THE TURKISH BAKŞI AND THE PAINTER
MUHAMMAD SIYĀH ҚALAM

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The eminent painter of unknown origin, whose work bearing later attributions to "Muḥammad Siyāh Қalam," is scattered in the various, miscellaneous collections of paintings made for Turkish Central Asian princes, has been identified by Prof. Togan1 as the Herat painter mentioned under the name of Al-Ḥādī Muḥammad Bakhsī Uygur in the Muʿīz al-ansāb (ancien fonds persan 67 of the Bibliothèque Nationale) and as Al-Ḥādī Muḥammad Naḳḵāsh (died ca 1507) in other Timurid sources. Prof. Etting-

1 Z. V. Togan, On the miniatures in Istanbul libraries, Istanbul 1963, p. 5. The ms Muʿīz al-ansāb, ancien fond persan 67 of the Bibli. Nat., contains the genealogies of the Mongol and Timurid kings. Each group starts with the name of the king, his wives and children, his ministers and generals and includes also the names of the members of the Scriptorium. These are divided as Turkish and Persian scribes. On fol. 169, the names of the nine Turkish bakhsī members of the scription of Ḥusān Bayḵara are given ترک باراغان. Three of these bakhsī were in service during Ḥusān Bayḵara's campaign against Yaḍīgār Muḥammad Mīrzā (1470), two joined after the campaign against Amīr-zādah Sultan Maḥmūd (ruler of Turmīd, Tchagānīān, Ḥisār, Khuttalān, Kuṇduz, Badakhshan, who contested Herat to Ḥusān Bayḵara after 1470). One of the two bakhsī who then entered Ḥusān Bayḵara's scription is Ḥādī Muḥammad Bakhsī Uygur, who may have been until then in the service of Amīr-zādah Sultan Maḥmūd. The last four bakhsī include the famous painter Maḥmūd Bakhsī Uygur (Maḥmūd Mudḥahhīb). The ms ancien fond persan 67 provides medallions for illustrations which however were not made. Prof. Togan associates these with a Turkish version of the same work, the ink drawings in médailles of Mongol and Timurid kings, accompanied with Uygur inscriptions, of the Miscell. Coll. H. 2152 of Topkapi.

6 Acta Orientalia, XXXII
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3. Çigil: see Mahmud Kâshgari, Al-dvârân lugât-it-turk, ed. B. Atalay. The term was applied in the eleventh century to all eastern Turks (art. "Çigil"). An air of conventional unreality pervaded the compositions of art, even in battle-scenes which looked like jousts. The compositions were complex, with crowds of figures of small size, moving in palatial surroundings.

How unlike the Timurid civilization is the world evoked by Siyah Kalam! The background chosen by Siyah Kalam seems to be the steppe or the rugged mountains of Asia. Often, the background is neglected in favour of the stark and wild human and animal figures, who attack each other with voracious expressions. A world of violence and hunger is boldly drawn by a realistic observer who is also a draughtsman of genius. Furthermore, the thematic range includes subjects which could not take place within the framework of Islamic civilization in the Timurid age. Siyah Kalam’s world does not appear to have evolved as far as the Timurid period. To these arguments, one may retort that Timurid civilization was like an island situated at the south-west of a vast Turkish world, yet tainted with Shamanism, Buddhism and Manicheism. According to Timurid sources, Al-Hâdîd Mu-

1. The Buddhist Turkish bağšî.

In old Turkish texts, the bağšî is a master of Mahâyâna Buddhism. It is the Bağšî Sastrakâra who relates in an Uygur text, the conversion of the yek (demon) Atâvaka (Alâvaka in Sanscrit) who is represented on a mural of the Maya Cave, one of the rare, possibly Turkish period caves of Közil, as a white-skinned giant, with pointed ears and a flaming red beard (Grünwedel, Kur-


5. Z. V. Togan, ref. in note 1.

6. A. v. Gabain, Türkische Turfan Texte X. Berlin 1959, lines 10, 18, 177, 455. The student is called tišti, from the Chinese ti-tsi.
stätten, L. fig. 411). The Turkish texts on the Čadukš (jataka) depicts the baššı as a "noble or divine master" (tüzin baššı, tengri baššı) of Buddhism, who sometimes is the purohita, chaplain, of a prince (ilig beg). The word toyın also designated a Buddhist monk, in Turkish inscriptions. The Muslim sources of

7 A. Grünewedel, Altbuddhistische Kultsitten in chinesischem Turkistan, Berlin 1912, fig. 411.
9 Toyın: R. Arat, Eski Türk şifiri, Ankara 1967, 9/47. See also W. Barthold, Türkistan v epoxi mongol’skago naöestviya, öast pervaya, teksli, C/7, 26, 33, 181–182, 196; D/113.

Rubruck encountered some masters of Turkish Buddhism, in ca. 1250–55, at Kayalik, north of Turfan, and at Kara-kurum. On the site or vicinity of the ancient Kória-Türk royal residence of Kara-küm and of the IXth century Uygur capital at Kara-

10 O. Franke, Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, Berlin 1961, 11/421. It is curious that in the XVth century, the Egyptian author Al-Çalkashandi mentions the "Karluğ Turkish "toyın," with shaved heads and beards, clad in red or purple (ahmar wa argwäni). These baššı or toyın or arhant (arhat) hermit, are often represented on the Murals of Bezeklik, an entirely Uygur site dated between the IXth and XIIth centuries. The Turkish monks are indicated by the accompanying cartouches which give their names. One mural shows Turkish Buddhist monks of the princely tutung rank, clad in red monacal draperies (sangqad: Arat, 6/10), over which they wear brown mantles. Their heads are shorn and their faces are clean-shaven, as other Buddhist monks. In their hands they hold floral offerings, which they scattered in the ceremony called saöği, in Turkish (pl. l, ill. 1).

11 Description of the saöği in a Buddhist context; W. Bang-A. v. Gabain, Türkische Turfan Texte V, Berlin 1931, lines 101–105: "... ming ming tämen yol yaruk öntürüp, ol yaruk icinte bögte belgürtmis... Khuaänिन (nirmâna-kûya) burkanglar belgürtip iliglerinte tang-tek tengridem khua äecek tuta. Kamög burkanglar bir ünin tarni (dhâranî) sözlemisin sakinip, ol khua äecek tuta. Ontun bagürtê burkang têpinmişin sâkinıp saëmis..." "Millions of nirmânâ-kûya buddhas become apparent in the millions of rays... One should imagine that all buddhas hold in hand wonderful celestial flowers, and repeat in chorus the dhârâni. One (also) should hold flowers, and scatter them, as one bows before the buddhas of the ten directions".

12 Kara-küm: O. Franke, Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, Berlin 1961, 11/421. It is curious that in the XVth century, the Egyptian author Al-Çalkashandi, Stubb al-ä'asha, Cairo ed., vol. IV, pp. 429, 480, describes Kara-küm as a city in Khitā, a region which in the Mongol period designated the area between "Biš-teh ten directions". The city of Kara-küm has been identified with the site of the ancient Kôk-Turk kingdom, and of the IXth century Uygur capital at Kara-küm.

"Ali b. Muhammad b. Şakılık, who had gone trading to the Turkish cities, describes a people called Al-Kharlukhia (Karluğ) who worshipped idols. Their scholars shaved their heads and beards and wore garments of reddish purple".

Prof. Togan who kindly gave me these references situates Al-Shaklk’s travels to ca the IIInd century of the Hegira (VIII–IXth century).
works of the later period in Turkestan. Rubruck describes the Uygur monks in the yellow robes of Lamas. To Rubruck, the Uygur looked rather like the “Franks” and wore bishops’ stoles and mitres. The Uygur mitres’ may have been the Padma Shah, the “Lotus hat” ascribed to Padmasambhava, which recalls a head-gear seen on attendant figures on the relief of the sarcophagus of Bilge Kagan, the Kök-Türk king who died in 734 A.C. and had leanings towards Buddhism. Rubruck describes the Uygur monks as venerable and silent men, engaged in study. He notes the ānjali posture of the hands of Uygur Buddhists, and says that the Christians avoided this gesture not to be mixed with “the pagan Uygur.” The Christians also shunned the bell which was a Buddhist emblem. The Uygur murals of Kurutka which will be mentioned further, show the bell and the vajra as cultural implements, as well as the kakkhara (pl. IV, fig. 1a), the metallic ring bearing smaller rings which produced a faint sound when shaken by the Buddhist monks, to announce their approach. The book of auguries, dated in the IXth century in Kök-Türk characters, found at Tun-huang (Irk-bitig, Orkun, vol. II, p. 78, augury XXII), mentions the priest’s kizinü (bell or mirror in copper or “black metal”) which tinkles faintly. Rubruck also notes other implements of Uygur monks, such as the incenser (tül-siliği: Bang-Gabain, Türkische Turfantexte V, line 130) and the royal tuğ, the tail-standard which they pitched in front of temples.

According to Rubruck, the Uygur monks of Kayalik and Kara-kurum had numerous “fine” monasteries, decorated with images, mural paintings and scrolls hanging on the walls. The latter may have been painted scrolls, banners or wood-prints, found in quantities in Uygur sites. One may add that the Uygurs, whether Buddhist or Manichean, were proficient in book-painting.

