

AN *ISKANDARNĀMA* OF NIZAMI PRODUCED FOR IBRAHIM SULTAN

This paper describes a copy of the *Iskandarnāma* of Nizami from the Majlis Library¹ in Tehran for the first time and discusses its various features, together with comparable examples from the same period. It then attempts to interpret one of its illustrations, hoping to fulfill what David Summers called “the most basic task of art history,” namely, “to explain why works of art look the way they look.”²

The Tehran *Iskandarnāma* is a significant document since the medallion on its opening folio (fol. 2r) bears a legend specifying that it was prepared for the treasury of Ibrahim Mirza: *Bi rasmi khizāna al-kutub Ḥaḍrat al-Mawlā al-Ṣultān al-aʿẓam Ibrāhīm Mīrzā khallada Allāh mulkahu* (by the order of the library of His Majesty the Great Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, may God make his kingship eternal) (fig. 3 [figs. 1–8 are placed together at the end of the article]). It also ends with a colophon that provides the date 839 (July 27, 1435–July 15, 1436) and the name of the scribe, ‘Ali Katib (fol. 101r [fig. 8]).³ It is not an unknown manuscript; Francis Richard lists it among the manuscripts prepared for Ibrahim Mirza.⁴ It has not, however, been the subject of closer examination, and the three illustrations in it have remained unpublished.

The date 839 helps us to identify the dedicatee of the manuscript as Abu’l-Fath Ibrahim Sultan b. Shah Rukh b. Timur, who was the Timurid governor of the provinces of Fars, Kirman, and Luristan during the period between 817 (1414–15) and his death on 4 Shawwal 838 (May 3, 1435),⁵ just over two months before the beginning of the year cited on the colophon of our manuscript. By then he had been succeeded by his son, ‘Abd Allah, who was three or four years of age at the time,⁶ as the nominal governor of the area. At the same time,

the grandfather of the child governor, the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh (r. 1409–47), had sent an amir from Herat, Shaykh Muhibb al-Din Abu’l-Khayr b. Shaykh al-Qarra’i, to assume control of the real gubernatorial power.⁷ Ibrahim Sultan’s death and the accession of ‘Abd Allah did not create a break in Shiraz manuscript production,⁸ which continued without interruption even after the latter lost the governorship of the area in the interne-cine fighting among the Timurid princes that followed the death of Shah Rukh in 1447.

For the Timurids, like other Turkic and Turko-Mongolian dynasties stemming from Central Asia, ostentatious expenditure on and conspicuous consumption of the arts were significant symbols of power. The accumulation of cultural prestige, as manifested through patronage of the arts, implied control over immeasurable sums of money as well as dynastic authority and, by extension, suggested the legitimacy of rule.⁹

The Timurid princes were refined individuals and their courts, including that of Ibrahim Sultan at Shiraz, appear to have been cultural showplaces for their occupants. Ibrahim Sultan was a man of letters whose “activities as calligrapher and historian” are considered to have been “his most enduring legacy.”¹⁰

The Timurid historian Dawlatshah (d. 1488) noted that he was an accomplished calligrapher,¹¹ while the sixteenth-century Safavid author Qadi Ahmad remarked that he was “a recognized master of the *thuluth* style.”¹² And according to Qadi Ahmad’s Ottoman counterpart, Mustafa ‘Āli (d. 1600), when Ibrahim Sultan copied the work of the renowned calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta‘simi (d. 1298) and sent it to the bazaar to be sold, no one could tell the difference.¹³ Five extant copies of the Koran transcribed by the prince bear evidence of his cal-

ligraphic skills,¹⁴ while he is reported to have personally designed the inscriptions of the two madrasas he founded in Shiraz, as well as others.¹⁵

