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

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Chapter 4

Turk amongst Tajiks: the Turkic *Shāhnāma* translation located in Tajikistan (CWH 1032) and manuscript production during the Abū'l-Khairid annexation of Khurasan (1588–1598)

Having examined Persian-language *Shāhnāma* manuscripts (both Firdausian and truncated versions) written and/or illustrated in centers controlled by the Abū'l-Khairids, along with historiographies written in Persian and Turki that place the Abū'l-Khairids in their genealogical and regional context, I will now discuss another type of Abū'l-Khairid *Shāhnāma* and one manuscript in particular. Our specimen is a Turkic verse translation of Firdausī's text, and it is unvowelled and ruled in four columns with thirty-one lines per page rubricated in Persian-language headings. This isolated Turkic *Shāhnāma* copy is housed in the Center of Written Heritage at the National Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan.[529] Its opening pages have notations in rhymed Turkic, Arabic, and Persian written in different hands. A line states that it is volume one. This is confirmed by the final story which covers the accession of Luhrāsp and marks a common division of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* into two parts.

This manuscript of mixed pedigree is a translation composed by the poet Ḥusain b. Ḥasan (Şerif) Âmidî (d. 1514) which was popular in Ottoman circles. According to Serpil Bağcı, "a group of Ottoman illustrated manuscripts of Şerif's *Şehnâme-i Türki* was probably produced all at once" implying the texts to various manuscripts were written out in the 1540s with illustrations added in subsequent decades.[530] However, the few scholars who have catalogued or cursorily analyzed what I am referring to as the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* have classified its Turkic text as classical Qipchaq and attributed its few unfinished paintings to Khurasan in the 1570s.[531] In this chapter I will amend both this characterization of the text, and also the decade of its added illustrations to instead posit that these

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[529] CWH 1032. Catalogue entry in Mirzoev and Boldyrev, *Katalog Vostochnykh Rukopiseĭ Akademii Nauk Tadzhikskoĭ SSR III*, 52-53, no. 831.

[530] Bağcı, "From translated word to translated image," 166.

[531] Shāh Mansūr Khājāev defers to Kazakh scholar Atgīn Kamīsboev in his article on the manuscript: "Shāhnāma: mashhūrtarīn aṣar dar miyān-i aqvām-e turkī zabān-i minṭaqa," *Bunyād-e Firdausī-ye Tūs* [Isfand 16, 1394 (March 6, 2016)], <http://bonyadferdowsitous.ir/> accessed 17 February 2017. Larisa Dodkhudoeva notes its unfinished state and suggests it is useful as a means to study the mechanics of book-making and illustration [*Katalog khudozhestvenno oformlennykh vostochnykh rukopiseĭ akademii nauk tadzhikskoi SSR* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1986), entry 57, p. 58]. She dates it to the 1570s (16). Other entries on the manuscript are found in Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva, *History of Kazakhstan in Eastern miniatures*, 130; Dodkhudoeva, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia and India*, 79-80.

were added sometime during the mid-1580s through the 1590s. I will provide textual and visual comparisons along with historical facts to argue that the components of its production span centers administered by Ottomans and Abū'l-Khairids.

As an object with text and imagery at the interface of eastern and western Turco-Persianate zones, it is not easily assigned a provenance. In support of my claim that it would have appealed to a resident in the Abū'l-Khairid realm, I will connect the manuscript to other written and oral Turkic translations of Firdausī's work that were initiated during the first few decades of Abū'l-Khairid control over different appanages. I will then compare other Turkic Âmidî versions produced in the Ottoman Empire, as well as other works of poetry with relatable visual programs, so as to better understand the Tajikistan manuscript's assemblage. Doing this will add to existing research on manuscript production in the second half of sixteenth-century Khurasan when it was impacted by battles between the Safavids and Abū'l-Khairids. It will also bring to light the contributions of artists and scribes immigrating there from Bukhara after ʿAbdullāh Khan's patronage ceased. The discussion closes with a detailed page-by-page analysis of the illuminations and seven illustrations in the Tajikistan manuscript, and connects them to other book arts and sites of production. The object truly encapsulates the mobility of the era in miniature.

I. Turkic translations of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* in the Ottoman empire

Overall, the majority of Firdausian and truncated *Shāhnāma* copies that survive from the sixteenth century are written in Persian and were produced in centers that are located today in Iran. The Ottomans had a lengthy history of involvement with Firdausī's *Shahnama* in both Persian and Turki, even greater than the Safavids in terms of timespan, due to their comparative dynastic longevity. Lâle Uluç has examined the role that the *Shāhnāma* played in Ottoman society, and asserts that Persian-language copies produced in the Ottoman capital Istanbul were very rare, or even nonexistent.[532] Persian versions produced in the Empire are held to be the truncated copies attributed to late-sixteenth century Baghdad which we examined in Chapters 2 and 3. There have been studies of Firdausian *Shāhnāma* versions in Turki that were produced in the courtly workshops of Istanbul, and scholars have

[532] Lâle Uluç's publications examine this absence of Persian-language *Shāhnāma* copies: "A Persian Epic, Perhaps for the Ottoman Sultan," 66; "The *Shahnama* of Firdausi as an Illustrated Text," in *The Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum – Arts of the Book and Calligraphy*, exhibition catalogue, eds. Margaret S. Graves and Benoît Junod (Istanbul: Sabancı University and Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2010), 264; "The *Shahnama* in the Lands of Rum." Some fragments cut and pasted on board however depict scenes from the *Shāhnāma* and have passages in Persian. They appear to be from Istanbul circa 1530–50 and merit further study (LACMA nos. M.73.5.428, M.73.5.429, M.73.5.430, M.73.5.586). Other Persian *Shāhnāma* manuscripts (TSMK mss. H.1499 and H.1510) are posited to have been illustrated in Istanbul in the 1530s by artists originally trained in Tabriz (Atıl, *Turkish Art*, 166).

detected how the illustrators of these works erected a division between themselves, and the text which they did not consider to be of their own heritage.[533] However, with time the imagery and ideas associated with Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* would become assimilated as Ottoman artists transformed and at times built on the epic cycles, garbing the heroes and villains in the latest Ottoman fashions.[534]

In the sixteenth century, language was not a marker of group affiliation and identity. The heads of the Ottoman, Safavid, and Abū'l-Khairid states would have been comfortably bilingual in Persian and Turki across the century; refer to Appendix 3 (Correspondence between Ottoman and Abū'l-Khairid rulers, ca. 1500–1598) proving Ottoman and Abū'l-Khairid usage of both languages in official missives. However as was mentioned above, Uluç notes linguistic shifts taking place in Istanbul: during the reign of Murad III (1574–95), the Ottoman sultan commissioned copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī written out in Turki, but at the same time was "having the history of his own ancestors [in the form of ruler-*nāma*] written in Persian."[535] This is indicative of the later linguistic rigidity taking shape in the Ottoman and Safavid spheres to favor Turki and Persian respectively. Under the command of Murad III, the *ʿulamaʾ* forbade teaching Persian in madrasas, and the Ottoman nakkaşhane produced more works in Turki.[536] In contrast, little Turkic poetry was copied and illustrated in Safavid Iran during the sixteenth century. Despite the Azeri (read: Turkic) origins of the dynasty's founders, Safavid *Shāhnāma*s maintained the Persian of Firdausī's original text.

I.i. Prose translations

The earliest Turkic translation of Firdausī's work was in prose by an anonymous writer commissioned by Sultan Murad II (r. 1421–44, 1446–51) who was based in the Ottoman capital Edirne at this time.[537] It was mentioned above (Chapter 1, §II.iv.c) that the late-fifteenth century Ottoman chronicler Uzun Firdevsî carried out a Turkic-language *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, seemingly in prose, before writing in 1472 a text on the history of the world. Several illustrated Turkic-language versions lack complete colophons, and it is uncertain if they are Uzun Firdevsî's version or comprise different

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[533] Güner İnal, "The Ottoman Interpretation of Firdausi's Shahname," *Ars Turcica: Akten des VI. internationalen Kongresses für türkische Kunst, München vom 3. bis 7. September 1979* (Munich: Editio Maris, 1987): 559–60.

[534] Tülay Artan, "A Book of Kings Produced and Presented as a Treatise on Hunting," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 322.

[535] Uluç, "A Persian Epic, Perhaps for the Ottoman Sultan," 66.

[536] In response to this, Milstein et al. note Sufi *tekke*s in the Ottoman realm took it upon themselves to teach Persian literature and language (*Stories of the Prophets,* 101).

[537] Information on early Ottoman manuscripts produced in Edirne between 1451–1520 is in Atıl, *Turkish Art,* 154.

ones.[538] Dates of production are based on stylistic analysis of their illustrations, and most have a provenance during the second-half of the sixteenth century.

I.ii. Verse translations

Firdausī's epic spawned two renditions translated into Turkic verse, both exclusively copied in the Ottoman domain with the exception of an early prototype from the Mamluk dynasty.

I.ii.a. Şerif Âmidî version

The first Turkic verse translation of Firdausī's poetry was commissioned by the Mamluk Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (r. 1501–16) who selected Şerif Âmidî to compose it. Âmidî completed the task between 1501–11 and presented his two-volume manuscript to the court in Cairo shortly after its completion.[539] Within Mamluk territories at this time, elites had original Persian and Arabic works of poetry translated into Turki.[540] The original composition of Âmidî's work—which states the circumstances of its translation, production, and patronage in its colophon—is held in the Topkapı collection (TSMK H.1519). It was carried off by the Ottoman victor Selim I (r. 1512–20) after he defeated the Mamluks and captured Cairo in 1517.[541] Later Ottoman scribes and artists employed this very manuscript as a prototype, copying its voweled text and illustrations. Its iconography and compositions inspired Ottoman productions of other *Shāhnāma* copies of Âmidî's translation during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[542] According to Tülün Değirmenci, artists working in

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[538] Illustrated prose works in the Topkapı Library are: H.1116 (circa 1540 or second-half of the sixteenth century); H.1518 (circa 1580); B.284 (circa second-half of the sixteenth century). Other copies are in the New York Public Library: Binney 17 (circa 1580, perhaps commissioned by Sultan Murad III); Istanbul University Library T.6131-33 (circa 1773-74 with illustrations pasted in). These are enumerated by Tülün Değirmenci, " 'Legitimising' a Young Sultan: Illustrated Copies of Medhî's 'Shāhnāma-ı Türkî' in European Collections," in *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*, eds. Géza Fehér and Ibolya Gerelyes (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009), 157-72; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul: R.C.D. Cultural Institute, 1974).