The T’u-hui-pau-k’un, dated 1365, from approximately the period when Uygur and Karluk Turkish scholars, who practised calligraphy and painting simultaneously were numerous in the service of the Yuan, describes the peculiarities of the leading schools of painting of the Eastern Asian area, including the school of Turfan. Together with the information given in this source, the

13 W. Rockhill, The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world, 1253–1255, Peking 1941, pp. 140–149, 152.

On Kök-Türk inscriptions of the VIIIth century, Kïlit is a region to the “east” of the Orkun: N. Orkun, Eski Türk yazılıları, art. Qiitay”.

Buddhist emblem. The Uygur murals of Kurutka which will be mentioned further, show the bell and the vajra as cultural implements, as well as the kakkhara (pl. IV, fig. 1a), the metallic ring bearing smaller rings which produced a faint sound when shaken by the Buddhist monks, to announce their approach. The book of auguries, dated in the IXth century in Kök-Türk characters, found at Tun-huang (Irk-bitig, Orkun, vol. II, p. 78, augury XXII), mentions the priest’s kizinü (bell or mirror in copper or “black metal”) which tinkles faintly. Rubruck also notes other implements of Uygur monks, such as the incenser (tül-siliği: Bang-Gabain, Türkische Turfantexte V, line 130) and the royal tuğ, the tail-standard which they pitched in front of temples.

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studies of various scholars on Uygur murals and of Prof. von Gabain21 on Uygur mss, converge to give a clear idea of the characteristic features of Uygur painting. While the Chinese both wrote and drew with the brush, the Uygur also used the “uc” (Kâshghari: in Turkish, the name of a tree from which kalam-like wooden pens were made). Aurel Stein22 noted that in representations of lay and monacal painters in Uygur art (pl. I, ill. 2), these even held the brush, as if it were a pen. The Uygur artists delineated the contours, sometimes in double or triple lines, with black, red or sepia ink. They used the same ink for the inscriptions and the paintings which, consequently, were probably made by the same person. Again, in opposition to the Chinese who favour touches of pale, subtle colours, the Uygur used deep colours in murals, and vivid colours which were achieved through the method of glazing. In murals, the colours were mostly reds and in book-paintings, ultramatine blue, cerulean blue, violet, green and red appeared in many tints. The Uygur were experts in gold and silver folio illumination. They also “sprinkled gold.”23 The painted and gilded surfaces were again sharply delineated by the Uygur and covered with decorative motifs and punctuation in ink. The emphasis given to ink drawing was, perhaps, due to the fact that most Turkish painters, like the Chinese artists, were calligraphers as well as draughtsmen and painters. Pre-Islamic and Islamic Uygur works (such as the genealogical tree portraits of Ilkhanids and Timurids in Miscell. Coll. H. 2152) show that the drawing and the Turkish Uygur inscriptions were made with the same ink.

In ca. 1253–55, Rubruck24 noted that the Mongols were wholly unacquainted with the fine arts, so that no evolved work of art of the thirteenth century can be ascribed to them. The Mongols had learnt their script and Buddhism from the Uygur, but in Rubruck’s time, their Buddhist images were no other than the text doll-like effigy (tinguin, Mongol word according to A. Inan, tôs in Turkish), usual among Northern and Central Asian nomads.25 The Mongols later developed their own style of painting, influenced by the Uygur and the Tangut. The latter had also been the pupils of the Uygur in the field of Buddhist culture.26

In inscriptions on Uygur murals, the word “bakši” is also given to Tantric Buddhist masters. Many Uygur texts and works of art show that Tantric Buddhism flourished in the Uygur world (see Arat, Türk Şı’iri, text 10 and 6/3 on yogacari: yogacărâ). A chapel on the southern side of Temple IX of Bezeklik was dedicated to the däkinis (Le Coq, Chotscho, pl. XVI). The Tantric bakši had a distinctive appearance in their implements and behaviour. The Tantras27 enjoined to overcome weaknesses, such as the temptation of pleasure as well as the feelings of repulsion, by defiantly encountering the causes of such sensations. The Tantric monks engaged in orgies (Maithuna). As well as the ritual grain, they ate the meat and drank the wine forbidden to Buddhist monks. According to Marco Polo,28 some of the bakši even consumed the flesh of the corpses of criminals, condemned to death. The Tantric monks performed bloody sacrifices with the ritual knife, and drank wine in skull-cups (kapala). They sought skeletons, and decorated themselves with bones. They danced in ecstasy while playing the kettle-drum made of two skulls (damaru). Like “Nagarçuni Bakši”29 (Nāgarjūna), the Indian sage who, according to Pelliot, lived in ca. 15–200 A.C. and had learnt magic from the nāga in the aquatic depths, the Tantric Buddhist-masters were often represented in Uygur art, with aureoles of

22 A. Stein, Serindia, Oxford 1921, comments to pl. CXXIV, fig. Ml Xii/10, reproduced in our pl. I, ll1.2.
23 Hirth, cited in note 19.
radiating serpents. Ophiolatry, an ancient Hunnic and Turkish cult,\textsuperscript{20} is discernible in the Uygur Tantric Buddhist invocation to the cosmic dragon of the “spiritual” variety (Arat, 10/35). The Tantric Uygur bakšī showed their mastery over the bestial world by riding ferocious animals, such as tigers, as one sees in Uygur murals of Kūrūtka, which will be mentioned below. The same murals reveal that the appearance of the Uygur bakšī was more similar to the representations of Brahmins in Uygur painting, than to Buddhist monks. The Tantric bakšī had top-knots and they wore tiger-skin, dhōti-like draperies, ear-rings. Some bakšī of the Tantric variety were almost naked, with a loin-cloth. They used tiger-skin as carpets. Like Nagarêuni Başḵī, the Tantric bakšī is a magician (ervisci) in Uygur texts, and is seen performing wonders in Uygur paintings of Kūrūtka (pl. I, ill. 3), by making objects fly in the air. Marco Polo\textsuperscript{31} also reports that the bakšī made the cups fly in the air to reach the Mongol monarch’s table.

In an Uygur text,\textsuperscript{32} the Tantric ervisci is taught the exorcism of demons, by ejecting red flames from his body and using the emblems of the crown (tāz), the vajra (vēr), sword (kīlīc), lance (sōngū), dagger (bōgde) and iron whip (būrke).

The same Uygur text describes ecstasy\textsuperscript{33} (saḵīnc: line 80, sīlī-sīlī; line 70) through meditation. According to the mode of existence which he wishes to evoke, the ervisci chose the hour of meditation, the cardinal direction to which he must turn and chose the appropriate tamga (seal in Turkish, madrā) for the hands. The ervisci had also written a tarn\textsuperscript{34} (line 92, dhārar) on a paper with an incense stick (ḵara-kūz: line 192)\textsuperscript{35} which he held over an incenser, while continually repeating the tarn.

Eccstasy was achieved while wilfully evoking the visions desired. The bakšī who left the earthen sphere, went and returned through the various elemental wheels, described as rotating wheels (cākṣī). The bakšī illuminated his body with rays in the symbolic colour of each element, as he encountered the successive rotating elemental wheels. Thus, he became brown in the earthen sphere; white, in the colour of the moon’s liquid halo, in the aquatic sphere; red in the fiery sphere; violet in the aerial sphere and blue in the ethereal sphere.

The Uygur version of the Tantric mysteries is illustrated in two murals of the late Uygur temple (9) at Kūrūtka, on the mountains\textsuperscript{36} north of Turfan dated, according to Grünwedel, in the Lamaist period, around the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. The paintings were on the southern and northern walls of a domed vestibule the cupola of which had paintings of Lamaist Vīśva-vajrās. The lateral walls showed four rows of horizontal registers, each 34 cms in height. These registers were divided in fields of 34 × 40 cms. Each figure was accompanied with a Turkish inscription in Uygur characters, which Grünwedel could not always decipher, although he did read twice the word bakšī, accompanying the name of the monk. There were altogether 88 fields, 4 of which were unrelated as they showed a conventional design, a monk holding a kakkhara. The remaining 84 figures were probably the Mahāsiddha, the masters of Tantric Buddhism. The bakšī are depicted in colours of brown, white, red, grey and blue which could correspond to the elemental symbolism mentioned in the Uygur Tantric text, were it not for the presence of three green bakšī amongst the 84 figures. The colour symbolism may also be related to the cardinal directions\textsuperscript{37} (dark = north, white = west, red = south, blue-green = east, blue = south). The various colours may also symbolize the practice of the various Tantric rites (Makara: Dowson).

Grünwedel notes particularly the following amongst the bakšī figures. In the group of brown bakšī, one in Indian garb is seen

\textsuperscript{20} Hunnic cult of the dragon: W. Eberhard, “Lokalkulturen im alten China”, suppl. to vol. XXXVII of T’oung-Pao, 21/3. Kök Türk cult of the dragon: Liu Man-Tsui, 
Die chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T’u-kie),
Wiesbaden 1956, p. 64 and notes 359–365.

\textsuperscript{21} See note 28.