Ibrahim Sultan was also a notable patron of the arts of the book, with a surviving corpus that testifies to his ample patronage.¹⁶ Besides the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*, four illustrated manuscripts are associated with his patronage. The earliest is the so-called Anthology of Baysunghur, since it bears an illuminated medallion (*shamsa*) in the name of “*Abu’l-Ghāzī Bāysunghur Bahādur Khān*.”¹⁷ It was copied in Shiraz, however, in 823 (1420), by a scribe named Mahmud al-Katib al-Husayni, and its illustrations are stylistically similar to those of manuscripts made for Ibrahim Sultan. Consequently, it is generally agreed that Ibrahim Sultan had commissioned it as a gift for his brother Baysunghur (d. 1434).¹⁸ The second, an undated copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi, is unquestionably connected with the prince, since it bears a dedication in his name.¹⁹ The third is a dispersed copy of the *Zafarnāma* of Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi (d. 1454) dated Dhu ‘l-Hijja 839 (June 16–July 15, 1436). This is the illustrated history of the life and conquests of Timur (r. 1370–1405), commissioned by his grandson, Ibrahim Sultan, who requested that the author himself come to his court to supervise the compilation and writing of the work. The text appears to have been completed by 821 (1418–19), but the dispersed copy dated 839 is the earliest example known to be extant.²⁰ The fourth is the Anthology of Prose Texts, now in Istanbul,²¹ which contains an abbreviated version of the *Kalīla va Dimna*, as well as selections from the *Marzubānnāma* and *Sindbādnāma*. Although the colophon of the manuscript is lost, a *shamsa*, which includes the legend “*Abu’l-Faṭḥ*,” has been partially preserved on folio 1r, and folio 205v has a prayer or a eulogy for “*Abu’l-Faṭḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣulṭān*.”²²

Ibrahim Sultan commissioned unillustrated volumes as well. Among these are a *Maṣnavī-i ma‘navī* of Jalal al-Din Rumi dated 822 (1419–20),²³ a *Jāmi‘ al-ṣaḥīḥ* dated 832 (1428–29),²⁴ and a *Dīvān* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi dated 834 (1430–31).²⁵ Two further manuscripts were copied for him by a scribe named Bayazid al-Tabrizi al-Sultani: the first is a copy of the *Khamṣa* of Nizami, dated 831 (1427–28)²⁶ and the second a copy of the *Khamṣa* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, the whereabouts of

which are unfortunately not known, though it is reported to be almost the same size as the *Khamṣa* of Nizami copied by the same scribe.²⁷ Ibrahim’s name is associated with two more manuscripts that bear their scribes’ names. The first is an unillustrated copy of the *Kullīyyāt* of Sa’di dated 829 (1425–26), with an illuminated dedication specifying that it was copied for the treasury (*khizāna*) of Sultan Mughith al-Din Abu’l-Fath Ibrahim (fols. 1v–2r).²⁸ Its colophon specifies that it was copied by the scribe Muzaffar b. Abdallah, at the order of his master, Khwaju Giyath al-Din Muhammad Farajallah, but was intended for the sultan.²⁹ The second is a copy of the Koran dated 823 (1420) and copied by *Maḥmūd al-mulaqqab bi-Quṭb al-Mughithi al-Ṣulṭānī*.³⁰ The scribe’s use of the words “*al-Ṣulṭānī*” as well as his *nisba* (element of a name indicating relation or origin), “*Mughithi*,” indicates that he was in the service of Mughith al-Saltana va al-Din Ibrahim Mirza.³¹

A treatise called the *‘Anīs al-nās* (The Good Companion) dedicated to Ibrahim Sultan contains some additional circumstantial evidence that he accorded unusual privileges to authors. It was written around 830 (1426–27) by an otherwise unknown author named Shuja‘,³² who declared in this work that when he was imprisoned he was told that writing a book for the prince of Shiraz would save him—this was why he wrote the treatise and was consequently released from prison.³³

The Tehran *Iskandarnāma* dedicated to this bibliophile prince that is the subject of the present paper is the fifth illustrated manuscript associated with Ibrahim Sultan’s patronage. At 18 cm × 11 cm (fig. 2), it is small and, unfortunately, not in good condition, showing evidence of having had some water damage. The text, written on a rectangular surface 12 cm × 9.3 cm, is in an early *nasta‘liq*, in four columns of nineteen lines. The rubrics are in gold *thuluth* script delicately edged in black over a background of floriated *islīmī* (foliate arabesques) scrolls (fig. 5). The text block and the columns are ruled in gold and edged in black. At the end of the manuscript, the text is written in diagonal sections so that the colophon could be placed at the bottom of the last page. The colophon, on folio 101r, is in *tawqī‘* script (fig. 8). This is not unusual, however, since writing the colophon in another script was a common enough practice. Two other extant manuscripts completed between 1435 and

1437 in the Shiraz style of the period have colophons written in a script that is different from the one used for their texts. Both of these colophons have floral golden decorations on either side, similar to those flanking the colophon of the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*. The first of these manuscripts is a *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 839 and copied by the scribe ‘Abd al-Rahman *al-kātib* in *nasta‘līq* script, with the colophon in *thuluth*.³⁴ The second is a *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi dated 840 (1436–37) and copied in *nasta‘līq* by ‘Imad al-Din ‘Abd al-Rahman *al-kātib*,³⁵ possibly the same scribe who copied the previous manuscript, with its colophon in *tawqī‘*.³⁶