[539] Biographical information on Şerif Âmidî is in Barbara Flemming's publications: "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977), 249-60; "Şerīf, Sultan Ġavrī and the 'Persians,'" in *Essays on Turkish Literature and History* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 47-59.

[540] Ira M. Lapidus summarizes: "after the middle of the fifteenth century, epic histories, including the history of Alexander the Great and the *Shāhnāma*, were produced in Turkish translation. These works assert royal prerogative, the grandeur of monarchy, and the identification of Mamluk rulers with Turkish princes throughout the Middle East. …Persian and Arabic manuscripts were translated into the language of the Mamluk elite" until the end of Mamluk rule ["Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt: Concluding Remarks," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 176].

[541] For a transcription of the complete text derived from the original Mamluk manuscript (TSMK H.1519), consult Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *La Version en Turc du Sah-nâme de l'Égypte Mamelouk* (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965). For further details on the illustrations to H.1519 consult Bağcı, "From Translated Word to Translated Image." The particulars of this manuscript are described and with some illustrations reproduced in Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 264-65; Nurhan Atasoy, "Un manuscrit Mamlūk illustré du Šāhnāma," *Revue des Études Islamiques* (1969): 151-58, pls. I-XVI; Esin Atıl, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 159-71.

[542] As an example of H.1519 being used in the production of others, a long inscription on f.591v in another Turkic *Shāhnāma* (NYPL Spencer Turk 1) describes how the grand vizier and imperial son-in-law Ḥāfiẓ Pasha borrowed a manuscript of the Ottoman Turkish translation of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* that had been made for Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī by Şerif Âmidî Efendi, and persuaded the famous calligrapher Dervish Abdi Efendi to copy it for him in Istanbul between 1616 and 1620. Information derived from Artan, "A Book of Kings," 299-330.

Ottoman ateliers adopted the "canonised iconography" from Iranian traditions but made it fit Ottoman tastes.[543] As far as I know, Âmidî's text was recopied only in the court workshops of Istanbul, and the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* is one of these versions.

I.ii.b. Madḥī version

Another Turkic verse translation with shorter-lived appeal was composed by the poet Madḥī (fl. late-16th c.–early-17th c.) after the enthronement of the Ottoman sultan Osman II (r. 1618–22).[544] Madḥī's interpolation is not a word-for-word translation of Firdausī. He included the main stories but also added others such as the creation tale of Adam and Eve, the *Barzū-nāma*, and finishes with a panegyric to the ruling leader Osman II and an excoriation of his brother Mustafa I who briefly sat on the throne.[545] However, this version never migrated to Khurasan or Transoxiana so more on this text will not be provided in this present study. Şerif Âmidî's edition ultimately dominated Turkic *Shāhnāma* productions and given that it is the text to the Tajikistan manuscript, it is on this we will focus.

II. Turkic translations of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* in the Abū'l-Khairid appanages

Here I will characterize the role of Turkic versions of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* in the Abū'l-Khairid state. In order to analyze the Turkic text of the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma,* I have compared a sample passage relaying Faraidūn's distribution of his empire to his sons across versions of rhymed Turkic *Shāhnāma* copies in the British Library (BL mss. Or. 1126, Or. 7204), Topkapı (TSMK mss. H.1520, H.1522), and Süleymaniye Library (SL ms. Damat Ibrahim Paşa 0983M). As they are all verbatim, they must all be copies of Âmidî's translation. It is not likely that this Turkic translation of Firdausī's text would have been copied under the Abū'l-Khairids, since nearly all poetic works are written out in nasta'liq; the Tajikistan manuscript is in a plainer script that resembles the other Şerif Âmidî copies. What is more, although I acknowledged the importance of Kūchkūnchī's court in Samarqand between 1514–30 as a site of Turkic literary translation and production (Chapter 1 §§I and II.iv.c), Persian-language works of literature dominated manuscript production later in the century. As for the Safavids, *Shāhnāma* copies produced within Iran were always in Persian. Like the Abū'l-Khairids, ʿArabshāhids in Khwarazm

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[543] Değirmenci, "'Legitimising' a Young Sultan," 159.

[544] Madḥī and his works have been researched by Tülün Değirmenci, "A Storyteller's Shahnama: Meddâh Medhî and His Şehnâme-i Türkî," in *Shahnama Studies III: The Reception of the* Shahnama, eds. Gabrielle van den Berg and Charles Melville (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 199–215. Firuza Abdullaeva connects Madḥī's works to other *Shāhnāma* copies written in Turkic prose in "A Turkish Prose Version of Firdawsi's Shāh-nāma in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg State University Library," *Manuscript Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* 3, no. 2 (June 1997): 50-55.

[545] See Değirmenci, "Illustrated Copies of Medhî's Shahnama."

appreciated both Turkic and Persian texts, but as was noted in the previous chapter, their manuscript production—and the local market for books—was limited. The copying of Turkic *Shāhnāma* translations must therefore be the domain of workshops serving the Ottomans. How and why the Tajikistan manuscript left Anatolia to reach Khurasan where illustrations were added, then arrived in its present location in Central Asia is impossible to be definitively ascertained, but the work would have been well received in Transoxiana.

Turkic *Shāhnāma* translations undertaken in the early Abū'l-Khairid appanages elucidate the appeal of the *Shāhnāma* in the Abū'l-Khairid realm. In the early years of the sixteenth century, at the same time that Âmidî was translating his version in Cairo, I mentioned previously that Shībānī Khan was asking his court poets to translate the *Shāhnāma* into Turki. Was Shībānī inspired by *Shāhnāma* stories received orally or in the form of the late-Timurid manuscripts (in the big-figure and little-figure styles) we have previously examined in Chapter 1? He could not have heard or read any parts of Âmidî's version while he was alive, for his stuffed head was reported by the last Mamluk chronicler Ibn Iyās to have been personally delivered by a Safavid emissary to the very court of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī in June 1511, just three months after Âmidî's manuscript was presented to this ruler in Cairo.[546]

In Chapter 1 §V.i, I cited the Safavid prince Sām Mīrzā's claim that Muḥammad Shībānī commissioned Firdausī's *Shāhnāma* into Turki. If Shībānī gave the initial request, the project might have been completed after he died in 1510, being read aloud at the Tashkent court of Shībānī's uncle Suyūnch Khwāja Khan (d. 1525).[547] Suyūnch's successor—and Shībānī's first cousin—the more renowned Kīldī Muḥammad Sultan (r. 1525–32) had interests in Turkic translations of classic Persian works, which included Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*.[548] We do not know if this task was fully completed beyond a few lines which incidentally, when read aloud, were "indescribably awful" to Vāṣifī who was in attendance.[549]

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[546] TSMK H.1519 is dated 2 Ẕū al-Hijja 916 (March 2, 1511). The head "of a person of the Tartar kings" arrived in the court of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī "in a nice box" in June 1511. Analysis of this gift exchange is given by Rabie, "Political Relations between the Safavids of Persia and the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria," 75-81.

[547] Subtelny reports on Suyūnch Khwāja's receptivity to Turkic translations of Persian literature in "Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia," 145.

[548] Information in DeWeese, "Chaghatay literature in the early sixteenth century." He also examines Turkic literary production and patronage under Kūchkūnchī (r. 1512–31) in Samarqand, whose court unfortunately lacked a written *Shāhnāma* translation.

[549] Vāṣifī's reaction is described by Subtelny, "Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Sultan Ḥusain Baiqara," 172-73; idem, "Art and Politics in Early 16th century Central Asia," 145. On the quality of the recitation and Shībānī's Turkish translation see Schimmel, "Some Notes on the Cultural Activity of the First Uzbek Rulers," 152. Özgüdenli and Köprülü are doubtful about the "Chaghatai" translation's completion [Özgüdenli, "Sah-nāma Translations i: into Turkish"; Köprülü, "Çagatay edebiyati," 309].

Although unusual, a Turkic translation of the *Shāhnāma* could have been welcomed by a literate Abū'l-Khairid elite. It is my argument that the Tajikistan manuscript, which is the only extant copy of Âmidî's version in Transoxiana so far discovered, was written out in the Ottoman realm but was later transported eastwards. It is unknown whether it had an intended recipient, but it is more likely that it did not have a predetermined owner at the time the object left Ottoman lands. However, after its import a visual program and some illumination was started but never completed.

III. Historical context in Khurasan between 1560–1600

Based on comparisons to similar features and forms in other manuscripts, it is likely that the illustrations to the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* were carried out in Khurasan while the region was under Abū'l-Khairid control between 1588–98. Its imagery was made in the context of military successes, territorial expansion, urban planning, and centralized administration in the Abū'l-Khairid realm. While Maria Subtelny suggests a correlation between political decline and a surge of cultural activity in the case of the Timurids, the inverse was true for the Abū'l-Khairids. Political gains under ʿAbdullāh marked a decline in manuscript production. In contradistinction to the late Timurids who had shifted their focus from the battlefield to the arts, the Abū'l-Khairids in the final decades of the sixteenth century had reached their political height but few political leaders were concerned to harness the creativity of their new subjects or continue patronizing the Bukharan workshops.

Khurasan has long been renowned as a locale of artistic production. Despite years of conflicts between Safavids and Abū'l-Khairids to control it across the sixteenth century, Khurasan was hardly affected by shifts in military control.[550] Similarly, artisans in Khurasan were "little affected by the constant warring of the Uzbek and Safavid overlords."[551] During the decade when it came into Abū'l-Khairid hands and was politically and artistically isolated from the Safavid capital Qazvin, the region maintained a level of autonomy and manuscripts produced there were technically better than contemporary specimens from Transoxiana.[552] As Rührdanz states, "Khorasan had always been

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[550] Information on Khurasan in Christine Nölle-Karimi, "Khurasan and its Limits: Changing Concepts of Territory from Pre-Modern to Modern Times," in *Iran und iranisch geprägte Kulturen: Studien zum 65. Geburtstag von Bert G. Fragner,* eds. Markus Ritter, Ralph Kauz, and Birgitt Hoffmann, *Beiträge zur Iranistik* 27 (Wiesbaden, 2008), 12-13. She discusses the importance of trade in the region, with the Safavids safeguarding commerce and facilitating trade routes from brigandage at the start of the dynasty even in the midst of military altercations with Abū'l-Khairid rulers.

[551] Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt, 1570-1640," 246.