\textsuperscript{22} Bang-Gabain, op. cit. cited in note 11, lines 90 et seq (exorcism); lines 99 et seq. (meditation). Vajir: Arat, 3/5.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., line 7.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., line 92.

\textsuperscript{25} Ibid., line 129.


\textsuperscript{27} Colour symbolism in relation to cardinal directions in an Uygur text: O.
tanning leather (field 3). Another brown bakşi wears a human hide, as a mantle (14). A third brown bakşi is seen dancing while performing with his hands a tamga (pl. I, ill. 3 showing Tsiluk-Pa Baḵšī, field 49). Beside him, another brown bakşi rests on a carpet, his head on a cushion which floats in the air (field 50, pl. I, ill. 3). A further brown bakşi is squatting, with his body turned to the left (64). Another stands frontally, on his left foot, while holding with both hands the uplifted right knee (72).

Amongst white bakşi, two (7, 29) hold a vajra on their breast and a bell on the lap. Another is laundering (10). A further white bakşi (14) holds his empty hands in the posture of the bakşi with vajra and bell. One white bakşi is shown with an indistinct animal (18). Another is hewing a piece of stone (27). One white bakşi resembles the magician Nāgarjūna (who is also represented in white) through his aureole, made of radiating serpents (28). A white bakşi (31), is squatting frontally and his body is divided by a vertical line. From the vertical interstice which severs the body, a furious dharma-pāla is seen to emerge. A white bakşi dances, playing a drum which he hits with a vajra (61). Beside him, another white bakşi advances towards the left where a man is seen kneeling under a tree. Near him, another white bakşi (63) is in meditation in the ritual posture of Amitabha (dhyanamudrā), with hands on the lap. Next comes a white bakşi (65) who advances in the posture of the vajrapāṇi, with an indeterminate object in his right hand. Further white bakşi in dhyanamudrā, hold black rosaries in their hands (85, 87) which are on their laps.

The red bakşi are engaged in diverse actions. One (20) holds his hands in a tamga posture. Another red bakşi meditates with hands on the lap. A further red bakşi (25) squats with uplifted knees, surrounded by fishes. The fish (Matsya)28 is a vehicle of Uygur daḵšin (Le Coq, Chotscho, pl. XVI). Another red bakşi dances, swinging a drum in the right hand and a sword in the left. A pinkish, flesh-coloured bakşi (83) holds a red writing pad in his hand. A bakşi in repose is covered with a red mantle (52).

The bakşi depicted in the colour which Grünwedel calls grey (violet?) are not numerous. One of them is shown dancing (66) and the other (72) holds a cup in hand, with a jug beside him.

He is apparently engaged in Madya39 the ritual wine drinking. A grey bakşi squats frontally, with hands in the gesture of revolving the wheel (dharmacakra mudrā).

Of the three green bakşi mentioned by Grünwedel, one holds a bird in hand (the Tantric deities had bird vehicles40). The second green bakşi (22) meditates, with hands on the lap. A third green bakşi is performing a tamga with his hands.

The blue bakşi are numerous. One is shown as a potter (5). Another dances with swords and may be exorcising demons (6). Three bakşi (7, 19, 21) hold a vajra on the breast and a bell, on the lap. One blue bakşi leans against a cushion (17). Another is cutting wood (33). A frontally squatting blue bakşi has an aureole of serpents. Another holds the left arm on the breast and leans on the right fist. The knees are tied together with a strap, like Brahmanic ascetics. A naked blue bakşi, adorned with a garland of bones, is dancing (39). One bakşi sits in company of a woman, depicted in blue (60). A further blue bakşi is in meditation, while two skeletons are dancing (75). Beside him, a blue bakşi holds a book on his breast (76). Another blue bakşi (79) is planing or polishing the surface of some object. Behind him a rock and a mace are seen.

The bakşi whose colour had faded and become indistinct, were depicted performing similar actions. One of the faded figures is shown in a boat (2). Another sits on a tiger skin, holding a mirror in his hand (4). One bakşi rides a tiger (11).

Under Mongol rule, the Turkish word bakşi primordially indicated a Buddhist master and was again also extended to non-Turks. Arat41 remarks that the Mongols called the Buddha with the Turkish expression “Burḵan Baḵšī” Marco Polo42 describes Tibetan and Indian bakšī, magicians and astrologers of wild and unkempt appearance who performed wonders at the Mongol court. Aderic de Pordenone43 also notes the “Al-bassi.” Prof.

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28 Matsya: Dowson, “Tantras”.
39 Madya: Ibid.
40 Le Coq, Chotscho, p. 16, on the vehicles of Tantric deities on the Uygur murals of Bezeklik, Temple 9.
41 Burḵan Baḵšī: Arat, 10/14.
42 Marco Polo’s report: see note 28.
Pritsak informed me that in Russian documents of the time of the Golden Horde the word baksi indicated a Buddhist monk, in opposition to the Islamic monla. Kālamashri Bakhsi, who helped Rashid al-Dīn in the redaction of the chapter on India was a Buddhist monk from Kashmir. It is, however, noted in the History of India that Brahmanism and Brahmins were then more prevalent in Kashmir, and that Buddhists were scarce. Rashid al-Dīn mentions the baksi from “Uyuguristan,” and Kālamashri stated in 1314 A.C., that the Turks were considered the oldest “people of Sākyamuni,” and that there were countless Buddhist temples in Turkestan, even though some Turks had begun to be converted to Islam.

After the Tangut and Mongol invasions, it was mainly the Turkish monks who were called to the courts of the new masters of Inner-Asia, to teach Buddhism and its arts. The Ilkhans of Buddhist faith, starting with Hulagu who built a temple at Khoy (on the borders of Adharbādijān and Anatolia), also summoned the baksi of various origin to build and assure the service of Buddhist temples, and to officiate as councillors and tutors. Some remains of Ilkhanid temples “of the Buddha and of the baksi” were found in Türkmenistan (site identified with Razik Abād built by Argun in 1250) and perhaps in Turkey (gilded Buddha statue found in Afyon, Atif Coll., Ankara).

The Turkish baksi also officiated as scribes. The floursishes of the Uygur script, written by the baksi, seemed to the astonished Iranians as curious as the sorcery of the kam and the surprising long hair and ringlets worn by the Turks. A contemporary poet, metaphorically mingles all three features, in mixed Persian-Turkish verse:

"تامان طره هي توجه يكل بخشان
كردن مشق برخ تو خت اغورى"


In the beginning of the fourteenth century, there were also Turkish artists in the status of slaves, who were probably in majority non-Muslims in the Rab’ Rashīdī of Tabrīz, one of...
whom bears the patronymic “Al-Khitâyî” (given to people from the area of Kara-kurum in the Mongol period). None of them however is called a “bakhşi”, while many are designated as “Buka” (cf. Kutadgu-biliq, couplet 4682, bükü: master). The Turkish artist-slaves were enjoined to raise their children in their own arts and crafts.

As we leave the environment of the Turkish Buddhist baksi, it becomes apparent that Siyah Kalam’s work shows no reminiscences of the Mahâyâna toyin with purple draperies, nor of the Lamaist yellow robes, and neither of the Tantric baksi’s Brahmanic top-knot. Clean-shaven heads and beards, loin-cloths and stoles, tiger-skin garments seen in the Tantric Uygur paintings of Kurutka, cakir (wheels), bells, kakkhara-like staffs, are however frequent in Siyah Kalam’s work.

2. The kam-baksi.

The themes connected with the kam (shaman) category of baksi are more frequent in Siyah Kalam’s paintings. Whether the kam was always called baksi or not (the term may be an extension of the title given to Buddhist masters), the musician bard and exorcist is a constant figure in Turkish life. Petroglyphs from the northern area of the Altay, where the Kırgız were settled at least since the Vlth century, and where several inscriptions in Kök-Türk “runes” were found, show figures in long mantles with what seems to be a string instrument (pl. V, ill. 1). These figures are thought to be priests. Indeed, the Turkish texts of the same period (Irk-biliq, auguries XXII, XLII) describe the priest as a ‘long-robed’ person (uzun tonlu). The object resembling a string instrument evokes Gardizi’s description of the Kırgız priests and their string instruments, in the XIth century. The string instrument on the petroglyphs may well represent the kam’s kobuz. The long-robed men have headgears which are not unlike some kam hats and correspond to the kuturma börk (hat with front and back flaps) described by Kâshghari. Other petroglyphs of the same area show figures with the traditional crowns of feathers or horns, the latter are found in the Baikal area, since the neolithic period.

The priestly figures are always accompanied, either by riderless horses, which may be sacrificial beats, or with drum-like or kettle-like objects.