Besides the wear and tear it displays, the Tehran *Iskandarnāma* has severe textual problems as well. Although its leaves are numbered in sequence, some are missing and those that are currently bound together were mixed up during a rebinding process. When the text is compared with the published version of Nizami’s *Iskandarnāma*,³⁷ it is interrupted in sixteen instances, some with lacunae, which are specified in the appendix (after figs. 1–8).³⁸ As a result, none of the manuscript’s three illustrations are in their proper order within the text. The three paintings represent “Iskandar conversing with Aflatun” on folio 42v (fig. 5), “The contest of *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* painters” on folio 63r (fig. 6), and “Iskandar’s seventh battle with the *Rūs*” on folio 97r (fig. 7). These works are also in bad condition, with some water damage and cracked pigment.

The Tehran *Iskandarnāma* must have been rebound after being subject to water damage, since the binding itself, which appears to date from the end of the sixteenth century, does not show any evidence of it (fig. 1). It is of dark brown leather with a central medallion decorated with large pressure-molded *khatā’īs* (stylized lotus motifs) and serrated leaves on a gold background. A similar design was used on both the outer covers and the doublures of the binding of a copy of the *Qir’ān al-Sa‘adayn* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi now in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon.³⁹ The colophon of the *Qir’ān al-Sa‘adayn* specifies that it was copied by Sultan Muhammad Nur and completed in 921 (1515–16),⁴⁰ but the binding appears to date from a later refurbishment of the manuscript, possibly just before 1608. This was when it also received the endowment seal of Shah ‘Abbas I (r. 1587–1629), identifying it as part of the

1608 donation (*waqf*) he made to the Safavid shrine of Shaykh Safi al-Din in Ardabil. This manuscript’s three illustrations, signed by Nur al-Din Muhammad Musavvir, are in a style that developed during the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I, with the male figures wearing a type of turban that was fashionable around the year 1600. Its binder, Muhammad Salih al-Tabrizi, who signed his name on the doublure of the flap, is unfortunately otherwise unknown. A second Safavid binding that can be dated to the same period (and which is now in the Louvre Museum) also has a similar large *khatā’ī* and serrated leaf design.⁴¹

Stylistically, the Tehran *Iskandarnāma* is consistent with the date supplied in its colophon. The decoration was never completed, however. The title is missing from its heading, the illumination of which was also left unfinished (fig. 4). The illustration depicting “Iskandar’s seventh battle with the *Rūs*” lacks rulings (fig. 7), and there are sections that have not been colored in, such as the crowd of attendants behind the throne in the painting “Iskandar conversing with Aflatun (Plato)” (fig. 5). This may well have been due to the death of its patron some months before the completion of the manuscript.⁴²

The three illustrations that remain in the manuscript in its present condition are stylistically close to the ones in Ibrahim Sultan’s two well-known manuscripts, namely, the Oxford *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi⁴³ and the dispersed *Zafarnāma* of Yazdi, completed in the same year, 839 (1435–36), as the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*.⁴⁴ The compositions are reduced to a few major elements, each contributing to the internal balance and cohesion of the images. This is in contrast to the stylistically additive approach seen in the illustrations of the manuscripts completed in Shiraz in the second half of the 1430s and the 1440s, which tend to submerge the compositions in an increasing accumulation of subsidiary detail. Each of the illustrations of the *Iskandarnāma* also retains the contrast between figures and ground that is characteristic of the paintings dating from Ibrahim Sultan’s period.

The first and the third illustrations (according to their present placement within the manuscript), showing “Iskandar conversing with Aflatun” and “Iskandar’s seventh battle with the *Rus*,” have generic settings and their

subjects can only be determined through the accompanying explanatory texts (figs. 5 and 7). Depictions of Iskandar's various battles with the *Rūs* are more commonly seen than either of the other two subjects. The first one, "Iskandar conversing with Aflatun," seems to be the earliest representation of this scene and does not appear to have become popular later. The Tajik scholar Larisa Dodkhudoyeva lists only two others, both of a later date,⁴⁵ and the Topkapı Palace Museum Library in Istanbul has a further example, again of a later date.⁴⁶

The second illustration, "The contest of *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* Painters," however, depicts a specific tale in the *Iskandarnāma*, which takes place during Iskandar's visit to China, when a disagreement occurs about the superiority of *Rūmī* (Greek) or *Chīnī* (Chinese) painters (fig. 6). To settle the argument, painters from both groups are asked to execute paintings on either side of a vault especially constructed for this purpose and divided down the center by a curtain. The *Rūmī* artists paint their side, while the *Chīnī* artists burnish theirs. When the curtain is raised, Iskandar, who was asked to be the judge, is puzzled, since the paintings appear to be the same. The *Rūmī* are ultimately declared superior in painting (*ṣūrat-garī*), while the *Chīnī* are declared superior in burnishing (*saql*).⁴⁷