[552] Compare the simpler *Majālis al-ʿushshāq* manuscript (UML Islamic 270 Pers, dated 1597), and Dihlavī and Jāmī excerpts from Bukhara dated 1598-1603 (NLR PNS 276).

synonymous with superior artistry, and if [its] painters did not come to Bukhara, the Bukharans had to go to the painters."[553]

III.i. Political and economic significance of Khurasan

Hostilities between Safavids and Abū'l-Khairids in Khurasan operated under a façade of Sunni versus Shi'ite antipathy, but the scholars Dickson and McChesney have convincingly claimed that this religious dimension masked efforts to secure political and economic mastery.[554] Although located at the periphery of power centers based in Qazvin and Bukhara, Khurasan had never been of marginal significance.[555] Beside housing significant political and cultural sites in Herat and a center of pilgrimage in Mashhad, the domain was strategically located and offered rich economic and agricultural benefits to the governing power. It contained excellent farmland and irrigation to support food reserves and materials necessary for silk production.[556] Its steppe and mountain foothills were ideal for winter and summer pasturage to sustain grazing herds and flocks.[557] Trade routes shifted from an east-west axis to a north-south course later in the sixteenth century, and Khurasan's important centers continued to hold significance in this new trade configuration as it had earlier.[558]

Prior to the Uzbek takeover of Khurasan which lasted from 1588–98, the Abū'l-Khairids seized Herat for nine months in 1574 which caused chaos in the Safavid zone.[559] Iran further suffered after the death of Ṭahmāsp in 1576 which resulted in a power struggle; Ismāʿīl II (r. 1576–77) emerged victorious. Within the capital Qazvin and outside, the reign of the succeeding Safavid shah Khudābanda (r. 1578–87) was plagued by civil war.[560] This allowed the Abū'l-Khairids to attack Iran in 1578, but they were repulsed by the governor of Mashhad.[561] The Ottomans were quick to take

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[553] Rührdanz, "The Arts of The Book in Central Asia," 108.

[554] Dickson, "Shah Tahmasp and the Uzbeks," 45-46; McChesney, "Barrier of heterodoxy."

[555] B.F. Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 21. D. Blow repeats the saying that Khurasan is the oyster-shell of the world, Herat its pearl [*Shah Abbas: the Ruthless King who Became an Iranian Legend* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009)], 16.

[556] Subtelny, "Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid Sultan Ḥusain Baiqara," 6.

[557] Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane,* 21-22.

[558] Dickson, "Shah Tahmasp and the Uzbeks," 24, ftn 1.

[559] Burton, "The Fall of Herat."

[560] For more on the qizilbāsh civil war involving earlier competition among the Ustājlū, Shāmlū, Rūmlū, and Takkalū in 1526, read the distillation in Andrew Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: IB Tauris, 2009)*,* 27-30.

[561] Annanepesov, "Relations between the Khanates and with other Powers," 83.

advantage of this general disarray in Iran and engaged the Safavids in battle between 1578 through 1590. This war on Iran's western front only ended when the new shah ʿAbbās I ascended the throne (r. 1588–1629) and promptly made peace with the Ottomans because the Uzbeks were on his tail in the east.

Taking advantage of these issues plaguing the Safavids in the post-Ṭahmāsp era and playing off of qizilbāsh rivalries, ʿAbdullāh Khan and his generals waged a war to take Khurasan in 1587 that resulted in a great victory for the Abū'l-Khairids. The chronicler Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh (encountered in Chapter 3 §II.iv.a) was present during the ten-month siege of Herat, and witnessed the city's fall on 2 April 1588. Mashhad followed in November 1589, then Nishapur, Sabzivar, and Isfarain in quick succession.[562] These would be held for nearly a decade. At one point Uzbek tribesmen penetrated hundreds of miles into Safavid territory reaching Yazd in 1596.[563]

III.ii. Incoming artistic talent from Safavid Qazvin

In the late sixteenth century, political upheavals in Khurasan might explain how stoic—but still in need of work—artists and scribes from different backgrounds came together in the region to produce manuscripts to sell elsewhere.[564] In Iran, artistic migration began in earnest after Shah Ṭahmāsp disbanded his courtly workshop and signed his aforementioned Edict of Sincere Repentance in 1556, whereby he dismissed painters who had worked in the royal kitābkhāna in Qazvin.[565] Artists formerly employed in the Safavid capital sought opportunities elsewhere, some journeying to Khurasan, Astarabad, Gilan, Herat, and onwards to India.[566] Artists and calligraphers relocating to these other

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[562] These military campaigns are discussed in McChesney's publications: "The Conquest of Herat," 69-107; "Islamic culture and the Chinggisid restoration," 296-97. For an overview of events taking place in the final decade of Abū'l-Khairid rule in Khurasan, read Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 13-19. The capture of Mashhad is recounted in Burton, "The Fall of Herat," 121.

[563] Rudi Matthee, "Relations Between the Center and the Periphery in Safavid Iran: The Western Borderlands v. the Eastern Frontier Zone," *Historian* (2015): 440.

[564] This same argument is used in another commercial center and site of dynastic struggles —Baghdad— by Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, 55.

[565] Art historians note the decline in manuscript production with Shah Ṭahmāsp's renunciation of the arts and heightened religiosity in 1556. Artists were allowed to leave the courtly workshops to cater to other patrons as well as the masses, producing complete manuscripts or less expensive loose pages to sell to a new class made wealthy from trade. Necipoğlu states a first repentance of forbidden acts was decreed earlier in the 1530s resulting in the dismissal of artists ("Word and Image: Ottoman Sultans in Comparative Perspective," 23, ftn. 7). The ailing eyesight of shahs Tahmasp and Khudābanda could also be a reason why these rulers lacked interest in manuscripts. Soudavar has written on their "hereditary ophthalmic deficiency" ("Between the Safavids and the Mughals," 51-52).

[566] Robinson notes the connections between Qazvin and Khurasan in his section on the Khurasan style in *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles*, 110. Soudavar has written on the waves of artistic migration from the Safavid realm to the Mughal in "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," noting in particular the artist Farrukh Beg who worked in Khurasan circa 1565–75 and later joined the courtly workshops of Akbar.

sites assisted in producing commercial copies and continued to serve royal patrons, such as Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's Mashhad-based workshop which produced fine manuscripts in the 1550s and 1560s.[567]

III.iii. Incoming talent from Abū'l-Khairid Bukhara

While these Safavid artists ventured east, artisans formerly working for the Abū'l-Khairids also migrated south and west to convene in India and Khurasan as a result of the decline of manuscript arts in Transoxiana. The death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1550 precipitated the first exodus of artists leaving Bukhara for better employment opportunities.[568] More migrated in the 1570s due to a loss of patronage. The last three decades of the sixteenth century, during the height of Abū'l-Khairid political power, have been judged to be artistically insignificant and inferior.[569] Rather than using value judgments to denigrate the works, it is far more illuminating to examine why productions tapered off in Transoxiana in the 1570s and flourished in Khurasan.

It can be surmised that during this time, ʿAbdullāh Khan had a heightened interest in consolidating the state and erecting architecture at the (literal) expense of book productions. Bregel notes how ʿAbdullāh was credited with "various buildings, both religious and secular, as well as irrigation works…[as well] as domed market arcades and a number of madrasas in Bokhara. ʿAbdullāh Khan's centralizing policy favored the development of trade, as did his improvement of roads, building of caravansaries and water cisterns."[570] After securing a victory in the region north of the Syr Darya in the Ulu Tag heights of the central Qazaq steppe, ʿAbdullāh ordered a mosque to be built on the same site where Timur had erected an inscription.[571] More a man of brick than of books, ʿAbdullāh oversaw projects in Tashkent, such as the Kūkaltāsh madrasa (constructed in 1569), the tomb of Abū Bakr Qaffāl al-Shāshī (1561), and the Imām Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī complex (1560s). In Bukhara, ʿAbdullāh expanded commercial districts in the center between 1562–87; endowed a madrasa in his name (1587–90); renovated the *mazār* (tomb) sites of Ismāʿīl Sāmānī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naqshbandī, and Chashma-yi Ayyūb; and between 1560–63 expanded the Chār Bakr necropolis complex out of gratitude to the

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[567] Consult Simpson and Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang.

[568] Karin Rührdanz, "The revival of Central Asian painting in the early 17th century," in *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Charles Melville (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1999), 386.

[569] Ibid., 385.

[570] Bregel, "Abdallah Khān b. Eskandar."

[571] Ibid. This inscription is known as Tīmūr's Stone, or the Karsakpay Inscription, and is located in the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (inv. no. AFP-5906).

Jūibārid shaikhs who had supported his rise to power.[572] ʿAbdullāh built right up until the end, and the last Abū'l-Khairid structure was a *khānaqāh* in Faizabad finished the same year as his death (1598).

Artisans who remained in Bukhara found other patrons among the military elites and Naqshbandi and Jūibārid religious leaders.[573] Many painters were hired to work on a single manuscript, to assemble unfinished copies, or to illustrate manuscripts captured on ʿAbdullāh Khan's war marches. These manuscripts evince a rush to complete these tasks, and with time there is a palpable sense of "a general lessening of funds allotted to the needs of art."[574] After the Uzbeks secured control of Herat and the broader region between 1586–98, illustrated texts made in Khurasan were exported back into Bukhara as a means to fulfill the limited market there, and also to India, where some manuscripts were reassembled and assimilated into local productions.[575] This will be covered more in the next chapter.

III.iv. Convergence in Khurasan

B.W. Robinson first identified the Khurasan style of manuscript illustration practiced between 1561–1606 which he described in collection catalogues and articles from 1958 through late in his career.[576] Barbara Schmitz further refined his analysis on the region's manuscript productions in her dissertation from 1981, and in subsequent publications aided by other scholars' interest in productions made there.[577] She found evidence that it was a commercial industry radiating around Herat and

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[572] For ʿAbdullāh's building patronage see Edgar Knobloch, *Monuments of Central Asia: A Guide to the Archaeology, Art and Architecture of Turkestan* (London: IB Tauris, 2001); Mustafa Tupev, "All the King's Men: Architectural Patronage in Bukharan Madrasa Buildings from the 1560s," in *Beiträge zur Islamischen Kunst und Archäologie* 5, ed. M. Ritter, et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2015), 28-56; G. A. Pugachenkova and E.V. Rtveladze, "BUKHARA v. Archeology and Monuments," in *Encyclopædia Iranica*; B. Brentjes, "Islamic Art and Architecture in Central Asia," *Journal of Central Asia* 16, nos. 1-2 (July and December 1993): 54-58; R.D. McChesney, "Economic and Social Aspects of the Public Architecture of Bukhara in the 1560's and 1570's," *Islamic Art* II (1987): 217-42. McChesney draws intriguing parallels between the cultural and commercial facilities in Bukhara's *chārsūq* (*chorsu*) development and the contemporary Maidān-i Shāh complex in Isfahan (234-35).