According to Jirmunskiy’s52 studies, Dede Korkut, the bard who invented the string instrument, kobuz, lived in the IXth century in the Sir Darya area, and the tomb attributed to him is still visited by the baksi of the kam variety who consider him as their patron. It has been maintained that the baksi of the kam variety had been known to the Byzantines who called them şâhî.53 Köprülü doubts this hypothesis, and remarks that the word baksi was used in the Near-East only in the Ilkhanid period, distinctly from the kam. In Anatolia, the word baksi was not in use, and the bards were called ozan or ḍâshîk. The bokşi who were known in Turkey were the clerks for Uygur Turkish of the Timurid and of the Crimean khans. One may add that the Cinci Kködja the non-Islamic “master of the demons” summoned in order to cure the sick, who exercises the demons of illness while dancing and playing the drum and uses the tütsü (incense) in the sultan’s palace often figures in Ottoman history a disreputable light. Köprülü, Inan,54 Zelenin55 and others have reported the activities

of Islamic studies, vol. III, fascs. 2-4, Istanbul 1960, pp. 158-160. The names of the Turkish artists and craftsmen are:

See note 12.
of the Central Asian variety of the kam-baksi down to our day. Some of these features connected with Siyah Kalam’s iconography will be briefly recapitulated below.

When not performing rites, the man and women kam-baksi are undistinguishible from the nomadic Turks of the regions in which they live. The men kam, however, keep up the ancient Central Asian and Turkish masculine custom of having long hair. There are “white” and “black” kam, who respectively serve the heavenly or the earthly powers. The women kam only serve the earthly spirits. The kam-baksi’s ritual robe is a leather coat or fur, called generally manyak. The manyak is decorated with images of zootypes and symbols of the cosmos. Some manyak are embroidered with gold. The kam-baksi’s ritual hat is an ordinary Turkish börk (hat), but of larger size and made of three sections (üç üyelüü kuş börk: Inan, p. 92, bird-hat in three sections). The “börk in three sections” has three flaps, or a thrice-dented brim, or three buttons or pieces of fur. The börk is red, it has fringes with pearls which represent snakes; the top is decorated with a button and owls’ feathers.

The kam’s purpose is generally to exorcise demons which bring illness. On the midst of the ground where the kam performs, the tug (tail-standard) is pitched. The ceremony is performed together with attendants: a child (reminiscence of human sacrifices), some effigies of children (korçak), women and men attendants who also reach ecstasy and dance, the musicians, playing one or more of the following instruments: drum (tovil), string instruments (kobuz) of various kinds, one of which is played like a small cello, with a bow and produces a bass sound (völgö), the percussion instruments of small size (dab) and iron whips (zil-topuz) and wooden swords to which bells or metallic rings are attached. The head kam may play the drum himself, or shake the iron whip or wooden sword with rings and bells, while dancing in trance (oyun). The kam-baksi also sings a Türkü

The rite of the braiding and tufting of the sacrificial horse’s mane and tail and the dented effect produced reportedly by the genie of the mountain who claims a horse of his choice as izuk (cf Kashghari, idhuk, consecrated animal). See also E. Esin, “Le cheval bigarré dans l’iconographie turque”, Turcica, Strasbourg 1970, in print.

(Turkish tune), with incantatory words. He chases the demons with weapons and with a noose, battling against them.

While dancing in trance, in rotating movements, the kam lights a fire and walks into it. A kettle full of water is also there. Candles are lit. The shamanist ceremonies included libations of wine and sacrifices of various animals, often white or other horses whose tails are knotted, and whose mane may be tufted. The kam alludes to this practise as he invokes a demonic foal:

Çin atası Ciran Tay! Father of demons, Ciran Tay (Foal)!
Çal kuyruğun tıyıngını Tay! Whose mane and tail are knotted!
(Inan, p. 137).

The incantation of the baksi-kam appealed to various other zootypes, including cosmic snakes and the “bull of the earth” (Inan, p. 116) to which the baksi compares himself in power. This bull of the earth has, perhaps, some link with the Turkish god Erlik (Erklig Kan in Uygur texts), the black and horned king of demons of subterranean regions and of death, whose horns resemble “tree trunks” (Inan, p. 40). Erlik, fused with Saturn, is described as an athletic old man of negroid appearance, with curly hair, sometimes having a black face, jet-black brows and beard and a forked beard. His somber face is tainted with blood. He rides a black horse, uses a skull for a cup and a snake as a whip.

Together with Umay, the Turkish mother goddess, who in the opinion of Prof. Menges may have connections with Umā, an avatar of Devī (her effigy appeared in Huvishka’s coins), Erklig Kan, the Erlik of present Turkish mythology, figures in Tantric Uygur texts and in the Altaic Turkish pantheon. The Uygur Tantric chapel in Bezeklik Temple 9 was probably dedicated to the conjoint figure of Erklig-Yama. The latter has bovine attributes, not only in Uygur, but also in Tibetan art.

66 Umay: see Orkun, index.
7* The identification of Yama as Erklig in Uygur texts: Arat, 12/43. See also
The Tantric drinking rites, which used the humanskull as a cup, may have connections with the similar rites of the Hsiung-nu and Scythians, who drank wine in the fallen enemy's skull. The memory of rites have survived in the kam-baksi's image of Erlik:

"Ku bastan ayaktu!" (Inan, p. 40: Whose cup is the dried skull?)

One cannot but observe the close relationship of Turkish Shamanism with the rites of the Uygur Tantric baksi which indicate many cultural exchanges.

3. The dervish of the heterodox orders.

It will be seen, further, that Siyah Kalam's work shows several figures such as men with dervish turbans and veiled women which could only exist on an Islamic background. The existence of these figures, together with others which come from a Tantric Buddhist or Shamanist environment, is not surprising in Eastern Turkestan which only acceded completely to Islam in c. 1325 and the Muslim Turks were to be found only in Transoxiana and Khorasan. In the first centuries of the Hegira, it appears that the Muslim Turkish scholar did not always wear the clerical garb of the 'Abbassid. Al-Farabi, although born on the eastern border of Transoxiana, still donned the "Turkish coat and hat." His hat was of the Volga Bulgar varieties, shown with side flaps in sixteenth century Ottoman book illustrations. (Sururi-alias Muslihuddin b. Sha'bân of Gallipoli, Kitâb al-'adjaib, dated ca. 1550, H. 405 of Topkapi, fol. 122. This work is an adaptation of the first part of Kazviní's 'Adjaib al-mahlabat, written in ca. 1280 A.C., in which the Bulgar hat is also mentioned). Furthermore, some elements of the Turkish scholar's garb seem to have been introduced into the dervish dress. Shaikh Sa'di describes the "crown" (headgear) of the dervish with the Turkish word for hat, bôrk:

"Yama, see Getty, and "batir" of Uygur texts derived from patra (Caferoğlu)."

The dervish "crowns" of Djalâl al-Din Rûmî (pl. IV, fig. 6e), of his master Shams of Tabriz, who according to Prof. Togan's studies, was of Kipčak origin (pl. IV, fig. 6d), were like the vajrapani or nāga-rājā hats, or the bôrk of the early medieval Kârât priest (pl. IV, figs. 6a, 6b). They resemble the present kam and baksi bôrk (pl. V, ill. 5).

Buddhist influences were particularly discernible, as the Kârât and the Uygur passed from Buddhism to Islam. In Kutadgu-bibliq, written in 1068 A.C., in Kashghar, the learned Islamic mystic, Ogdurmis, is depicted as a Buddhist hermit (pl. I, ill. 2) in a cave (ünğür). Like the Buddha's patra and kakkhara (pl. IV, ill. 1a, 3a) in Uygur paintings, Odgurmis has a revke (begging bowl) and a tayak (staff). He does not, however, wear the red draperies of the Buddhist, but the white şüf, the coarse black or white wool worn by the Prophet of Islam, and by early Muslim mystics on emulation, which, perhaps, gave its name to the Şüfi.60

Early counter-influences of Islam on Turkish Buddhism may perhaps also be discerned in the monotheism of the Uygur monks who replied to Rubruck's questions on the nature of their beliefs.61 The currents of influences between Islamic and Buddhist cultures continued in the later ages.

In 1295, the Ilkhan Gazan, who had been a fervent Buddhist, was converted to Islam and he ordered the destruction of "Baksi and Buddha temples" in the Ilkhanid dominions. The baksi were offered the choice of remaining in the Ilkhanid realm as Muslims

60 E. Esin, "Bedük bôrk", cited in note 14, comments to plates IA, IB, 6A.
63 See note 13.
or of returning home. Some, who remained were, however, still
attached to their older beliefs, and even attempted to reconvert
Ölceytu to Buddhism. The Islamic dervish sects of the Ilkhanid
area and period were thus tainted with the influences of the
bakši and kam. The Oğuz ozan were also numerous in Adharbai-
djan and Anatolia. In the version of the Dede Korkut epics which
is available in the Ak-koyunlu period Turkish dialect of Tabriz
and reflects the episodes of the conquest of the Caucasus, Adhar-
baidjan and Anatolia by the Oğuz Turks, between the XI–XIIIth
centuries. Dede Korkut is already a Muslim. A. Gölpinarlı,66
describes Baba Barak, possibly a Selçuklu prince, who had chosen
the life of a mendicant mystic (died 707 H./1307). Baba Barak
was established in Tabriz, and Sultan İlah and exercised some
influence on the Ilkhans. He and his dervishes wore horns like
a kam, and danced to the sound of drums. They shaved their
heads and faces, like Buddhist monks (dört garb), adorned
themselves with garlands of bones, as the Tantric bakši are seen
on the Uygur murals of Kurutka. Again, like the Uygur Tantric
bakši these early Turkish dervishes of heterodox character, rode
tigers, sat on tiger-skin carpets and wore ear-rings. Baba Barak
and his followers were killed in 607 H./1307, in Gilan or in
Damascus, where Baba Barak had been sent as ambassador by
Ölceytu. Some Khorasan and Anatolian Turkish dervishes had
the same rites.68 Furthermore, like the Tantric and the kam bakši
in popular reports, some early Turkish dervishes are said to have
exercised the crafts of tanner and carpenter, to have used real
or fabulous reptiles, as emblems and insignia of power. Akhī
Evren (Brother Dragon) had the profession of tanner, like a
Tantric bakši of Kurutka (field 3), and his shop was reputed to be
guarded by dragons. Sayyid Maḥmūd Ḥayranī (died 812 H./1409)
described with a dragon in hand which he used like a whip.