Although Nizami implies that each excels in its own way, the earlier authors Ghazzali (d. 1111) and Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273) used the same story as a spiritual paradox to demonstrate "the superiority of the mystical experience over acquired knowledge."⁴⁸ In both of these earlier versions, the reflection is judged to be superior to the painting, even though Ghazzali's version, like that of Nizami, has the *Chīnī* artists polish their side, while Rumi reverses the roles to depict the *Rūmī* artists polishing.⁴⁹

This story was only rarely illustrated: Dodkhudoyeva lists only three manuscripts that contain this image.⁵⁰ The earliest one, from the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, is an Anthology with two dates, 838 (1434–35) and 840 (1436–37), which is from roughly the same time as the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*.⁵¹ The next two images of the contest can both be attributed to western Iran under Qaraqoyunlu Turkman rule. The first, from a copy of the *Khamṣa* of Nizami now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is dated 853 (1449–50).⁵² The second

is from an undated manuscript of the *Khamṣa* of Nizami in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library that is attributed to the middle of the fifteenth century.⁵³ The Topkapı Collection has three further copies of Nizami's *Khamṣa* that include this scene, increasing the total number of known versions to seven.⁵⁴

The version in Ibrahim Sultan's *Iskandarnāma*, which seems to be either the earliest or at least one of the earliest representations of the scene, appears to contain a personal reference to its Timurid patrons, Ibrahim Sultan, who commissioned the work, and his young son, who had become the nominal governor of Shiraz at the time of its completion. Of the three illustrations that remain in the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*, "The contest of *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* painters" is the only one that was finished. It is also the most significant, since it is the only one that continues the practice of full-page paintings seen in the copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi and the *Zafarnāma* of Yazdi produced for the same prince.

An unusual feature of the miniature is that it appears to include a biographical note for Ibrahim Sultan. It contains not just Iskandar, who was the designated judge of the contest, but a second crowned figure as well, who is absent in every other known depiction of the incident. Iskandar is clearly the younger of these two rulers, since he is the one staring up at the image and its reflection on the walls of the specifically constructed vault. The older king must be the Khaqan of China, since the incident occurs when Iskandar is visiting him. The Chinese emperor is standing in an unmistakably deferential pose, with his hands folded in front of him. He is also submissively casting a sideward glance at Iskandar, thus guiding the spectators' gaze toward the young king. Members of lesser rank usually assume a similarly subservient pose in contemporaneous Timurid illustrations. An example can be found in the *Zafarnāma* illustration showing Timur holding a feast after his conquest of Delhi in December 1398.⁵⁵ In the image from the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*, Iskandar's two attendants, one of whom stands directly behind Iskandar holding his mace, highlight his higher status in comparison with the Chinese emperor, who lacks this noteworthy royal signifier.

The interpretation of an artist's work based on his biography has long been a staple of Western art histor-

ical methodology. More recently, within the field of Islamic manuscripts, images have been thought to include biographical material related to their patrons.⁵⁶ Within this context, Ibrahim Sultan is an excellent subject, since he intended to have his own biography recorded. First, though, he had his grandfather Timur's biography, the *Ẓafarnāma*, completed. In this work, the author Yazdi recounts how Ibrahim Sultan requested that he come to Shiraz from the central court of his father, Shah Rukh, at Herat for this project, which was to be the first of a trilogy of histories, to be followed by similar biographies of Shah Rukh and Ibrahim Sultan himself.⁵⁷ In the preface Yazdi explains the methodology employed in compiling the *Ẓafarnāma* and states clearly that Ibrahim Sultan himself was involved in the process of writing, "with the cooperation of a numerous concourse of scholars and men of talent, who, in those days, were gathered for that particular purpose in the service of the Mirza in *Dār al-Mulk* Shiraz."⁵⁸ The prince is described as having "spent great sums" collecting and editing various accounts of Timur's life from archives and libraries.⁵⁹

Including historically identifiable depictions of members of the Timurid dynasty and court circles in the illustrated manuscripts of the period had become popular in the Timurid cultural sphere. A number of scholars have suggested that various scenes from royal manuscripts produced in the Mongol and Timurid-Turkman worlds contain personal references to their patrons.⁶⁰ The concept of the affiliation of a work of art as a trace of the individuals involved in its production (artists, designers, and patrons) may be important in this case as well.