[573] These are usually evidenced by inscriptions reading "*fī ayyām (al-daulat) ʿAbdullāh Khan*" [in the days of (the polity of) ʿAbdullāh Khan], implying the manuscript projects were carried out during his rule and were not specifically commissioned by him but were requested by military and religious elites instead. For materials with this detail, consult App. 5, nos. 12, 13, 18, 57. An illustrated *Ḥāl-nāma* manuscript of ʿĀrifī dated 1598 was made for the Jūibārid noble ʿAbdī Khwāja Saʿd b. Khwāja Muḥammad Islām (NLR PNS 285).

[574] Pugachenkova and Galerkina, *Miniatiury srednei azii*, 46-47.

[575] Porter, "Remarques sur la peinture à Boukhara."

[576] Consult B.W. Robinson's many works on the subject "Muhammadī and the Khurasan Style," *Iran* 30 (1992): 17-30; his "Provincial Style" section in *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles*; the entry on "The Khurasan Style" in *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1980); the Khurasan listing under the "Safavid Period" division in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, 151-52. The cut-off date of 1606 is based on a Saʿdī *Būstān* manuscript dated 1606 copied by Shah Qāsim (MKG 399). Khurasan's contributions to artistic productions are also in Mustafa ʿÂli, *Epic Deeds of Artists*, passim.

[577] Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt"; and "The Beginning of the Khurasānī School of Painting at Herat," *Artibus Asiae* 67, no. 1 (2007): 75–93. Workshop practices in Bakharz and Sabzivar have been examined by Porter ("Remarques sur la peinture"). Uluç gives some information on manuscript production in Tun, Tabas, and Sabzivar in "Selling to the Court."

employing local scribes and other copyists from Mashhad and smaller towns in Sabzivar, Malan, Tun, Bakharz, and Raza.[578]

III.iv.a. Muḥammadī

Robinson credits the artist Muḥammadī (fl. 1527–84) with developing and training other painters in the Khurasan style of painting in Herat between ca. 1565 and 1590.[579] He might have been the son of the royal Safavid painter Sulṭān Muḥammad who worked on Ṭahmāsp's own commissioned manuscripts.[580] From its inception, the style featured elements associated with Qazvin and Mashhad as a result of the disbanding of the Safavid courtly workshops and dispersal of talent that had been situated in the former site to the latter.[581] Robinson characterizes Muḥammadī's style and the Khurasan school of painting as "smooth, competent, and uncomplicated… [in which] background details of vegetation and architecture are as simple as possible, and the colour-scheme is often dominated by pale blue, mauve, or light olive green, which are the favourite colours for the ground."[582] Schmitz describes the Khurasan style's usage of a "spare technique" coalescing around 1570 with large-scale figures and elaborate details of dress. Women are infrequent in the illustrations, and typical painted subjects are battle scenes and male assemblies.[583] This is observed in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*.

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[578] Tun is the historic name of the modern city Taban in southern Khurasan. The present-day village of Ustayi below Bakharz near Taibad is historical Malan and is on a historic road to Herat. Robert Skelton provides a case study of a manuscript associated with Bakharz ["An Illustrated manuscript from Bakharz," in *The Memorial Volume of the Vth International Congress of Iranian Art & Archaeology 11-18 April 1968* (Teheran: Ministry of Culture and Arts, 1972), 198-204]. Titley explains the continuation of the Qazvin style in Khurasan and states, "the province of Bakharz between Herat and Nishapur, in the east of Khurasan, provided patrons in the 1560s and '70s while Herat itself became yet again a noted centre at the end of the 16th century and during the first two decades of the 17th." She also quotes the Safavid chronicler Qāẓī Aḥmad's scorn of Khurasan scribes, deriding their uninspired productions (*Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Arts of Turkey and India*, 109-10). Marianna Shreve Simpson has investigated Raza and found a village near Birjand. Earlier scholarship read the locale as "Zarrah," but there were no variations on "Zari" in the atlases, maps, or gazetteers she consulted ("Codicology in the Service of Chronology: The Case of Some Safavid Manuscripts," in *Les Manuscrits Du Moyen-Orient*, 135, ftn. 10). In my personal travels and conversations in Khurasan, the present-day city of Mashhad Rīza (meaning small Mashhad) below Bakharz adjacent to Ustayi could be the present-day location of historic Raza.

[579] B.W. Robinson, "An Amir Khusraw Khamsa of 1581," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 35 (1997): 40.

[580] Robinson suggests Muḥammadī was born out of a *ṣīgha* (temporary marriage) with a local Herati girl ("Muhammadī and the Khurasan Style," 18). Abolala Soudavar disagrees; his rebuttal is in "The Age of Muhammadī," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 53. Robinson's biography of Muḥammadī states he was a native of Herat who quite possibly never left that city, and by 1581 he would have been at the height of his career. Mustafa ʿÂli's entry on Muḥammadī Beg reads: "the son and talented pupil of Sulṭān Muhammad distinguished worldwide for his varnished book-binding designs and miniature paintings [of *majālis* scenes]" (Mustafa ʿÂli, *Epic Deeds*, 265-66). According to Qāẓī Aḥmad, Muḥammadī Beg died in Qazvin.

[581] Robinson suggests a *Laylī u Majnūn* manuscript by Hilālī (JRL Pers 907) dated 1561 and scribed by Muḥammad al-Kātib of Raza is an "interesting and early example of the Khurasan style" (*Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, 270). Karin Rührdanz however attributes the start of the Khurasan school to a manuscript in the Topkapı (H.1233) of Niẓām al-Dīn Astarābādī's *Āṯār al-muẓaffar* with a colophon dated 1568 scribed by Muḥyī al-Kātib al-Haravī ["The illustrated manuscripts of Athar al-Muzaffar: a history of the Prophet," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 206].

[582] B.W. Robinson, "Persian Painting," *Persia: History and Heritage*, ed. John Boyle (London: 1978), 84.

[583] Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 113-14.

Schmitz classifies two major styles, delineated as Herat and Mashhad strains, present in Khurasan on the cusp of the Uzbek invasion in 1586. The first is "based on the traditional development of painting in Herat [which was] almost surely practiced only in this city by the 1580's."[584] Schmitz typifies the second elusive "Late Mashhad Style" as resembling manuscripts illustrated between 1556–65 when artists congregated in Mashhad under the patronage of the Safavid governor Ibrāhīm Mīrzā (d. 1577). There they composed "small figures, slim proportions, [and a] new type of wide turban."[585] After the death of their Safavid patron, artists—including Muḥammadī—continued working in Khurasan even as the administration changed from Safavid to Abū'l-Khairid control.

III.iv.b. Abū'l-Khairid patrons of book arts in Khurasan

With the Abū'l-Khairid conquest of Khurasan in 1588 by ʿAbdullāh and his generals, many of the artisans there chose to remain and serve the new Abū'l-Khairid governors overseeing the larger cities. With ʿAbdullāh's patronage vanishing in the 1570s, the region along with Mughal centers became attractive places of employment for Abū'l-Khairid artisans formerly working in Transoxiana. During this fourth period of Abū'l-Khairid arts of the book, Khurasan would have been appealing to these scribes and artists when it came under Uzbek control, and the political situation was favorable for Bukhara-trained artisans to join the local workshops in and around Herat.

The most powerful and respected Abū'l-Khairid representative after ʿAbdullāh Khan was Qul Bābā Kūkaltāsh (d. 1598), "the Bukharan Maecenas": leading administrator of ʿAbdullāh's regime and his right-hand man.[586] He was the patron of the chronicler Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh who produced the *ʿAbdullāh-nāma* we examined previously. He had been given the epithet *kūkaltāsh*, meaning foster- or milk-brother, due to his close companionship to ʿAbdullāh Khan since childhood. Qul Bābā was the son of Yār Muḥammad who had served as head of the Bukhara appanage in the mid century.[587] Like his father, McChesney affirms that "Qul Bābā was a man who loved literature and compiled a large library

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[584] Ibid., 125.

[585] Ibid., 124-26. See Simpson and Farhad's masterful and thorough case study of the patronage of a single manuscript in *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang.

[586] Biography in McChesney, "Historiography in Central Asia since the 16th Century," 521; idem, "The Conquest of Herat," 85.

[587] Born in Samarqand, Qul Bābā was made governor of Samarqand in spring 1578 after ʿAbdullāh's successful unification of the appanages (McChesney, "Islamic culture and the Chinggisid restoration," 254). Regarding Qul Bābā's architectural patronage in Herat, his relationship to ʿAbdullāh Khan, and military and civil duties during his 12-year governance of Herat, see McChesney, "Economic and Social Aspects," 232; idem, "CENTRAL ASIA VI. In the 16th-18th Centuries"; Haider, *Central Asia in the Sixteenth Century*, 302, ftn. 12.

which he donated to his madrasa in Bukhara [erected in 1568]. He hosted literary assemblies and took the pen name 'Muhibbi'."[588] Testifying to his tolerance, Qul Bābā maintained "close and harmonious relations with Shi'i intellectuals in Herat during the decade of his governorship" and there made repairs to the tomb of ʿAlī-Shīr Navāʾī.[589]

Although he is known to have endowed 650 books to his eponymous madrasa on the north side of Lab-i Ḥauż in Bukhara, Schmitz states Qul Bābā might not have patronized illustrated epic and poetic texts at all.[590] It is unlikely that his commissioned works would have all been unillustrated, and Soudavar claims a copy of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī in the Bruschettini collection (circa 1590) is of his commission.[591] One of its illustrations (fig. 82) depicts a colorful gathering with figures seated on a light blue ground composed of hexagonal forms radiating from six-pointed stars. A circular fountain with swimming birds is on the lower left. Attendants bring platters and offer a napkin, and the individual in green offering a wine cup reappears in the Tajikistan manuscript soon to be examined (fig. 94). They serve a nobleman dressed in red who kneels inside a rectangular pavilion with animal figures painted on the white wall above him. An autumnal *chinār* (plane) tree arises on the right side of the composition. A boy stands in front of its trunk and looks over a low fence, making eye contact with a privileged guest irritated by this intruder. A figure in profile walks out a taller gate and approaches the prying young man, threatening to chase him away.

