library, Spencer Pers. MS. 45, ca. 1640

*3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. suppl. persan. 332, 1388

(The name of the author is unknown, although the influence of Qazwīnī is found.)

4. Berlin, Islamisches Museum, ca. 1400-1425

*5. British Library, add. 23564 1441 (845 A.H)

6. John Rylands Library, Pers MS. 37 ca. 1475

*7. Royal Asiatic Society, Persian 178, ca. 1475 (loan Ms. L.11)

*8. Bodleian Library, MS Laud Or. 132 (Eth 399) ca. 1480-90

*9. British Library Or. 12220, 1503-4 (909 A.H.)

10. Chester Beatty Library, MS. 212, 1545 (952 A.H.)

Note: * Manuscripts examined by the present author.

Others were examined using microfilms, color slides and books.