64 See notes 45, 47.
65 I. Mélikoff, “Notes sur le livre de Dede Korkut”, Reel Kartlisa, XVII–XVIII,
66 A. Gölpinarlı, Mevlândan sonra Mevlevilik, Istanbul 1953, pp. 11, 30, 70, 72,
83, 94 and id., Yunus Emre, Istanbul 1965, pp. IX–X.
68 Popular reports on early dervishes: M. Sertoğlu, Hacı Bektaş Veli menkibeleri,
Istanbul 1966, pp. 10, 78, 82, 90.

This image is repeated in Turkish lore, and seems to be con-
nected with the Tantric nāga mysteries and the insignia of the
nāga-rājā (Grunwedel, Kulstätten, fig. 237b, showing a nāga-
rājā using a hydra, in the guise of a whip or noose). The founder
of the Bektashi order was also reputed to be guarded by dragons,
as was the Tantric bakši, Nāgarjūna. The Bektashi drinking rites
may not be without connection with the ancient drinking rites
of Inner-Asia, practised by the Hsiung-nu the Turks, and also
by the Tantric Buddhists (Kurutka, field 72).

The ritual implements of some unorthodox Ottoman dervish
orders, as illustrated (pl. IV) and commented by Āghā b. Ṣālih,
are almost exactly those of the Tantric and kam varieties of the
bakši. The čarpara, a steel ring to which smaller rings are suspen-
ded, which, when shaken or clapped against another čarpara,
made a tinkling sound, together with the staff (pl. IV, figs. 2,
1b, 1c) would produce the kakkhara, in the shape seen in Uygur
paintings (pl. IV, ill. 1a). The begging-bowl of the Ottoman
dervish (pl. IV, fig. 3b) differs from the patra in Uygur paintings,
only in the Arabic inscription. The ear-rings of the Ottoman
Bektashi dervish which indicated celibacy (pl. IV, ill. 4b) are of
the circular variety seen on Uygur representations of Tantric
bakši (pl. IV, ill. 4a). One of the peculiarities of Uygur icono-
graphy, to which Prof. von Gabain kindly drew my attention, is
that the Buddhhas have necklaces (pl. IV, fig. 5a). The Turkish
dervish also wears a necklace, called Taslim tasi (pl. IV, ill. 5e).
We have already mentioned the similarities between the head-
gears of Turkish dervish orders (pl. IV, ills. 6d, 6e) and those of
Central Asian representations of the nāga-rājā, the vajrapani
and with the headgears of early medieval Turkish priests (pl. IV,
ills. 6a, 6b) and princes. The shāiks of the Ottoman orders,
wound a turban around the dervish headgear (pl. IV, figs. 7a, 7b).
The forms of these turbans were generally archaic and similar to
the turbans of Khorasan (see representation of Khorasan, fol. 219
of the Ottoman Turkish illustrated ms Tuhfat al-muluk, H. 415 of
Topkapı, dedicated to Ahmed I, but copied from an earlier work
by Ḥāshīk Timur). The early Ottoman turbans, before the XVth
century, had the same simple form, called 襻cuş.69

Some Turkish dervishes danced in trance, like the Tantric Uygur baḵši or the ḵam. The musical instruments of the Ottoman dervish orders include some which are also used by the Tantric and ḵam-baḵši. To the čarparda, already cited in connection with the kakhara, one may add the tawul (drum) and the ḵudum or diinbelek (kettle-drum). Yunus Emre mentions the use of the kobuz by the Mawlawi of Konya:

“İy kobuzla česte (şhâsh-târ) . . .” Mawlânâ sohbetinde sazla išret oldu, A spiritual banquet was served in Our Lord’s conversation.

“Ârif mā’niye taldî kim biledir fiirište” The sage plunged into the world of ideas, together with (cited by Gölpinarlı, p. XIV).

Agah b. Ṣālīh also illustrates some effigies of children (kundak), a serpent (af’ā: the viper) and a whole panoply of weapons which are often those of the Uygur Tantric erviši and of the ḵam, described above. These are the standard with tuğ (sancak), the sword (kılıç, as in Uygur texts), the dagger (khancar), the mace, with iron whip (topuz), and the iron chains used to tie the feet, in sign of servitude (silsilah).

4. The baḵši in Timurid culture.

As Siyâh Kalam is identified with a Timurid period baḵši, this period will be the object of our special attention. In the Timurid era (ca. from the end of the fourteenth century to 1507 in Central Asia), the word baḵši still mainly designated a Buddhist master. The ambassadors of Shah Rukh who went to China in 1419-22, when describing a recumbent Buddha in Kamchau (Kansi), surrounded with arhat statues, called the latter with the Turkish word baḵši. In the Uygur land which had adhered to Islam only after 1325, the travellers observed a Buddha temple, also in Turfan. At Hami, they saw a Buddhist convent and a dervish tekke, side by side.70 Yule,71 citing the ‘Ain i-Akbarî (Akbar: 1542–1605) notes that baḵši has same signifficance as bikhshu (mendicant and errant Buddhist monk). According to ‘Ali Shîr Navâ’î, “the kings of Turkestan had some baḵši who knew no Persian”.72 One deduces that in Central Asia, down to the sixteenth century, Islamic culture represented by Iranians more than by Arabs, still could not wholly prevail against Shamanism and the reminiscences of Turkish Buddhism. On the borders of India, Shivaism was also influential. Some paintings of Kashmir dated in the Timurid age (which in Kashmir begins in 1540 when Haidar Dughlat, a Turco-Mongol prince from Kashghar, conquered the valley for Humâyûn), represent Kalandar dervishes (pl. I, ill. 5) in an attire similar to the Shivaite errant mystics and to some Uygur Tantric baḵşı (pl. I, ill. 3), wearing a red loin-cloth, however with trousers underneath. The dervishes have the emblematic belt and the necklace with stone, called taslîm taśi in Turkish. Their hair is long and some have moustaches. Shams of Tabriz is also represented with the same features (pl. I, ill. 5) in Kashmiri paintings. Such Kalandar dervishes probably wandered into to Eastern Turkestan also, perennially in contact with Kashmir, and Kalhana relates often the presence of the Tūrushka (Turks) in Kashmir. It will be seen further that the compositions of Siyâh Kalam may have for a background the meeting place of figures from the nomadic Turkish world and the northern borders of India. The Central Asian dervishes who wandered westwards, along the belt of Turkish-speaking lands to Anatolia were, however, often of the kind dressed like Turkish nomads (pl. V, ill. 4).

In more western centers, the reprobation of orthodox Islam began to ostracize such remnants of “Paganism” and Islam’s cultural influence transformed the baḵši into a Muslim scholar. While the baḵši of Turkestan knew no Persian, those of Khorasan strove to learn it. According to Dawlatshâh Al-Samarkandi,73 it is the baḵši who were Timur’s chroniclers and served as scribe for Yazdi’s Timur-nāmah in Shahrukh’s reign. Some baḵši, such as Maḥmûd Bakhši Uygur, also called Maḥmûd Mudhahhib or

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71 Yule, Marco-Polo, p. 314.
73 Dawlatshah Al-Samarkandi, p. 44.
Al-Katib produced illustrated Persian mss in 1540. However, the bakhsis were Turkish Uyghur calligraphers as a rule, and 'Ali Shîr Navâ'i thought lightly of their Persian scholarship:

“Sartca gerê yubarur bakhsiler, “The bakhsis may get away with Türk ile hem yakhshî barur Persian. bakhsiler” (Hayrât al-âbrâr) But it is in Turkish that they really succeed”