Other illustrations from different manuscripts have similar layouts and compositions as the folio from the Bruschettini *Gulistān*, and reflect the quality of book arts in Herat during the period of Qul Bābā's governance. A *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ copied by Sulṭān Ḥusain b. Qāsim al-Tūnī between 1581–86 (TSMK H.986) for the Safavid governor of Tun, Sulṭān Sulaimān, was produced right before the Abū'l-

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[588] McChesney, "Islamic culture and the Chinggisid restoration," 255. Incidentally, Muḥibbī was the pen name of the Ottoman sultan Süleyman as well. Excerpts from Qul Bābā's *dīvān* of poetry are in Muṭribī Samarqandī, *Nuskha-yi zībā-yi Jahāngīrī*, ed. Isma'il Bik Januf and Sayyid ʿAli Mujani (Qum: Kitabkhana-yi Buzurg-i Hazrat Ayat Allah al-ʿUzma Marʿashi, 1377/1998), 139-42. I am grateful to R.D. McChesney for sharing with me this primary source.

[589] These examples of Qul Bābā's benevolence are in Soudavar's publications: *Reassessing Early Safavid Art and History*, 77; idem, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 217-19. They are also delineated in McChesney, "The Conquest of Herat," 84, 86.

[590] This numeric figure is quoted in Stacy Liechti, "Books, Book Endowments, and Communities of Knowledge in the Bukharan Khanate" (PhD diss., New York University, 2008), 44. Schmitz's claim about Qul Bābā's lack of patronage is in "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 20-21. An anachronistic (perhaps forged) attribution to the patronage of Qul Bābā is written on the painting of an ascetic (TMoCA inv. 633), discussed in Marianna Shreve Simpson, "Mostly Modern Miniatures: Classical Persian Painting in the Early Twentieth Century," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 383, fig. 28.

[591] Originally auctioned at Hotel George V, 30 October 1975, lot 479. An illustration is reproduced in Soudavar, "The Age of Muhammadī," 67, and is also discussed in idem, *Reassessing Early Safavid Art and History*, 77. Soudavar titles the illustration "Qul Bābā sending a gift to ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn," and confidently attributes it to Muḥammadī during the Uzbek occupation of Herat in the late sixteenth century. Schmitz is less presumptuous and titles the work: "Feasting and Divertisements [sic]" and dates it circa 1590 ("Miniature Painting in Harāt," pl. 285, LVIII).

Khairid siege. A folio depicts a musical gathering of dervishes on a geometrically-patterned ground with rows of quatrefoil tiling (fig. 83). One dances ecstatically and his unwound turban falls to the ground. A figure standing in the bottom-right wears a long-sleeved robe akin to figures in the *Tīmūr-nāma* H.1594 and the Gulbenkian folio with the poetry of Khwājū Kirmānī (figs. 39 and 44) which we examined in Chapter 2. Above this party is a rectangular pavilion with a variety of repeated floral and hexagonal forms, and a window opens out to a garden behind two men conversing over a platter of pomegranates. A white tympanum has paintings of bears climbing trees on its surface. A low fence extends on the right side of the illustration and separates the architectural section from the natural garden setting with a cliff arising in the background. A young gardener tills the soil.

Another loose folio with a similar layout as these two mentioned so far is from a *Haft aurang* of Jāmī (fig. 84). It renders a slim-waisted king whose twin appears in the Tajikistan manuscript to be analyzed below (fig. 94) seated on a hexagonal throne in a garden pavilion. The architectural structure has a window featuring the natural landscape and purple cliffs beyond, and the pavilion's white arch depicts peaceful animals grazing and sitting. Enclosed by a low red fence, the pale turquoise ground has busy tile-work with interlocking quatrefoils and octagons, and thin canals funnel water into a circular pool around which courtiers sit and interact. The kneeling duo on the right reappears in the Tajikistan manuscript (fig. 94). The lowest part of the scene renders a *chāvūsh* (footman) in a poppy-red tunic leading a white horse.[592] He is offered a red flower by a figure in a slouched hat with a feather. The folio is undated but the museum's mistaken attribution of "Qazvin—1560" belies Khurasan's indebtedness to incoming Qazvini talent. Thanks to existing studies nuancing Khurasan manuscript arts and through comparisons to the other examples under scrutiny here, a more appropriate provenance can now be affixed to the work: Herat, circa 1580s–1590s.

A final example is an illustration in another *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ copied in 1593 by Quṭb al-Dīn (fig. 85), a scribe associated with Tun who wrote out a *Shāhnāma* dated 1580 to be discussed below. No patron is mentioned in the *Dīvān* but it could have been made for an Abū'l-Khairid elite in Khurasan. Its illustrated scene takes place entirely indoors with the main pavilion positioned off-center. In the H-shaped blue wall paintings on a white surface, two foxes interact amidst flowers and trees. The overall composition has geometric patterning identical to those in the Bruschettini *Gulistān* folio, such as the

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[592] "*Chāvūsh*" examples are mentioned by Robinson in "An Amir Khusraw Khamsa of 1581," 38, 39. Another term is *shāṭir,* whose role and attire have been discussed by Rakhimova, *K istorii kostiuma narodov Uzbekistana*, 37. The figure is called *peyk* in Ottoman sources and is described by Zeynep Tarım Ertuğ, "The Depiction of Ceremonies in Ottoman Miniatures: Historical Record of a Matter of Protocol?," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): 262.

stars and hexagons on the floor and wainscoting. Slim-waisted figures with tubular knees wear slouching gray caps, and standing attendants in wrapped turbans positioned facing to the left, are rendered in the same style across the two manuscripts. The *Dīvān*'s standing attendant carrying a gold, covered platter wears sage green and an unusual shorter tunic over this garment; this detail will be of interest in the coming section on the Tajikistan manuscript's illustrations.

Could all of these compositions have been partly derived from Abū'l-Khairid conventions? We have seen mid-century frontispieces and illustrations from Bukhara which frequently depict symmetric pavilions and garden settings (figs. 72, 73). They often have cupolas or domes extending into the upper margin.[593] The off-center rectangular pavilions of the Herati compositions from the 1580s and 1590s could be the contribution of artisans trained in Bukhara adding their talents to workshops in Herat. These illustrations combine the twin currents in earlier Khurasani painting: the elongated, "late-Mashhad" style evolving from Ibrāhīm Mīrzā's atelier, and the style based on Muḥammadī's conventions in Herat. Schmitz states that painters in Herat in the 1580s derived inspiration from both these Herati and Mashhadi sources to illustrate manuscripts destined for the Indian market and specifically, later in the decade, the new Uzbek overlords.

Whether or not Qul Bābā was among them, there were other Abū'l-Khairid generals commissioning illustrated manuscripts in Khurasan while he governed Herat. A *Maṯnavī* of Rūmī, scribed by Muḥyī al-Kātib al-Haravī and his son ʿImād al-Dīn, is dated 1594–97 and was prepared for ʿAbdullāh Khan's son ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn in Balkh.[594] ʿAbdullāh's nephew Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān (d. 1598) was awarded governorship of Khargird and Bakharz for his participation in the conquest of Herat in 1588.[595] Dīn Muḥammad played a role in the founding of the following Tūqāy-Tīmūrid dynasty in Transoxiana, which will be covered in Chapter 5. He was the patron of several manuscripts, including a

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[593] Compare the *Sabʿa sayyāra* (BLO Elliott 318, f.47a) from 1553 for Muḥammad Yār. Reproduced in Porter, "Remarques sur la peinture." Porter discusses repeated Bukharan architectural decoration depicted in manuscripts that contain a symmetric *ayvān* supported by columns.

[594] AMA, no. unknown. Francis Richard has inspected the manuscript and I am grateful that he brought it to my attention. Mentioned by Schmitz, "The Beginning of the Khurasānī School," 80, ftn. 27. She notes it has border stenciling and composite figures typical of manuscripts produced in Khurasan and Bukhara.

[595] Dīn Muḥammad was the son of ʿAbdullāh's (whole or half) sister Maʿṣūma and Jānī Beg, and brother to the later Tūqāy-Tīmūrid dynasts Bāqī Muḥammad and Valī Muḥammad (featured in Ch. 5). Information on Dīn Muḥammad in: R.D. McChesney, "CENTRAL ASIA VI. In the 16th-18th Centuries"; Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 55, 68; Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library*, 59. See ftn. 652. For a diagram of these parallel branches traced through paternal relationships, see Thomas Welsford, *Four Types of Loyalty in Early Modern Central Asia: the Tūqāy-Timūrid Takeover of Greater Mā Warā al-Nahr, 1598-1605* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 54-60.

Jāmī *Haft aurang* dated 1593.[596] Further attesting to Dīn Muḥammad's patronage, three separate illustrated colophons to a *Silsilat al-ẕahab* manuscript exist that are dated between autumn 1592 and spring 1593. These are copied by Shāh Qāsim in what Schmitz posits was his scribal debut.[597] When the illustrations render mountains, they "show the light-coloured or white pustule formations round the edges—a trade-mark of Khurasanian painting from the 1590s onwards" described by Robinson.[598] To Soudavar, the earliest of these illustrated colophons (fig. 86) displays these features as well as those associated with the Bukhara workshops, and he indicates "the oval faces with pointed chins" to demonstrate his latter claim.[599] Shāh Qāsim would go on to be a prolific scribe who wrote out texts of Persian poetry between 1591 and 1630, staying in Herat to serve the later Safavid governors after the reconquest in 1600.[600] In a display of further fluid dynastic allegiance, he transferred to Transoxiana after 1626 to be employed by the ruling Tūqāy-Tīmūrids.[601]

III.iv.c. Firdausian *Shāhnāma* copies from Khurasan

While collating manuscripts completed in Khurasan between 1560–1600, Robinson noted the preponderance of Jāmī titles and surprisingly few Firdausī or Niẓāmī texts. He surmised that these last two titles would have been "too purely Persian [sic-Iranian?] in their subject matter and appeal" since the manuscripts' intended destinations were in India and Transoxiana.[602] Jāmī's oeuvre, after all, was most frequently read by Abū'l-Khairid elites based on the quantity of manuscripts. Among all the Persian-language poetic texts illustrated in Khurasan during the late sixteenth century is a Firdausian

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[596] MKG, ms. no. unknown. Manuscript mentioned by Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 324. A colophon to its *Salāmān u Absāl* section states it was copied by Muḥammad Amīn.