According to Priscilla Soucek, who has developed a theory of the relationship between image and referent with specific regard to portraits, the seemingly generic portraits found in Timurid princely manuscripts, and especially in their frontispieces, meet the criteria of a true portrait. She maintains that although they were not individualized portraits, they "would nevertheless have been recognized by contemporary viewers as the depiction of a specific person" and "could have evoked in the spectator a memory of that person." She also points out the importance of the setting of the portrayal, since it allowed the viewer to link the image with a specific per-

son, and sometimes even with a particular event in the life of the subject.⁶¹ In modern studies, it is generally accepted that the noble personages depicted in the frontispieces of the manuscripts prepared for Timurid princes depict those works' respective patrons.⁶²

Representations of historically identifiable persons are especially prominent in Ibrahim Sultan's *Ẓafarnāma* dated 839 (1435–36), since its illustrations are of historically recorded incidents. Several of its images are connected to events in which Ibrahim Sultan participated. Soucek convincingly presents a case for one of the double-page paintings from the *Ẓafarnāma* (fols. 413v–414r), which shows Ibrahim Sultan marching at the head of the Timurid army "with drums beating and banners flying," to quote Yazdi's words.⁶³

This particular incident took place in the immediate aftermath of Timur's death during his Chinese campaign of 1405, a year that was "pivotal in Ibrahim's life," according to Soucek. Only eleven years old at the time, he had been assigned a large territory to rule in China, which, though never previously conquered by the Timurids, Timur had hoped shortly to occupy. Ibrahim Sultan was to accompany the Timurid army to claim his territory as soon as it was invaded. When Timur died unexpectedly, his amirs placed Ibrahim at the head of the military until an older and more able prince could reach them. Ibrahim led the army, impersonating Timur, and even slept in Timur's tent with his horsetail standard at its entrance, if only for a short while, before the campaign was abandoned.⁶⁴ The text on the left-hand page of the *Ẓafarnāma* illustration describes Ibrahim leading the Timurid army on this occasion. Although the prince depicted has a beard, which would belie Ibrahim Sultan's youth, according to Eleanor Sims the face of the princely figure in the illustration had been repainted with this beard and mustache, probably the result of a later intervention. Other images from the *Ẓafarnāma* also have personal connections to Ibrahim. One example is the representation of Amir Shaykh Nur al-Din, the seasoned officer chosen to accompany Ibrahim during the Chinese campaign and the only Timurid amir depicted in any of the manuscript's illustrations.⁶⁵

Furthermore, Soucek has persuasively argued that the scene in one of the double-folio representations

found in Ibrahim Sultan's *Shāhnāma* and depicting the prince in battle, corresponds to the descriptions of the battle near Salmas found in Timurid historical sources.⁶⁶ This long battle, of at least two days' duration, took place in Dhu 'l-Hijja 832 (September 1429) against the Qaraqoyunlu army, and Ibrahim himself led the charge. Contemporary sources stress the role of Ibrahim Sultan and his troops from Fars in eventually forcing the Turkman army, led by one of the Qaraqoyunlu princes, into retreat. The prince on the right-hand page of the battle scene from the front matter of Ibrahim's *Shāhnāma* can therefore be interpreted as Ibrahim Sultan leading his troops to victory, while on the left, Iskandar b. Qara Yusuf, biting his finger in consternation, turns back to glance at his men, who are depicted facing the viewer, as if uncertain whether to advance or retreat.⁶⁷

In the discussion of works of art for which there are no known extrinsic documentary sources, the work of art itself must be brought as evidence into an art historical argument. Rather than dealing with the formalist devices of sources or influences that have for a very long time been at the center of art historical argument, a consideration of both the conceptual relationship of the work as a trace of its patron and its reception may enrich our understanding of it. According to Mieke Bal, in the study of texts and their illustrations, the theoretical question of what can be rendered in which medium is a crucial one. She maintains that texts are never fully illustrated, nor are the corresponding images ever fully understood with reference to the text, and insists that images are themselves readings. They do not function as a re-telling of a text, but a use of it. In other words, an image does not replace a text but is one.⁶⁸

Poststructuralist theory emphasizes that images are cultural constructs freighted with social and personal meanings. They comprise value-laden references that are reused and reworked in building the visual culture of a society.⁶⁹ Looking at a work of art synchronically rather than diachronically helps the viewer to achieve a historical reconstruction of the likely meaning of the discernible codes that it has at any given instance and to base an additional interpretation on this reconstruction as well as on one that is provided by the accompanying text. This perspective allows the art historian to analyze the meaning-making phase of a work of art

not only in its own time but also as an active participant in the production of culture. It implies that to understand the historically mediated meanings of images, one has to consider its sources of influence, reception, and interaction with changing audiences in its post-production afterlife.⁷⁰

To understand what a work of art meant at the time of its production, it is necessary to consider its reception.⁷¹ Manuscript illustrations, which can only be viewed after the preliminary actions of actually holding a book and turning its pages, tend to provoke certain questions: Who is to see all this? What is the social or interpersonal dimension of such images? And finally, what is the nature of the viewer's gaze?