One gathers that as he wrote these lines, ‘Ali Shîr may have thought of some bakhsis such as Malik Bakhsi of Herat who in 1436 produced the Uygur Turkish Mi'râdî-nâmah (Bibl. Nationale, suppl. turc 190). Malik’s work is very different from that of Siyâh Kalam. Firstly, Malik’s cultural Turkish heritage seems to be Buddhist rather than Shamanist, judging from the themes of the paintings which he probably produced, together with the text and drawn in the same red and black ink. Malik’s interpretation of paradise and hell are full of sukhabati and naraka themes. His palette is brilliant as seen in Uygur book-painting, and in Timurid art. Malik Bakhsi is as prone to idealization as any Timurid artist. In short, Malik’s art is the natural outcome of the conjunction of a background of Uygur book-painting and calligraphy, with the impact of Timurid art. The Ottoman historian, ‘Aali, also mentions a Turkish painter called Kün who may have been a contemporary of Malik Bakhsi and judging from the same red and black ink. Malik’s interpretation of paradise and hell are full of sukhabati and naraka themes. His palette is brilliant as seen in Uygur book-painting, and in Timurid art. Malik Bakhsi is as prone to idealization as any Timurid artist. In short, Malik’s art is the natural outcome of the conjunction of a background of Uygur book-painting and calligraphy, with the impact of Timurid art. The Ottoman historian, ‘Aali, also mentions a Turkish painter called Kün who may have been a contemporary of Malik Bakhsi and judging from the same red and black ink. Malik’s interpretation of paradise and hell are full of sukhabati and naraka themes. His palette is brilliant as seen in Uygur book-painting, and in Timurid art. Malik Bakhsi is as prone to idealization as any Timurid artist. In short, Malik’s art is the natural outcome of the conjunction of a background of Uygur book-painting and calligraphy, with the impact of Timurid art. The Ottoman historian, ‘Aali, also mentions a Turkish painter called Kün who may have been a contemporary of Malik Bakhsi and judging from the same red and black ink. Malik’s interpretation of paradise and hell are full of sukhabati and naraka themes. His palette is brilliant as seen in Uygur book-painting, and in Timurid art. Malik Bakhsi is as prone to idealization as any Timurid artist.

Amongst Siyâh Kalam’s nomads, some have Mongoloid features and sparse beards (pl. VI, ill. 1), like the modern Kazak or Kirgiz. Others have more European features, and even have fair beards (pl. VI, ill. 2) which are still observed in Kashghar where the ancient population was reported to be green-eyed and red-haired. Most of the nomads are bearded and may have long hair hidden under their hats. The nomads wear Turkish çapan coats of various hues, with common varieties of belts (the princely Turkish belts have special forms) and breeches and boots. Their börk are of the varieties which Kashghari calls sukralaç (tall), kîdhilîq (brimmed). No Türkmen sheepskin caps are seen. As is the custom in Eastern Turkestan, the fur-trimmed tall sukralaç hats are worn by dignitaries who make use of the privilege of the hunt (Miscell. Coll. H. 2160 of Topkapı, fol. 84).

Certain figures, sometimes bare-footed (pl. V, ill. 3) seem to be errant dervishes of the Central Asian Kalandar type (pl. V, ill. 5). They have sukralaç börks, bowls and staffs. Other nomads, wear hats with dented brims-like the tâdj crown of Shams of Tabriz or of the Bektaşi dervishes (İpşiroğlu-Eyuboğlu, fig. 45). Some dervish-like figures seem to be of the shaîkh rank, as they wear turbans (pl. IV, fig. 7c and Miscell. Coll. H. 2153, fol. 38a) reserved for the shaîkh in Turkish dervish orders (pl. IV, ills. 7a, 7b).

5. Siyâh Kalam.

After this review of the Central Asian Turkish world in its aspects which may have some connection with Siyâh Kalam, where and in which period may we tentatively place the Master?

It will become apparent below that the majority of Siyâh Kalam’s work reflects the perennial life of Turkish nomads not far from the borders of China and India, at a time when Islam was prevalent but was struggling against Shamanism and remnants of Tantric Buddhism. The setting could be none other than Eastern Turkestan and the earliest time limit is set by the date of 1325, when Eastern Turkestan acceded to Islam. All authors who have studied Siyâh Kalam’s art are more or less in accordance on this point. Some, however, think that Siyâh Kalam lived in the fourteenth century, while others place him in the fifteenth. To try to arrive at a decision on this particular point, we will review some of Siyâh Kalam’s main motifs, seeking possible clues for datation.


Fur-trimmed sukralaç hat of dignitaries: Togan, Ibn Fadlan, p. 175. Hunt, a privilege of the dignitaries in Central Asia: Barthold, op. cit. in note 9, p. 213, quoting Muhammad b. 'All Kâtib Al-Sâmârî on Sultan Sancar, the Central Asian Selçuklu king, who ordered the falcons of common people to be killed.
The women accompanying the nomads are veiled but their faces are visible (pl. VI, ill. 2) in the manner of Turkestan (cf. old woman is an ill. of Niğāmi', made by the bakṣī Yügur painter Maḥmūd Mudkahhib in 1545, in Buchara: Blochet, Mussalman painting, pl. CXIV).

The nomads of Siyah Kalam are seen camping and lighting fires (pl. VI, ill. 1). Their weapons hang on tripods. One nomad in suḥarlaḥ bōrḫ repairs a saddle of Turkish type, with high pommel (kaš: Kasghhari).

The nomads have famelic dogs of indistinct varieties. The horses, however, are all of the Przewalski breed found in the K̄ırğız and K̄azakh steppes and Eastern Turkestan. Even the dignitaries who go hunting ride these heavy, hairy horses and not the argamak type of finer horses bred by the Türkmen in Western Turkestan or Khorasan. The birds of prey the hunters in Siyah Kalam's work (Miscell. Coll. H. 2160, fol. 84) are generally the giant kara-kuš (hare-hunter eagle) still in use in Eastern Turkestan and by the K̄ırğız. The fauna in Siyah Kalam's work points also to Eastern Turkestan, or the steppes around it.

These Muslim Eastern Turkish nomads or errant dervishes, sometimes perform strange acts in Siyah Kalam's work, or mingle with extraordinary figures, or with zoomorphic demons in such a way that one must seek significance connected with the rites of the Tantric or Shamanist bakṣī. For instance (pl. V, ill. 2), a pair of nomads turn a flaming wheel which is reminiscent of the "flaming cakra" (otluğ cakır) of the Uygur Tantric texts. These men, one of whom has a dark face, are not, however, dressed like the Tantric Uygur bakṣī (pl. I, ill. 3), but rather like a kam-bakṣī in embroidered manyak (ritual dress) wearing the ceremonial bōrk with serpentine fringes (pl. V, ill. 6). In another painting (Miscell. Coll. H. 2160 of Topkapi, fol. 69 v.), similarly attired figures are ringing bells, which could be of the variety found in front of Buddhist temples. The possibility of a link with Central Asian Christianity is negligible, as Christians of Inner-Asia in Rubruck's time and possibly also later did not use the bell. The

The demons of Siyah Kalam seem to reveal the artists familiarity with Uygur murals (his deep colours, generally red, are more evocative of Uygur mural painting than of the more brilliant hues of Uygur book-painting). The grotesque features and the emaciated but powerful body of Siyah Kalam's demons, with a wrinkled, streaked, dotted or furry (terůtğ saclığı in Uygur texts) aspect which gives the impression of tormented and menacing bestiality, the claw-like nails of the feet which grip the ground, all reproduce as it were the tricks of Uygur iconography. Siyah Kalam's demons could well be the "furious hosts of Erkliğ" of Uygur art and literature, the legěk (vampire), yeğ (yakhsha, demon), rakhshasa, or pretchu which abound in Bezelište paintings of the IX-XIIth century, in particular, in the infernal scenes such as the mural of Temple 8 (IB 8453 of the Völkerkunde Museum). One recognizes also in Siyah Kalam's demons, the propensity to dance, the dark and fair skin colours, perhaps symbolic as in Uygur art (pl. II, ills. 1, 2), the rolling eyes, the tusk-like canine teeth (azīğ in Uygur texts), the red hair, the animal snout and the horns (pl. III, ills. 2, 3) which are all features of the Uygur demons (pl. II, ills. 1, 2; pl. III, ill. 1)."}


earthly demons, the children of Erlik, to whom sacrifices and libations are made to avoid their anger, in some unclean place.\footnote{Inan, p. 40 et seq.} The demonic figures of Siyah Kalam show that the painter was well acquainted with the Tantric Buddhist murals of Bezeklik. Again, we must place Siyah Kalam in Eastern Turkestan and specifically at Turfan.

Some Yuan period Chinese drawings\footnote{Cleveland Museum of art, acc. no 61, 206, ink drawing on silk by Yen Huu, XIVth century, entitled “The lantern night excursion”.} show streaked and lined demonic figures, which might also have served as models for Siyah Kalam. Prof. Shinji Fukai kindly informed me that such figures are quite exceptional in Chinese art and perhaps point to Uyghur influences. It seems hardly possible that Siyah Kalam should have chanced on a very exceptional Chinese scroll. In Islamic art, the bovine headed anthropomorphic genie may be seen in an illustrated ms made for a king in an Arabic land, probably Egypt, in 700 H./1300 A.C. (arabe 2583 of the Bibl. Nat.), frequently in Ilkhanid art and later. But the technical peculiarities of the Uyghur zoomorphic demon, with its streaked, lined dotted, furry appearance is absent in Islamic art in which the zoomorphic demon is a fantastically coloured figure.