[597] These three dated and dispersed colophons signed by Shāh Qāsim do not appear to have been written out in the story's order. The earliest is dated September 1592 (AHT entry 83 mistakenly dated 1591, reproduced in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts,* 217-19). The next is dated winter 1592-93 and was formerly in the Rothschild collection but was sold by the Colnaghi firm [reproduced in Yael Rice, "The Emperor's Eye and the Painter's Brush: the Rise of the Mughal Court Artist, c. 1546-1627," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2011), fig. 1.48]. The third colophon ending with the *Iʿtiqādnāma* is dated April 1593 (Rice, "The Emperor's Eye," fig. 1.49). Soudavar attributes them to Qul Bābā's patronage and names Muḥammadī as the painter of the last two colophons. However, by the 1590s the artist would have probably been deceased.

[598] Robinson, "An Amir Khusraw Khamsa of 1581," 40.

[599] Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts,* 219.

[600] Details on the life of Shāh Qāsim are given by Schmitz who notes some of the scribe's manuscript colophons state they were executed in a private workshop, while others say they were made in the courtly Herat workshop ("Miniature Painting in Harāt," 52-56, 62). Shāh Qāsim would go on to work in the library Ḥasan Khān Shāmlū after the Safavids reclaimed Herat, writing out a *Tīmūr-nāma* of Hātifī in 1619 for this patron (CBL Per. 264). The scribe signed 47 works over a 40-year period.

[601] Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 52.

[602] Robinson, "Muḥammadī and the Khurasan Style," 27.

Shāhnāma attributed to Muḥammadī circa 1575–80 (CBL Pers. 295, figs. 87-88).[603] A later *Shāhnāma* produced for the new Safavid governor of Herat, Ḥusain Khān Shāmlū, is dated 1600 after the Safavids routed the Abū'l-Khairids, and recalls the Muḥammadī *Shāhnāma* manuscript.[604] Robinson attributes a dispersed folio in an album illustrating Gushtāsp slaying a rhinoceros to Khurasan in the 1570s (JRL Indian Drawings 18, f.32a).[605] This could indicate an additional *Shāhnāma* version was produced but it has not fully survived. Francis Richard has suggested a Khurasan provenance to another complete Firdausian *Shāhnāma* (BNF Supp. Pers. 1122), but it requires further investigation.[606] A *Shāhnāma* in fine condition formerly in the Kraus collection was auctioned at Sotheby's and has a colophon dated 1572, and the lot description states the eclectic illustrations come from the traditions of Khurasan, Qazvin, Isfahan, and Bukhara.[607] Schmitz mentions other copies made during the Uzbek occupation of Herat, such as one belonging to Shāh Beg b. Mīrzā Atālīq (a patron so far unidentified) that was illustrated in Khurasan at the end of the sixteenth century.[608] Atālīq's *Shāhnāma* contains illustrations that parallel those in another auctioned Firdausian *Shāhnāma* that has since been dispersed. It was written out in 1580 by Quṭb al-Dīn b. Ḥasan al-Tūnī whose nisba bolsters a Khurasani origin for the manuscript.[609] Its visual elements associated with Mashhad, Herat, and Qazvin further support this attribution. Taken together, these book arts made in the final three decades of the century suggest that Persian-language *Shāhnāma* productions in Khurasan were greater than what Robinson calculated.

Several differences distinguish these enumerated Persian-language *Shāhnāma* materials fully produced in Khurasan from our Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*. Most obvious is language, as our case study is a

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603 Entry no. 173 in Robinson, *Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles*, 111; listed as manuscript K27 in Robinson, "Muḥammadī and the Khurāsān Style," 27.

604 Information on the Shāmlū manuscript (located in Niavaran Palace—Imperial Iranian Collection, Tehran) is provided in ʿAbd al-Majīd Ḥusainī Rād, "Pazhūhishī barāyi muʿarifi-yi Shāhnāma muṣavvir-i no yāfta az daura-yi Ṣafavī (Shāhnāma-yi Shāmlū)," *Nashriya Hunarhā-yi Zībā u Hunarhā-yi Tajassumī* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1392 [2013-14]): 43-54. Listed as ms. XXXII in Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 329-34.

605 Entry no. 804 in Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library*, 274, pl. XIII. The folio is stylistically similar to the *Āṣār al-muẓaffar* (TSMK H.1233) that Rührdanz attributes to the start of the Khurasan School.

606 Francis Richard, "Un manuscrit malaisé à dater et à localiser, Supplément persan 1122 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Études orientales* 11-12 (1991): 90-103.

607 Sotheby's, 28 April 2004, lot 25. Having been unable to inspect the manuscript, it is unclear to me whether the text is truncated or not, but the listed illustrations cease after Bahrām Gūr slays the dragon which suggests the historical section has been abridged.

608 Schmitz briefly mentions the manuscript and attributes it to Herat during the Abū'l-Khairid occupation circa 1590 on the basis of the rendered turbans ("Miniature Painting in Harāt," 131-32). The manuscript sold at Christie's, 16 October 2001, lot 76. It is erroneously attributed to circa 1570. Rührdanz places its manufacture closer to 1600 ("The Samarqand Shahnamas in the Context of Dynastic Change," 227).

609 Two folios most recently sold at Christie's, 28 October 2020, lots 30 and 31. Provenance information is in Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 123. The scribe penned the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ mentioned above (BLO Elliott 163).

Turkic translation of Şerif Âmidî's. The text-image relationship is also unique in the Tajikistan manuscript through the presence of smaller boxes intended for illustrations that are enveloped by text. In contrast, manuscripts completely designed in Khurasan often feature full-page illustrations segmenting the textual narrative. Therefore, the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*'s inset depictions indicate the manuscript was written out and arranged outside of Khurasan; Istanbul is the location advanced in our present examination.

IV. The visual program to the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*

Lacking both a detailed colophon and finished illustrative program, the full provenance of the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* is doomed to ambiguity, but through a close examination of its text and imagery I can reconstruct how it might have come into being. Since all other copies of Âmidî's work are attributed to late-Mamluk and Ottoman workshops, it is probable the layout of the Tajikistan manuscript was conceived in Istanbul if not another Ottoman center. The text then ultimately travelled to present-day Tajikistan for reasons and by means we do not—and may never—know. Other problematic manuscripts with questionable provenances currently housed in archives today located in neighboring Uzbekistan are thought to have been produced in the region where they remained. However, one cannot attribute a manuscript's origins based on its present-day location, although Lisa Golombek remarks that an ongoing and current presence in Central Asia is "a good indication that [a manuscript of questionable provenance] was illustrated in the eastern Islamic world."[610] If we acknowledge this observation, then the Tajikistan manuscript did not venture far to end up in the Center of Written Heritage at the National Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe where it continues to sit on a shelf.

The illustrative program to the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* includes figures and compositions that originate predominantly in Herat. These comport with other materials produced there between the 1580s through the 1590s. However, it also contains elements from courtly Ottoman book arts and those from the Abū'l-Khairid appanages that were produced earlier. In lieu of harder evidence I must rely on my eyes, and illustrated comparanda cause me to believe artists with different backgrounds converged in Khurasan and there contributed their skills. The stylistic uniformity of the Tajikistan manuscript's

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[610] Lisa Golombek, "Early Illustrated Manuscripts of Kāshifī's *Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī*," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 4 (December 2003): 631.

outlined figures makes it likely that designs and patterns from far-flung workshops also transferred to Khurasan for a single artist there to consult.

Farhad Mehran's analysis of break-lines (the verses closest to the image that dictate the scene to depict) in *Shāhnāma* illustrations demonstrate how a visual program is always predetermined and situated within specific moments of the narrative.[611] In the case of the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*, there is no indication of coordination between calligrapher and painter. The artist who sketched the images was fulfilling a program plotted out earlier and far away. In comparing break-lines across surviving Ṣerif Âmidî copies, I have detected a standard format in three that repeat the same image cycles and captions: BL Or. 7204, the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*, and TSMK H.1522. These support my claim that multiple copies of the text were transcribed and most were painted in the Ottoman domain, but the Tajikistan manuscript was taken elsewhere to be illustrated.

Despite its unfinished state with sketched red outlines in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma,* figural and compositional comparisons to illustrations in other manuscripts from Khurasan on the cusp of Abū'l-Khairid conquest inform my analysis. Let us review the frontispiece and seven unfinished illustrations in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* in sequential order as they appear in the manuscript, and conclude with some musings on the intentionality and purpose in creating it.

IV.i. Illuminated frontispiece (ff.1r-2v)

A beautiful frontispiece, incongruous to the rest of the codex in its relative completeness, opens the manuscript (fig. 89). Badly abraded in the lower sections and with the right side containing empty spaces intended to contain images, the illumination is in dazzling lapis with gold thumb-spaces in the right and left margins. Alternating gold, black, and turquoise palmettes with coral-colored accents and minute white filigree lines are evocative of a tradition associated with Timurid Herat that was maintained in Abū'l-Khairid workshops. The illumination is similar to the frontispiece in the Persian-language *Shāhnāma* transcribed by Hamdamī in Khiva examined in Chapter 3 (fig. 58).

IV.ii. The court of Kayūmarṯ (f.7r)

Kayūmarṯ, the first king credited with asserting order over all of creation, is represented in the first illustration to the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* (fig. 90). His name, inscribed above in a sloppy hand, labels his epithet: "the first king." The scene is one of the most commonly encountered, but here the iconography departs from typical depictions that render Kayūmarṯ and his retinue wearing animal

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[611] Farhad Mehran, "Break-line Verse: Link between Text and Image in the 'First Small Shāhnāma,' " in *Shāhnāma Studies I*, ed. Charles Melville (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2006), 151-70.

skins, for the figures wear tunics and headwear common in the sixteenth century. An indecipherable phrase below the seated ruler could read *palang p*[*ā*]*dishāh* (leopard ruler), perhaps to instruct an artist how to fill in the outlined clothing.