Images were clearly not created with a future audience in mind. Their makers had their own concerns, their own messages. For the Tehran *Iskandarnāma*, the primary viewer was presumably its patron, Ibrahim Sultan, the initiator of the project, as well as his young son, who had replaced him as the governor of Shiraz by the time the manuscript was completed in 839 (1435–36). Although it is debatable whether it is possible to “see through” the surfaces of a work of art to its meaning, it seems plausible to consider that in viewing the *Iskandarnāma* images, or perhaps displaying them before others, the gaze of the owner of the manuscript would in part be the gaze of satisfaction, or rather, of contemplation of the imagined extent of his power, which was somehow embodied in the picture as long as the manuscript lasted.⁷² In shared viewings in court gatherings (sing. *majlis*) by small groups of courtiers, intimates, and/or family members, it would reflect the residual glory of the important role he played for their gaze as well.⁷³

In the image of “The contest of *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* painters” discussed above, the message of the image appears to be inverted. Although the subject of the scene is a painting contest narrated in the text, in the image the foreground theatricality of the older emperor of China, who is depicted in a submissive role with respect to the young Greek/Timurid prince, represents a competition that is more important than the one between the painters of the two realms taking place in an uncertain space within the image (beyond, above, in another room, etc.). The image interprets the text in a way that flatters the viewer into a conviction of his—or his

ancestor's—own superiority by helping him create an eidetic space that will transport him away from the real time and space of reading Nizami's words, into the Timurid (eternal) time and space of inward vision.⁷⁴ It thus creates a personal *lieu de mémoire* for Ibrahim Sultan,⁷⁵ who had been promised the rule of an extensive territory in China on what was to become the last military campaign of his grandfather Timur.⁷⁶

Among the Timurid princes who patronized the production of illustrated manuscripts, Ibrahim Sultan holds a particularly interesting place, since illustrated manuscripts prepared for him show his concern for personalized manuscripts as well as significant inventiveness in their illustrations. As we have seen, especially important was the illustrated version of Yazdi's *Ẓafarnāma*

prepared at his court, with almost all of its paintings depicting identifiable "living or once living people."⁷⁷ The artistic corpus of his court comprises independent and highly original creations that arose out of the local tradition of Shiraz and proved inspirational for the manuscripts that followed, inducing a long-lived impact on the subsequent workshop/scriptorium (*kitābkhāna*) traditions of the city. The small Tehran *Iskandarnāma* copy prepared for this calligrapher prince reasserts his interest in personalized manuscripts, confirming his role as a trendsetter while also subtly reminding the viewer of his military and political aspirations.⁷⁸

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Fig. 1. Binding, outer cover. Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)