A further group of Siyah Kalam’s figures suggest that the artist saw the Tantric Uygur bakṣī of the XIIIth century or the Kurutka type of Uyghur representations of Tantric bakṣī or met the Kalandar dervishes of Turkish stock and of dark Indo-European race on the borders of Central Asia and Kashmir. The group in question is the semi-naked men in loin-cloth and stole in reddish hues (pl. I, ill. 4; pl. II, ill. 3) who also cover themselves with tiger-skins (İbşiroğlu-Eyuboğlu, fig. 55), wear arm and ankle bracelets, and earrings. They either have shaven heads and beards or straggly beards and long hair (pl. I, ill. 4; pl. II, ill. 3). They carry staffs with metallic rings, rather like the kakkhara (cf. pl. IV, ill. 1a with ills. 1g, 1f).

Siyah Kalam’s men in loin-cloth and stole are sometimes dark, having Indian and more rarely, negroid features. The dark men with Indian features sometimes perform dances in which they dangle handkerchiefs (Miscell. Coll. H. 2155, fol. 34 v.). The fair men have red beards and occasionally blue eyes. If these figures are not coloured according to convention, such as were prevalent in the bakṣī representations of Kurutka, the men in loin-cloth and stole in Siyah Kalam’s work are members of an international order, such as the Tantric bakṣī or the Kalandar dervishes. The background in which they appear should not be far from Eastern Turkestans, as they are seen to intermingle with Eastern Turkish nomads (pl. VI, ill. 1). It is not, however, impossible that the compositions where the Eastern Turkish nomads and dark men in loin-cloths are seen to intermingle, may represent some caravan which included Turkish men and Kalandar dervishes, of the borders of Turkestan and India, together with African Kalandar dervishes, of the kind described by Ibn Batuta in Damiette. Siyah Kalam’s men in loin-cloth and stole have dervish necklaces (pl. IV, ills. 5b, 5c). The shaven head and beard may only indicate that the men in loin-cloth and stole could not be Shivaite mystics who have top-knots or straggly hair, and that some of them could be Tantric Uygur monks. The Kalandar had both straggly hair and beards, even long moustaches (pl. I, ill. 5), or shorn hair and beard, even shorn brows (dört darb). We are inclined to think that the men with stole and loin-cloth painted by Siyah Kalam may represent an early order of Kalandar dervishes of Eastern Turkestan and Kashmir perennially in close contact. Their appearance has the features of the Tantric bakṣī and of the southern variety of the Central Asian Kalandar dervish. The fair-skinned men in loin-cloth and stole represented by Siyah Kalam evoke the report of the Timurid chronicler who saw in Hami, a Buddhist convent and a Muslim Tekke of dervishes, side by side, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

The negroid figures in Siyah Kalam’s work (Miscell. Coll. H. 2153, fol. 56), are generally not in the garb of the men with stole and loin-cloth. They may be Africans or in a figures which are conventionally represented as Africans or Indians, such as Erklig in Altaic tales, or Saturn in Islamic art.

The theme of the cult of the cosmic reptile practised by the Uyghur Tantric Buddhists is discernible in some of Siyah Kalam’s paintings. The polycephalous cosmic reptile of Uyghur art (pl. VII, ill. 1) seems to be the inspiration of one of Siyah Kalam’s paintings...
The nūga-rājah wearing a corolla hat (pl. VII, ill. 2) seems transformed in Siyāh Kālam's composition, into the angel with corolla hat (pl. VII, ill. 5, hat of the central angel). The short-sleeved coat worn by Siyāh Kālam's angels in this painting is described by Kalkashandi as a princely Turkish coat of the fifteenth century, but existed also earlier and later. Siyāh Kālam's angels are, however, frankly in the Islamic style, somewhat sturdier than the Timurid angel figures and more similar to Ilkhanid angels.

Like the angel depiction, Siyāh Kālam's makara representation and his astrologic compositions, indicate his familiarity with the conventions of both Inner-Asia and the Islamic world. The dragon (pl. VII, ill. 5) floating in clouds, whose composite body englobes all of the astrologic figures is an Inner-Asian concept, well-known in the pre-Islamic period of Turkish culture, as well as in Kutadgun-bilīq (couplets 119, 126), under the names of Kök Luu (the celestial or azure dragon), or Euren. Euren's representation in the features of the Indian elephantine makara is seen in the paintings of Pandj-kend. The elephantine makara appears in Anatolian Selçuk art since the XIIth century and is depicted by Ibn Bibi as a double figure, with the traits of the "azure elephant" and of the dragon. The celestial elephantine makara is represented in the work of Manşūr Bakhsī, a Turkish boğāşī who produced Uygar mss for the Turkish prince Amīr Čakmak in Yazd, in 1431.

\[81\] Al-Ḵaḵšandī, IV/40, v/369.


\[83\] Illustrations of these paintings were shown by Prof. Belenitskiv at the Vith Congress of Iranian art.


In Selçuklu texts the dragon is called "nihang" (crocodile) as also in Kashghari who designates the year of the Dragon (Luu in Uygar texts) as the year of the "Nek" (Timsah).

\[85\] I. G. Clauson, "A hitherto unknow Turkish ms in Uighur characters,"
1. Fragment of an Uygur mural dated IX-XIIth century showing Turkish Buddhist monks whose names are given in cartouches, in the corridor of Temple 19, Bereklik. Standing against a red background, all three wear coral shirts, brown mantles with black bands, lined with green. They have black shoes and stand on a yellow carpet. The names are given in Uygur Turkish (and in Chinese): 1. “Sincu Tutung Begning iduk körki bu erür” (This is the blessed portrait of Sincu Tutung Beg). 2. Citung Tutung Begning iduk körkü bu erür (This is the blessed portrait of Citung Tutung Bek). After Le Coq, Chotscho, pl. 16.

2. Early Uygur painting (VIIIth century?) from murals with Turkish Uygur inscriptions at Shorūk, Mingöy xiii, showing a Buddhist hermit in red draperies, in a cave, writing or drawing. After Stein, Serindia, pl. CXXIV.

3. Two of the 84 Tantric bakṣi (49 and 50), represented on the murals with Uygur Turkish inscriptions at Kurutka, Temple 9. The greyish naked figure in 10 in loin cloth wearing ear-rings, dances while playing bones, as castagnettes. The other, with draped stole and tiger-skin trousers, rests on a carpet, reclining on a cushion which floats in the air.

4. Painting in Siyâh Kalam's style, showing two semi-naked figures, one fair, the other-dark-skinned, with shaven heads and faces, wearing red loin-cloths and stoles. The dark figure plays a string instrument. Miscell. Coll. H. 2153 of Topkapi, fol. 370.

5. Book-painting, acc. no 211 of the Srinagar Museum, showing Shams of Tabriz, initiating Djalāl al-Dín Rûmî. Shams is represented like Kalandar dervishes in other similar detached folios. He is semi-naked, with black trousers and a red loin-cloth, tied with the dervish belt. He wears a necklace of the kind worn by dervishes. His hair is long. The two fishes he holds allude to the passage of the Mathnawi (vol. III, Sir talab kardan 1-Mûsi Hidri-24) where the meeting with Shams is described in the guise of the Koranic episode of Moses' journey to the conjunction of two oceans, where life and death meet and the dead fish becomes alive (Coran, 18:60–61).
III. 1. Linear reproduction from a fragment of Uygur mural painting in the Tantric chapel of the Bezeklik Temple 9, showing a greenish white demonic figure, with red hair, an animal snout, dressed in a red loin-cloth and stole and wearing golden arm and ankle bracelets. After Le Coq, Chotscho, p. 16, fig. 3.

III. 2. Fragment of Uygur book-painting showing a black demon performing a danse macabre, found in Ruin a, Kočo. After Grünwedel, Jâfkut-shahri, pl. XII.

III. 3. Painting in the style of Siyah Kalam, showing one dark and one light-skinned red-haired figure, in white and red loin-cloths, with blue stoles. They hold khukhara-like staffs and have dervish necklaces (tuslim iuşî in Turkish). After M. S. Ibşiroğlu-S. Eyuboğlu, Sur l’Album du Conquérant, fig. 56.
III. 1. The linear outline of a fragment of Uygur mural painting from Murtuk, site 3, showing the bovine-headed infernal demon which has some relation with the horned king of demons called Erklig Kan and identified with Yama in Uygur texts. After Grünwedel, Kultstaetten, fig. 629.

III. 2. Painting attributed to Siyah Kalam on Milcell. Coll. H. 2153, fol. 112, showing hairy and horned zoomorphic demons, with red loin-cloths, wearing arm and ankle bracelets. One plays a shaman’s “yölpô kobuz” with a bow. The other holds a cup.

III. 3. Horned giant demon, with tusks, wearing a red loin-cloth, carrying a white horse whose knotted tail and tufted mane indicate amongst modern Shamanist Northern Asian Turks, a horse dedicated to be sacrificed to some deity.
PL. IV

Fig. 1a. The Buddha's *khakhara* (staff with attached metallic parts which produce a sound when the staff is shaken) in an Uygur painted banner found in the city on the Yar. The begging bowl is held in the other hand (see pl. IV, fig. 3a). After Le Coq, *Chotscho*, pl. 40a.

Fig. 1b, 1c. The staffs of Turkish dervishes ('asâ, mutakkâ'). After Āqâh b. Şâlih of Istanbul, shaikh of the Nakşband Tekke of Erdi Baba, at Davud Pasa, Istanbul, Turkish ms Aarâr i-tâdî wa kamer wa huñlî, dated 1318 H.