This partly-completed illustration is the only folio that permits an examination of the busy patterning of pastel-colored surfaces in the manuscript. One can compare it to other illustrations from Khurasan, Qazvin, Shiraz, and Bukhara from the second half of the sixteenth century that also brim with colorful details and ornamented surfaces. Star, cross, square-shaped, and hexagonal geometric designs form the panels and floors in the illustrations we examined above from 1580s–1590s Khurasan (figs. 82-85). Cruciform and eight-pointed star panels with central dots in the lavender section on the Tajikistan folio appear in two other Turkic *Shāhnāma* copies. One is the Âmidî version TSMK H.1522 circa 1544–60 (fig. 91).[612] The other is a loose folio with Turkic prose depicting Faraidūn attacking Żaḥḥāk (HAM no. 1985.230, fig. 92).[613] Rows of teal squares in the Tajikistan illustration also recall wall ornamentation in the royal Ottoman manuscript *Siyar al-nabī* completed for sultan Murad III in 1594.[614] A close study of regional patterns and forms and colors that were in vogue in specific centers has yet to be written, but those present in the Tajikistan illustration suggest a transference of designs across workshops via sketches and materials moving through Ottoman, Safavid, and Abū'l-Khairid demarcated borders.

IV.iii. Żaḥḥāk's vizier announces Faraidūn's arrival (f.14r)

This illustration (fig. 93) also departs from traditional *Shāhnāma* iconography presenting a regal Żaḥḥāk holding court who typically listens to a *maubad* (priest) interpreting his dreams. Here the maubad sits on a diagonal carpet below the ruler. The Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* illustration displays a macabre—and rarely depicted—element of the story: servants prepare the brains of two human victims to feed to two evil snakes that sprout from the demon king's shoulders. Cowering on the right side against an unevenly applied purple ground is a bearded *kalpak*-capped attendant. This man is the

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[612] The design repeats on f.97b ("Accession of Kay Kāvūs") and f.465a ("Accession of Bahrām Gūr." Reproduced in Serpil Bağcı,"An Iranian epic and an Ottoman painter: Nakkaş Osman's 'new' visual interpretation of the *Shâhnâmah*," in *Arts, Women and Scholars: Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture. Festschrift Hans Georg Majer,* eds. Sabine Prätor and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul: Simurg, 2002, Vol. 2), 421-50.

[613] Edwin Binney III suggests the folio formerly in his collection parallels the earliest volumes of a later Turkic verse translation by Madḥī produced in Istanbul in the 1620s, but this seems too late a provenance for the loose illustration [*Turkish Treasures from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd*, exh. cat. (Oregon: Portland Art Museum, 1979), 66-67].

[614] Compare the illustration "Dream of the Byzantine Emperor" (TSMK H.1221, f.86b) reproduced in Carol Garrett Fisher, "A Reconstruction of the Pictorial Cycle of the 'Siyar-i Nabi' of Murad III," *Ars Orientalis* 14 (1984): 75-94, fig. 5.

reverse of a figure standing in a painting from the *Fatḥnāma-i khānī* (fig. 15). The figure in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* wears a thicker sash that is more the vogue of the late sixteenth century.

IV.iv. Faraidūn enthroned (f.21v)

In the third illustration (fig. 94), Faraidūn sits on a *takht* (platform) with a kerchief of sovereignty in his right hand and left leg bent. Washes of gold are applied to the sky as well as to certain details of dress and props. Similar figure types are found in other folios produced in the workshops of Khurasan circa 1570–81, such as the illustration to a Jāmī manuscript dated 1576 (fig. 95). To the left of Faraidūn's in the Tajikistan manuscript a figure kneels performing the *kāsa-gīrī*, or ritual offering of a cup to the ruler that is derived from Mongol custom. This same attendant dressed in green offers a small cup in the Bruschettini *Gulistān* illustration (fig. 82).

The two studious boys seated to Faraidūn's right in the Tajikistan manuscript are stock types that circulated as single-page album compositions. One version is attributed to Shaikh Muḥammad who was active in the Mashhad atelier of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and broader Khurasan between 1540 and 1580.[615] In the Tajikistan composition, they are garbed in collared tunics and squat turbans; perhaps they are Faraidūn's older sons who gossip and plot as they jealously look upon their younger brother sycophantically serving their father.[616] Two similarly-posed boys wearing poppy-red and forest-green tunics sit within the aforementioned separated *Haft aurang* painting in LACMA (fig. 84) and were probably depicted closer to the time and place of production of the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma.*

IV.v. The death of Īraj (f.29r)

The fourth illustration (fig. 96) portrays the violent struggle of Faraidūn's sons and bears overt connections to contemporary illustrations produced in Khurasan.[617] Names in faded letters designate each figure, and a crown sketched at Īraj's feet, now faded, is labeled *tāj*. The scene is common in *Shāhnāma* iconography. Usually, Īraj's throat is slit or his head is bashed with a stool within a tent as overturned platters of fruits and spilled ewers add to the chaotic atmosphere. Instead, the victim here grips a dagger and grabs Salm's throat; he's not surrendering easily. The sparse use of gold emphasizes the hilts and handles of the weaponry.

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[615] Reproduced in Arménag Sakisian, *La Miniature Persane du XIIe au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1929), fig. 122. Shaikh Muḥammad was famous for naturalism and portraiture and credited with instigating the role of facial specificity in Persian arts (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 217).

[616] The role of performing *kāsa-gīrī* was for princes and nobles, not servants and attendants.

[617] Reproduced in Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva, *History of Kazakhstan in Eastern miniatures*, 206.

The sketch of the brothers killing Īraj in the Tajikistan manuscript most closely parallels a scene depicting a pious man attacked by a drunkard within a *Muntakhab-i Būstān* (Selections from the *Būstān*) of Saʿdī copied by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shādīshāh in Herat in 1527 (fig. 97).[618] Soudavar attributes the illustrations to this *Būstān*—added later—to Mīrzā ʿAlī working in Mashhad or Sabzivar circa 1565, and ventures they were commissioned by Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. Robinson, however, suggests the illustrations are of a later date, and I would attribute them closer to 1580 as well.[619] Without providing specific details and comparisons to other works, Dodkhudoeva observes that the Tajikistan manuscript's illustrations display features of royal paintings associated with the kitābkhāna of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā and Mashhad influences, as well as compositions done by Muḥammadī.[620] In the *Būstān* illustration as in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*'s "Death of Īraj," a man is roughly held by two opponents while a pair of distraught onlookers on the right side of each illustration hold fingers to their lips in dismay. (Why they do not intervene is a question that must remain unanswered.)

IV.vi. Tūr's attempt to ambush Manūchihr (f.35r)

The fifth illustration (fig. 98) is a powerful depiction of combat on the right side while Tūr sits on a platform in front of his tent on the other, his evil grimace delineated as a childish scrawl. A soldier casts a mistrustful glance at his cruel commander as he sets out amidst the carnage of dismembered limbs cleaved by sword blows to wage war against Manūchihr's army. With severed heads piled at his feet, Tūr's pose is the same as the ruler in the LACMA *Haft aurang* illustration (fig. 84). The same seated ruler and frenzy of clustered fighters are similar to illustrations from a *Tīmūr-nāma* of Hātifī dated 1582 that Schmitz attributes to Muḥammadī while he worked in Herat (figs. 99–100).[621] This is the only copy of the text with a Khurasan provenance. In the left section of fig. 99 in the *Tīmūr-nāma* as in the folio from the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* here discussed, rulers with daggers in their belts sit in front of yurts with fabric draped over the smokestack openings. The right section of a siege scene in the

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[618] Soudavar muses the scribe was an early *nastaʿlīq* master and that the four Mashhad-style paintings (which he attributes to Mīrzā ʿAlī) were 1565 additions (*Art of the Persian Courts*, 173-75). The manuscript later made its way to the royal Mughal libraries of Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzīb based on seals and marginal inscriptions. It was valued at 100 rupees (Seyller, "Inspection and Valuation," 274).

[619] Robinson disputes the date of the illustrations, saying Soudavar's attribution "may be on the early side" ("An Amir Khusraw Khamsa of 1581," 41, ftn. 22). Compare them to a *Gulistān* of Saʿdī (DAI LNS 46 MS) as a further bolstering of a 1580 provenance. Reproduced in Adel T. Adamova and Manijeh Bayani, *Persian Painting: the Arts of the Book and Portraiture. Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah: The Al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 443.

[620] Dodkhudoeva, *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia and India*, 80.

[621] Originally sold at Sotheby's in London, 21 April 1980, lot 199. Description of the manuscript is in Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harāt," 127-28, 396-97. It has more recently been auctioned at Christie's, 31 March 2022, lot 4.

Tīmūr-nāma (fig. 100) parallels a similar composition in Muḥammadī's *Shāhnāma* (fig. 88). A jumbled unit of soldiers raise their swords and shields in the *Tīmūr-nāma* and Tajikistan illustration. The armor worn by the mass of soldiers in the *Tīmūr-nāma* echoes that worn by troops in the Tajikistan manuscript. They wear spiked *zānū band* (poleyns; knee guards), flat-footed ankle boots with flaps at the heel, and pronged arm coverings that would make a simple elbowing quite a lethal jab.[622]

IV.vii. Manūchihr slays Salm (f.38r)

In the penultimate illustration to the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* (fig. 101), Īraj's grandson Manūchihr avenges the murder of his grandfather by slaying Salm. The impact of the blow splits Salm's shield in half and topples his crown. This version of the scene repeats a common pictorial trope that presents the ferocity of battles by showing a victor cleaving a rival in half from head to waist.[623] Although this gruesome act is very common inTurco-Persianate manuscripts, the humorous pouncing horse nipping at the haunches of the opponent's mount is not. However, two illustrations with this detail appear in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* style associated with Ottoman Baghdad. A similarly cleft victim atop a horse bitten by the steed of another rider appears in a battle scene from Niẓāmī's *Iskandar-nāma* in a *Khamsa* dated 1579–80 that can be attributed to this site (fig. 102).[624] The other illustration is from the truncated *Shāhnāma* written out in Bukhara in 1535 (TSMK H.1514, fig. 103) discussed in Chapter 3 §III.ii.b. The illustration to H.1514 shows Rustam skewering an opponent and lifting him from the saddle with the pink-speckled Rakhsh nipping the rump of the riderless horse in front of him.[625] Collectively, these textual and visual components of these manuscripts are derived from the eastern- and western-most areas of theTurco-Persianate cultural sphere, encompassing Baghdad and Bukhara.

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[622] This same armor and footwear also appear in the Ottoman *Shajāʿat-nāma* (IUL T.6043) worn by two battling warriors in the lower right section of f.124. Reproduced in Âsafî Dal Mehmed Çelebi and Abdülkadir Özcan, *Şecâ'atnâme: Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa'nın Şark Seferleri (1578-1585)* (Istanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2007).