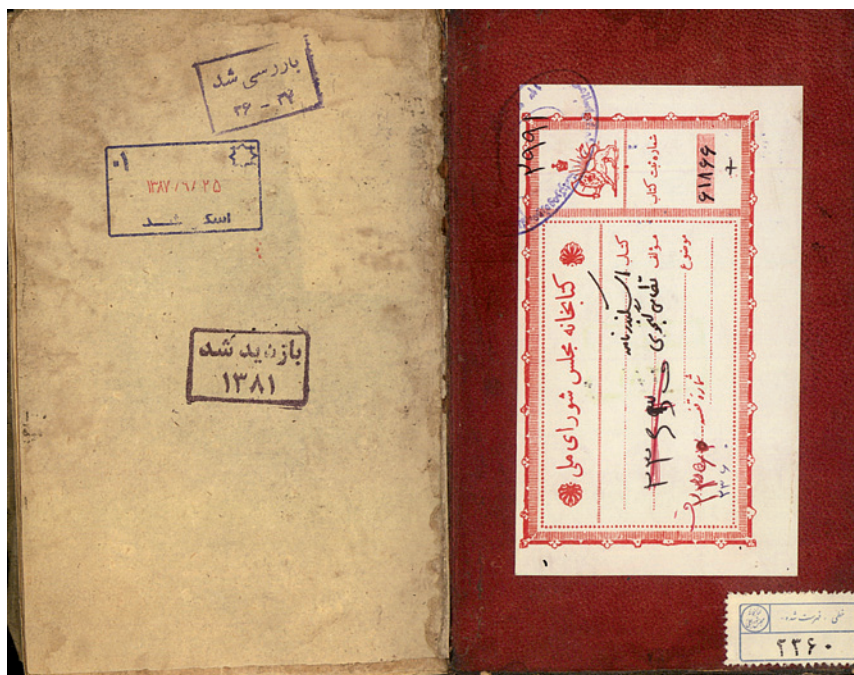


Fig. 2. Binding, doublure. Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 3. Dedication medallion. Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 2r. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 4. Heading illumination. Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 2v. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 5. "Iskandar conversing with Aflaton (Plato)." Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 42v. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 6. "The contest of *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* painters." Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 63r. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 7. "Iskandar's seventh battle with the Rūs." Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 97r. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)



Fig. 8. Colophon. Nizami, *Iskandarnāma*, dated 839 (1435–36). Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 61866, fol. 101r. (Photo: courtesy of the Majlis Library)

APPENDIX

Misbound Folios and Lacunae⁷⁸

Manuscript folios:	Printed text pages:	Section
1r–2r	Medallion, 2r	
2v–7v	Illumination, 2v	954–981
8r–8v		990–995
9r–15v		1016–1047
16r–16v		1012–1016
17r–22v		1047–1074
23r–23v		1136–1140
24r–37v		1078–1136
38r–40v		1140–1152
41r–44v	Illustration, 42v	1385–1400
45r–66v	Illustration, 63r	1156–1246
67r–71v		1255–1275
72r–73v		1400–1408
74r–82v		1413–1450
83r–95v		1454–1509
96r–97v	Illustration, 97r	1275–1282
98r–101r	Colophon, 101r	1518–1533
Total:	Total:	Difference:
7,325 couplets	10,506 couplets	3,181 couplets
	Lacunae	
	981–990	
	995–1012	
	1074–1078	
	1152–1156	
	1246–1255	
	1282–1385	
	1408–1413	
	1450–1454	
	1509–1518	

NOTES

1. Tehran, Majlis Library (*Kitābkhāna-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī*), Ms. 61866.
2. David Summers, “‘Form,’ Nineteenth-Century Metaphysics, and the Problem of Art Historical Description,” *Critical Inquiry* 15, 2 (Winter 1989): 372–406.
3. *Tamma al-kitāb bi-‘awni Allāh al-Malik al-Wahhāb min kalām afṣaḥ al-amlaḥ al-mutakallimīn shaykh al-shuyūkh Nizāmī al-Ghanjawī raḥma Allāh ‘alayhi nawwara Allāh madja’ahu fi yawm al-khamīs ḥādī ‘ashar Jumāda al-awwal al-sana tāsi’ wa thalāthīn wa thamāna mi’a al-hijriyya ḥarrarahu al-‘abd al-ḍa’if al-muḥtāj al-raḥma Allāh...‘Alī al-kātib aḥsana Allāh aḥwālahu* (The book of the words of the most eloquent and charming of orators, Shaykh of Shaykhs Nizami Ghanjavi, may God’s mercy be upon him, may God illuminate his grave, was completed with the divine aid of God, the Sovereign, the Bestower, on Thursday, the eleventh day of Jumada I of the Hijri year 839 [December 2, 1435]. The weak slave, the one in need of God’s mercy, ‘Alī al-Katib, may God beautify his state, wrote it).
4. Francis Richard, “Naṣr al-Soltānī, Naṣir al-Din Mozahheb et la bibliothèque d’Ebrāhīm Soltān à Širāz,” *Studia Iranica* 30 (2001): 92.
5. Priscilla P. Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami’s Khamseh, 1386–1482” (PhD diss., New York University, 1971), 265; Priscilla P. Soucek, “Ibrāhīm Sultān’s Military Career,” in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami (Princeton, N.J.: Zagros, 1998), 32; and Eleanor G. Sims, “Ibrāhīm-Sultān’s Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436),” *Islamic Art* 4 (1990–91): 175.
6. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn Humāī, 4 vols. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Khayyām, 1380 [2002]), 3:621–22, cited by Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami’s Khamseh,” 265.
7. Ibid.
8. Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami’s Khamseh,” 269.
9. Maria E. Subtelny, “Art and Politics in Early 16th Century Central Asia,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 27, 1–2 (1983): 130. Subtelny cites as the bases of this model the concepts of “cultural prestige” and “power prestige” of Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, 3 vols. (New York: Bedminster Press Incorporated, 1968), 2:926.
10. Priscilla P. Soucek, *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, s.v. “Ebrāhīm Soltān”: www.iranicaonline.org, last accessed January 16, 2011.
11. Wheeler M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art* (Cambridge: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), 34, citing Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *Tazkirat al-shu‘arā’*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abbāsī (Tehran: Bārānī, 1337 [1959]). An album from the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (hereafter TSMK) includes a calligraphic scroll that Ibrahim copied (TSMK, H.2152, fol. 6r): see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989), 370.
12. Qādī Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qādī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606)*, trans. Vladimir Minorsky, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers 3 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 1959), 63.
13. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 34n56, citing Muṣṭafā ‘Alī, *Menākīb-i Hünerverān*, ed. Ibnülemin Mahmut Kemal [İnal], *Türk Tarih Encümeni Külliyyatı* 9 (Istanbul: Matba‘a-ı Âmire, 1926), 26.