Figs. 1d, 1e, 1f. The staffs in paintings attributed to Siyâh Kâlam, carried by figures in mantles, with long beards and hair (İbziroğlu-Eyuboğlu, ill. 40) and by semi-naked dark and light-skinned figures wearing red loin-cloth and stole (our pl. I, ill. 4).

Fig. 2. Çarpura or steel ring bearing smaller steel rings, carried by dervishes in Turkey. To produce sounds, the dervish used two çarpura which he clapped against each other. After Āqâh b. Şâlih, op. cit. fig. 1b.

Fig. 3a. The Buddha's "batîr" (patra) in the Uygur painting described in pl. IV, fig. 1a.

Fig. 3b. The "kaSkul" (begging bowl) of the Turkish dervish. After Āqâh b. Şâlih, op. cit. cited in pl. IV, fig. 1b.

Fig. 3c. The bowl carried by a figure clad as a Turkish nomad (red coat, black bôròk) who holds a staff in hand, in a painting attributed to Siyâh Kâlam, *Miscell. Coll. H. 2153, fol. 55* and our pl. V, ill. 3).

Fig. 4a. Ear-rings of the Uygur representation of a Tantric *bâkši* on our pl. I, ill. 3.

Fig. 4b. The car-ring of the Turkish Bektâşî dervish. After Āqâh b. Şâlih.

Fig. 4c. Ear-ring of semi-naked figures with red stole and loin-cloth in paintings of Siyâh Kâlam. After our pl. I, ill. 4.

Fig. 5a. Necklace of Buddhas, a particularity of the Uygur pranidhi scenes of Bezeklik, temple 9. After Le Coq, *Chotscho*.

Fig. 5b, 5c. The necklaces of the semi-naked figures in red stole and loin cloth, in a painting by Siyâh Kâlam on our pl. IV, ill. 1.

Fig. 5d. Dervish necklace of Shams of Tabriz, represented as a Қalandar in the painting from Kashmir, on our pl. I, ill. 5.

Fig. 5e. "Taslin tâfî", the stone worn as a necklace by the Ottoman dervish. After Āqâh b. Şâlih.

Fig. 6a. The headgear of the priest represented on the northern Altaic petroglyph on our pl. IV, ill. 1.

(To be continued after the text to Pl. V.)
PL. V

111. 1. Priestly figure accompanied with what seems to be a string musical instrument, represented together with two other similar figures and some riderless horses, on a stone in the area north of the Allay, associated with the early medieval Kirgiz Turks, After H. Appelgren-Kivalo, Alt-Altaische Kunstdenkmäler, Helsingfors 1931, fig. 100.

111. 2, 3. Paintings attributed to Siyäh Kalam. Fig. 2 is after O. Arslanapa, fig. 14. Fig. 3 is from Miscell. Coll. H. 2153, fol. 55a.

111. 4. Painting from a Bektashi convent showing probably an Ottoman Turk’s initiation by a dervish with Mongoloid features, from Central Asia. According to the style and the Ottoman’s dress, the painting has been attributed to the late XVIIIth century. Ethnografya Müzesi, Ankara.

111. 5, 6. XIXth century shaman dress and Kalandar dervish dress, reproduced after originals in the Leningrad Ethnographic Museum and the Taskend Museum. The shaman is shown beating a drum; the Kalandar dervish has a gourd attached to his belt and holds a staff.

(Pl. IV, continued.)

Fig. 6b. Hat of the type worn by the vajrapani and nāga-rājah figures, in paintings of Kızıl, Kırık, of the later period, also by a figure bearing the Turkish wolf-head effigy (Le Coq, Bilderatlas für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte. Mittelasien, Berlin 1925, figs. 102, 54, 81, 101) and by the statue of the Kûr Türk prince Kül Tigin (Jisl, “Kül Tigin anıtında araştırmalar” Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleteni, July 1963).

Fig. 6e. Form of the felt sikkah and ‘arrakkiyah, attributed to Djalâl al-Dîn Rûmi. Access. no 731 of the Konya Museum.

Figs. 7a, 7b. The Bayrami or Himmati “tădăj” and the Mawlawi tădăj, with a draped turban. After Ağah b. Şâlih.

Fig. 7c. Börk with draped turban, in some paintings by Siyäh Kalam. After İbşiroğlu- Eyüboğlu, fig. 38.

Figs. 8a, b. Ottoman Dervish belts. Fig. 8a is the kunbarıyyah, fig. 8b is the kulan or kemend, with which also wild equidae are caught. After Ağah b. Şâlih.
PL. VI

Ill. 1. Painting attributed to Siyāh Kalam, on fol. 8v. of Miscell. Coll. H. 2153 of Topkapi.

Ill. 2. Painting attributed to Siyāh Kalam on fol. 38 of the Miscell. Coll. 2153 of Topkapi. A bovine of the yak type is led by a man in nomadic Turkish attire and a woman dressed like a Muslim. Turkish woman.
PL. VII

III. 1. Outline of a fragment of Uygur mural painting, showing the four cosmic dragons, perhaps corresponding to the seasonal positions of the Dragon Constellation in the cardinal directions, represented in Uygur art in Padmapāṇi representations, at the cosmic ocean level. After Le Coq, Chotscho, pl. 32.

III. 2. Outline of a fragment of mural painting of possibly the VIIIth century, from Kum-tura, showing a raqṣarājāh, with an aurole of radiating serpents. After Le Coq, Bilderatlas (cited pl. IV, fig. 6b), fig. 118.


The fantastic figures (pl. VII, ill. 4) half veiled by the clouds, which seem to mutate into each other, in Siyah Kalam’s *makara*, include several sets of astrologic conventions. Many figures in the belly of the heavenly *makara* are symbols from the bestiary of the Turkish calender. These are the hog, the panther, the rat, which are repeated and the dragon and snake in the second curve from the base. Other signs, such as the bovidae and the sheep are common to both the Turkish bestiary and the Zodiac. The fish, the capridae, the lion, a headless Virgo holding the symbolic *Sunbulah* (sheaf: Virgo’s name is *Sunbulah* in Arabic) belong wholly to the Zodiac. The figures of the Zodiac, in the Central Asian version, were in use by the Khakanli (Karakhanid) Turks as witnessed by *Kutadgu-bilig* (couplets 124–147). The calender which made use of these symbols was introduced to the Near-East by the Selçuk king Djalâl al-Din Malik Shâh, in replacement of the Sassanian and Roman calenders in use in Persia and Anatolia respectively. Siyah Kalam’s celestial *makara* also carries in its belly some heads of demonic character (cf. head of genie with noose, in pl. VII, ill. 3) who blow like the symbols of Boreas in Ottoman painting in the sixteenth century.

It becomes apparent that like the Ilkhanid and Timurid astrologers, Siyah Kalam was trying to combine the Turkish astrologic concepts, with those of the Islamic Turco-Iranian world, after the Khakanli and Selçuklu periods.

Siyah Kalam’s celestial *makara* however, although it includes figures which are unmistakably in the Master’s own style (windgenii heads, dragons) shows a curvaceous, decorative draughtsmanship in the Timurid manner. The influences of fifteenth century vignettes are discernible in this work. Siyah Kalam’s dragon depiction will finally enable us to date approximately the work of the eminent painter. In this connection, I would like to
express my gratitude to Prof. T. Mikami who drew my attention to the fact that the Ilkhanid dragon seen in the ceramic revetments of Takht-i-Sulaimān (found by Prof. Naumann) was of the Yuan type, with paws having four claws. Siyāh-Kalam’s dragons (pl. VII, ill. 3) are not of the Yuan type, nor of the Uygur type (pl. VII, ill. 1), but of the Ming type of imperial dragon, as seen in the Peking palaces, constructed by Yong-Lo after 1409. The particularity of the Ming imperial dragon is its rather baroque style, with multiple curves, a flaming appendix in lieu of the wing and its paws which have five claws. This type of dragon, with flying appendix in the guise of a wing becomes usual in Islamic art in the mid fifteenth century (Niẓāmī copy dated 1442, British Museum, Add. 25900, fol. 161).

The mask of Siyāh-Kalam’s dragons which are not in the *makara* category, reproduce a type common in Herat (B. Gray, *La peinture persane* pl. 90) in about 1440, which somewhat differs from the Ming dragon’s mask.

We may then conclude that Prof. Togan’s identification of Siyāh-Kalam as the painter Al-Ḥādī Muhammad Uygur, who settled in later life in Herat, seems the only possible explanation for the simultaneous existence of archaisms in Uygur style and features of Timurid art, in the work of the same painter. Siyāh-Kalam’s taste for archaisms may be deduced from his demonic iconography in the Uygur manner.

Following Prof. Ettinghausen’s lead, we will also remark that even if it were not for the iconographic and technical peculiarities which denote a Turkish background, Siyāh-Kalam’s vehement realism, tinged with fantasy, his penchant for the grotesque rather than idealisation, are characteristic of the Turkish artistic temperament. Turkish art may proudly claim this painter who in vigour of expression ranks among the highest of the world.