[623] I am grateful to Barry Wood for bringing this vivid detail to my attention. The period description of this act is "like a ripe cucumber" (*chun khiyār*) and is repeated in various chronicles, among them popular retellings of the exploits of the Safavid shah Ismāʿīl. Wood has translated many of these works, among them *The Adventures of Shāh Esmāʿil: A Seventeenth-Century Persian Popular Romance* (Leiden, Brill: 2019). An illustration to the third volume of the Safavid historiography *Ḥabīb al-siyār* by Khwāndamīr dated 1579 (f.335a) showing Shah Ismāʿīl defeating Muḥammad Shībānī Khan is reproduced in Glenn Lowry, et al., *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution), 184.

[624] Several illustrations to the Niẓāmī manuscript (NLR PNS 272) and Firdausī work (TSMK H.1514) share iconographic and stylistic elements. Milstein, et al., in their *Stories of the Prophets* further distinguish the style as T-1 in *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* productions. If this shared style is not from Baghdad then they claim it comes from a locality of western Persianate origin. Illustrations from PNS 272 (including its frontispiece that is nearly identical to truncated *Shāhnāma* TSMK H.1505) appear in N.V. Diakonova and L.G. Giuzal'ian, *Sredneaziatskie Miniatiury XVI-XVII vv.* Series: *Vostochnaya Miniatiura i Kalligrafia v Lenindradskikh Sobraniakh* (Moscow: Nauka, 1964), pl. 29. I have not yet examined the manuscript and its colophon but I suspect the scribe is of Bukharan origin and the illustrations are from Baghdad. PNS 272 along with PNS 84 (*Iskandar-nāma* dated 1571) were once owned by the Emir of Bukhara, and later given to Tsar Nicholas in 1913.

[625] Here there seems to be a misinterpretation of the section of the story where Rustam lifts Afrāsiyāb from the saddle within the chapter "Kay Kāvūs fights the King of Hamāvarān."

IV.viii. Zāl and Rūdāba (f.49r)

The final illustration in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* (fig. 104) is the only one that bears overt parallels to Turkic-language *Shāhnāma* copies produced in the court nakkaşhane in Istanbul. In the painting, Zāl ascends Rūdāba's hair in a Rapunzel-like love story. A *chāvūsh* (groom) appears in a pointed cap and sporran-like pouch tending to his lord's horse, and he is similar to the figure in the lower section of the *Haft aurang* folio. This Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* composition is remarkably similar to the Âmidî *Shāhnāma* in the British Library attributed to 1560–80 Istanbul (Or. 7204, fig. 105). Although both of these Âmidî versions have nearly identical layouts, the heavily-outlined eyes and sartorial elements of the figures in the British Library *Shāhnāma* are obviously of Ottoman creation. Rūdāba is attired as an Ottoman noblewoman reaching down from her balcony wearing a golden crown.[626] Zāl is garbed in the animal skins and helmet associated with Rustam, and the phallic feathers of his helmet recall other headwear produced in the Istanbul nakkaşhane during the late sixteenth century.[627] Although uncolored and lacking the gold accents of the previous six unfinished illustrations, a Qur'anic verse scribbled beneath Rūdāba above the doorway reads: "*Yā mufattiḥ al-abwāb*" (O opener of doors), a feature found in depictions of architecture in Timurid, Safavid, and Abū'l-Khairid painting, and already mentioned in the context of the *Fatḥnāma* (Ch. 1, §IV.i).

A differently-arranged portrayal of Zāl climbing Rūdāba's hair appears in another earlier Âmidî *Shāhnāma* from the Ottoman workshops circa 1545 (TSMK H.1520, fig. 106). As noted by Zeren Tanındı, it has marked parallels to a scene of "Abdürrahman Gazi Climbing the Fortress of Aydos" in the fourth volume (called *Osmân-nâme*) of the Ottoman dynastic chronicle, the *Shāhnāma-yi Āl-i Osman* by Arifi (d. 1562) dated 1558 (fig. 107).[628] The illustration renders a Byzantine princess helping an Ottoman soldier climb up the walls and open the castle door to let in the other troops who would conquer Constantinople. In Tanındı's analysis, the Âmidî *Shāhnāma* copy H.1520 done on inferior paper could have been an iconographic experiment filled in by illustrators who would later prepare the illustration to the *Osmân-nâme* manuscript. This indicates that the Ottoman head of the court workshop may have stipulated that illustrators of ruler-*nāma* materials must have previously illustrated a

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[626] Rūdāba's crown parallels illustrations in Topkapı H.1522 circa 1560, particularly the folios rendering Iskandar enthroned (f.369b) and Bahrām Gūr hunting accompanied by Āzāda (f.449b).

[627] For similar distinctive plumed helmets see G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, British Museum: 1963), pl. 47; dispersed leaves from the *Siyar-i nabī* of Darīr produced in Turkey for Murad III, 1594-95 (DAI LNS 205 MS; BM 1985,0513,0.1); the *Şehname-i Selim Han* of Seyyid Lokman (TSMK A.3595, scribed 1581) with folios reproduced in Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2016), 494-95.

[628] Tanındı, "The Illustration of the *Shahnama* and the Art of the Book in Ottoman Turkey," 148.

Shāhnāma either with the text of Firdausī's original Persian or Âmidî's Turkic version. Tanındı states outright that the illustrations in the other Âmidî *Shāhnāma* (BL Or. 7204) also support this claim.[629] Applying her analysis, the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* executed on rough unburnished paper could have been intended as an incomplete mock-up that somehow escaped the Ottoman nakkaşhane. Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva have also suggested as much for the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*. They write: "it did not matter for the copyist and artist in which language manuscripts were copied. They quite often used ready samples for illustrations for one text, more often from Persian painting, only slightly amending graphical models. …The plots chosen for illustrating [the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*] belong to the most conventional Persian book painting."[630] Although all the illustrations in the Tajikistan manuscript are the product of a kitābkhāna in Khurasan at the crossroads of Safavid and Abū'l-Khairid skirmishes late in the sixteenth century, details of patterning and composition indicate an Ottoman presence in the illustrative program as well. It cannot be proven that an artist trained in Ottoman workshops traveled eastward carrying the manuscript or clutched preparatory images destined for Tajikistan, but the presence of shared compositional and decorative elements across Istanbul and Khurasan confirms a visual linkage spanning these sites.

V. Conclusion

Despite its coarse and unfinished state, thorough textual and illustrative analysis of the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* brings to light the journey of its manufacture spanning the Mamluk and Ottoman Empires, and Khurasan at the nexus of Abū'l-Khairid and Safavid control. A majority of images in the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* accompany the Faraidūn story, dwelling on the lead-up to the murder of Īraj. But it would be irresponsible to overemphasize the significance of these illustrations found early in the manuscript. One cannot claim that this part of the text, detailing the origin of tensions between Iran and Turan, was more important than all the other stories to whoever was the artist. In manuscripts where the text either predates the illustrations or was transcribed elsewhere, the scene selection does not necessarily reflect the artist's decision-making. Evidence and theory support my claim that the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* illustrations were sketched out and added later onto a manuscript from the Ottoman realm whose calligraphy was finished perhaps decades earlier. In the presented case study, the

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[629] Ibid., 149.

[630] Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva, *History of Kazakhstan in Eastern miniatures*, 130.

draftsman responsible for the visual material proceeded systematically through the finished text but then inexplicably stopped and left the manuscript incomplete.

Although it might have originally been intended as a model for Ottoman scribes and artists to consult for a grander project, such as a biography of the sultan and his ancestors, the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* was deemed worthy of retention. The language of this sample text was unimportant; only the placement of images in relation to text concerned the draftsman. Copying this first volume obviously took time, effort, and resources which endowed it with value. But who then transported it over a geographic expanse and why will never be fully ascertained. Perhaps it was an impecunious artisan affected by the turbulent politics later that century. Maybe he lacked royal commissions so was forced to itinerantly sojourn through the Turco-Persianate ecumene in search of work. He might have ultimately settled in Khurasan while the Safavids and Abū'l-Khairids feuded for control, creating manuscripts on demand or for export. There, he could have shared patterning and compositional ideas with local artists and others converging in Herat.

The Tajikistan manuscript was originally thought to have been illustrated in Khurasan during the 1570s. However, manuscripts associated with this region are too often attributed to this decade, much like the lack of nuance used to label all book arts of sixteenth-century Transoxiana as Bukharan specimens. My more refined provenance of 1580s through the 1590s, based on comparisons to contemporaneous samples, demands a re-contextualization of the imagery and brings it under the Abū'l-Khairid fold. The intended owner of the Tajikistan manuscript—if it was intended to be finished—could have been a wealthy member of the Abū'l-Khairid military elite judging from the gratuitous violence depicted in the illustrations, although one wonders who could have actually read the text. Regarding this issue of literacy, Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva confirm that the heroes in the Persian and Turkic copies of the *Shāhnāma* epic "had enough popularity among writers and readers of ruling classes and broad masses of Turkic states in Northern Khoresm, Kipchak steppes of Central Asia, [and the] Golden Horde for many centuries. Demand for manuscripts was rather high in these regions, and representatives of various clans could be their customers."[631]

In the fractured yet fusing domains of eastern Iran and Transoxiana in the late sixteenth century, artisans gathered in villages around Herat and in broader Khurasan where they offered their talents derived from elsewhere. Scribes were hired to execute oft-repeated works of poetry, or they brought

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[631] Abuseitova and Dodkhudoeva, *History of Kazakhstan in Eastern miniatures*, 133. Dodkhudoeva states the same concept in the Russian text to *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia and India*, 79.

previously-copied texts with them if they journeyed from afar. Painters contributed figures and compositions that had been learned and practiced in different centers such as Qazvin, Mashhad, Istanbul, Baghdad, and Bukhara. Artists illustrated both Persian and Turkic texts in order to suit the aesthetic and linguistic whims of prospective buyers. Although fragmentary and lacking firm data elucidating its creation and transfer, the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma* exemplifies this paradigm through similarities to other illustrated manuscripts.

The lyric and romantic nature of these comparative contemporaneous materials challenged my methodology employing formal analysis and extrapolation. Few soldiers march through the illustrated pages of Saʿdī, Jāmī, and Ḥāfiẓ poetry that I used to analyze the Tajikistan *Shāhnāma*'s militaristic and violent scenes. But through small details, such as the pointed flat boots visible on Faraidūn, Żaḥḥāk, and Tūr as they recline on their thrones with one or both knees bent, I discerned how an artist with similar training could have rendered similar details visible in the Ḥāfiẓ folio and *Silsilat al-ẕahab* colophon as in the Tajikistan manuscript.