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Scions of Turan: Illustrated epic manuscripts of the 16th-century Abū'l-Khairid Uzbeks and their cross-dynastic exchanges

Comstock-Skipp, J.K.

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Figure 146. Tīmūr's campaign in India. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.65v.

Figure 147. Battle scene. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.21r.

Figure 148. Soldiers committing atrocities on a city's inhabitants. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.2r.

Figure 149. Tīmūr's troops lowered in baskets to attack the inhabitants of Nerges in Georgia. Hātifi, *Tīmūr-nāma*, undated. BL ms. Add. 22703, f.55v.

Figure 150. Manūchihr defeats Tūr. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, dated 1556. Painting attributed to Muḡammad Murād Samarqandī. ARB ms. 1811, f.31v.

Figure 151. Fallen warrior in the battle between Kai Khusrau and Afrāsiyāb. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, undated. BL ms. Or. 14403, f.319r.

Figure 152. Aulad leads Rustam to the White Div's cave. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1604. AIIT ms. 2.01 BD, f.62v.

Figure 153. Tīmūr before the captive Tūqtamīsh Khan. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.219r.

Figure 154. Tīmūr celebrates his victory over Tūqtamīsh Khan. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.288a.

Figure 155. Tīmūr lies with Dilshād. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.152b.

Figure 156. Tīmūr's attack on the Sīstānīs. Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, 1628. ARB ms. 4472, f.170a.

Figure 157. Bārmān's victory over Qubād. Firdausī, *Shāhnāma*, 1601. PFL ms. 59G, f.51v.

Foreword

Travels throughout Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Iran solidified my interest in the *Shāhnāma* and illustrated manuscripts, but also the circumstances when Central Asia became politically separated from Iran, thus during the Abū'l-Khairid branch of the Shībānid dynasty in the sixteenth century. They have been largely overlooked in examinations of the “Gunpowder Empires” to date, perpetuating the misconception that only the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals inherited from and contributed to Turco-Persianate cultural forms.¹ My study remedies this and treats the Abū'l-Khairid arts and administration in depth, as allies and rivals to these regional polities at different times, acting both independently from and interdependently with them.

In this dissertation, particular manuscripts weave in and out of the narrative and surface in disparate chapters. I make reference to dispersed loose folios which have been found in auctions and libraries, and separate illustrations that have been gathered and pasted in original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century albums. Unpacking the scribal and visual programs of intact codices proves to be a messy affair that can span different times and places, spilling into different sections and topics. Chapters proceed chronologically based on the date of Abū'l-Khairid intervention(s) in a manuscript. Thus, the reader will encounter the same manuscript in another chapter treating another time period in which a different component of the manuscript's manufacture is discussed. Tales written out earlier can have illustrations added later, and paintings can continue to be reworked and repainted long after the first layer of pigments has dried.

My transliterations of Persian names and literary titles mostly follow the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*' rules and spellings, with the exception of individuals and texts from the Ottoman realm written out in a hybrid form accounting for some Modern Turkish spelling with Persian pronunciation (Mustafa 'Âli, Şerif Âmidî). “Samarqandī” is used as a *nisba* for individuals, but “Samarqandi” distinguishes the geographic location of production. I do not differentiate Ottoman Turkish from Chaghatai and use the adjective “Turkic” to refer to the language of “Turki.” Chronicles of the lives of individuals with proper names in the titles are written separating out the name

¹ Marshall Hodgson's influential coinage from 1974 has become an entrenched but recently invigorated concept. In comparison, the sixteenth-century Ottoman bureaucrat Mustafa 'Âli had a more nuanced outlook despite his limited vantage. To him, the four polities of the Islamicate world encompassed Ottomans, Safavids, Uzbeks, and Mughals. Mentioned by Naindeep Singh Chann, “Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction: Origins of the *Sāhib-Qirān*,” *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (1999): 99.

component when present (*Tīmūr-nāma*, *Süleyman-nāma*), but works lacking eponyms (*Shāhnāma*, *Fathnāma*) do not. Titulature (shah, great khan) remain untransliterated when used colloquially, but take vowel markers when are part of a proper name (Sultān Mīrak, Shāh Budāq). Geographic names and famous figures are unvowelled and follow common spelling practices, as are better-known dynastic names (Timurid, Safavid). Lesser known, the “Abū’l-Khairid” and “Tūqāy-Tīmūrid” dynasties are distinguished by punctilious diacritics. I convert Hijri calendar dates to CE equivalents and state the lower-end of the date range. For example, 1535 refers to 942 AH. Where an original month is expressed (Zū al-qa‘da 1012), the Gregorian equivalent reflects more accuracy (April 1604).

Abbreviations

app.:	appendix
b.:	born; also <i>bin</i> (Arabic, son of)
ca.:	circa
ch.:	chapter
d.:	died
f.:	folio
ff.:	folios
fig.:	figure
figs.:	figures
fl.:	flourished
ftn.:	footnote
ms.:	manuscript
mss.:	manuscripts
no.:	number
nos.:	numbers
pl.:	plate
pls.:	plates
r.:	recto; also regnal date
v.:	verso
§:	section

Public repositories²

AHT:	Art & History Trust, Houston.
AIIT:	Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge UK.
AKM:	Aga Khan Museum, Toronto.
AMA:	Afghanistan National Archives, Kabul.
ARB:	Abu Rayhan Biruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Tashkent.
ASB:	Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata.
BKBM:	Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi.
BL:	British Library, London.
BLO:	Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.
BM:	British Museum, London.
BNF:	Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
BOA:	Ottoman Imperial Archives, Istanbul.
CAI:	Chicago Art Institute.
CBL:	Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
CMA:	Cleveland Museum of Art.
CSMVS:	Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai.
CWH:	Center of Written Heritage at the National Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan, Dushanbe.
DAI:	Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait.
DAKM:	National Library of Egypt, Cairo.
DC:	David Collection, Copenhagen.
DMA:	Dallas Museum of Art.
FMC:	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK.
GMAA:	Grassi Museum of Applied Arts, Leipzig.
HAM:	Harvard Art Museums, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
HAS:	Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest.
HDA:	Croatian State Archives, Zagreb.
IM:	Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
IOM:	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Saint Petersburg.
IUL:	Istanbul University Library, Istanbul.
JHUL:	Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore.
JRL:	John Rylands Library, University of Manchester, Manchester.
KBOPL:	Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna.
KCL:	King's College Library, Cambridge University, Cambridge, UK.
KMM:	Malek Museum and Library, Tehran.
KMSM:	Library of the National Consultative Assembly (Majlis Library), Tehran.
LACMA:	Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
LG:	Library of Geneva.

² Private collections not yet fully available to the public, such as Cartier, Colnaghi, Kevorkian, Khalili, Kelekian, and Marteau, will be written out in full.

LM:	Louvre Museum, Paris.
MAH:	Museum of Art and History, Geneva.
MBF:	Martin Bodmer Foundation, Geneva.
MCG:	Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.
ME:	Museum of Ethnography, Ankara.
MFA:	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
MFAL:	Museum of Fine Arts, Lyon.
MIA:	Minneapolis Institute of Art.
MIK:	Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin.
MKG:	Golestan Palace Museum, Tehran.
MLM:	Morgan Library and Museum, New York.
MMA:	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
NLE:	National Library of Egypt, Cairo.
NLR:	National Library of Russia, Saint Petersburg.
NMAA:	National Museum of Asian Art, Washington, D.C.
NMI:	National Museum of India, New Delhi.
NMVW:	Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Netherlands.
NOL:	Nuruosmaniye Library, Istanbul.
NYPL:	New York Public Library, New York.
ÖNB:	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
PFL:	Princeton Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton.
PUL:	Punjab University Library, Lahore.
RIOS:	Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, Saint Petersburg.
RRK:	Rampur Raza Library, Rampur.
SAM:	Seattle Art Museum.
SB:	Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.
SDMA:	San Diego Museum of Art.
SJM:	Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.
SL:	Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.
SPBGU:	Saint Petersburg University Library named after Gorkii, Oriental Department.
TIEM:	Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul.
TMoCA:	Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art.
TSMK:	Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul.
UML:	University of Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.
UUL:	Uppsala University Library.
V&A:	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
VMM:	Victoria Memorial Museum, Kolkata.
WAM:	The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.
WCMA:	Williams College Museum of Art, Williamstown.
WCRL:	Windsor Castle Royal Library.