14. These are: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 13.228.1–2; Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. M.6; Mashhad, Imam Riza Library, Mss. 215 and 414; and Shiraz Pars Museum, 430 M/P. See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 370.
15. Qādī Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 70–71; Soucek, “Ebrāhīm Solṭān.” Also see Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, “Le royaume de Salomon. Les inscriptions Persanes de sites achéménides,” *Le Monde Iranien et L’Islam* 1 (1971): 24–26, for an inscription by Ibrahim dated 826 (1422–23) that was added to the inscriptions at Persepolis.
16. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 369–71, gives an index of manuscripts associated with Ibrahim Sultan. This list is considerably extended by Richard, “Naṣr al-Solṭāni,” 89–95. Eleanor Sims also discusses the corpus of works associated with this prince: Sims, “Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān’s Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436);” Eleanor G. Sims, “Ibrahim Sultan’s Illustrated *Zafarnama* of 1436 and Its Impact in the Muslim East,” in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 142n40; and Eleanor G. Sims, “The Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan,” in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand, *Pembroke Persian Papers* 3 (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 120.
17. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, J.4628.
18. Ernst Kühnel, “Die Baysonghur-Handschrift der islamischen Kunstabteilung,” *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 52, 3 (1931): 133–152; Volkmar Enderlein, *Die Miniaturen der Berliner Bāisonqur-Handschrift* (Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1970); Eleanor G. Sims, “Towards a Study of Širāzī Illustrated Manuscripts of the ‘Interim Period’: The Leiden *Šāhnāmah* of 840/1437,” in “La civiltà timuride come fenomeno internazionale,” ed. Michele Bernardini, special issue, *Oriente Moderno*, n.s., 15, 2 (1996): 618; Sims, “Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan,” 119–120; and Eleanor G. Sims, “The Iconography of the Illustrated Timurid *Ẓafarnāma* Manuscripts,” in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2005), 131–32.
19. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ouseley Add. 176. See Basil W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), 16–22; Firuza Abdullaeva and Charles Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings: Ibrahim Sultan’s Shahnama* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2008).
20. Sims, “Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān’s Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436),” 175; Sims, “Ibrahim Sultan’s Illustrated *Zafarnama* of 1436 and Its Impact in the Muslim East”; Sims, “Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan”; and Sims, “Iconography of the Illustrated Timurid *Ẓafarnāma* Manuscripts,” 130.
21. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Fatih 3682.
22. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 370; Ernst J. Grube, “Ibrahim-Sultan’s Anthology of Prose Texts,” in Hillenbrand, *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, 101–19.
23. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Ms. L.A.168. See Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 370.
24. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Ms. Feyzullah 429. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 370.
25. Istanbul, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Ms. 1982. See Oktay Aslanapa, “The Art of Bookbinding,” in *Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (Boulder, Colo.: Shambhala Publications, Inc., and Paris: UNESCO, 1979), 78, fig. 36; and Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 370.
26. Georgian Academy of Sciences, Ms. P-458. See Sims, “Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan,” 125n14. In the same publication, the author remarks that Ibrahim Sultan had commissioned at least five *Khamsas* of Nizami (p. 120).
27. Sims, “Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan,” 125n14.
28. Lahore, Punjab University Library, Ms. 318.
29. Richard, “Naṣr al-Solṭāni,” 91.
30. London, Khalili Collection, acc. no. QUR212.
31. London, Khalili Collection, acc. no. QUR212; David James, *After Timur: Qur’ans of the 15th and 16th Centuries*, The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art 3 (New York: The Nour Foundation, in association with Azimuth Editions and Oxford University Press, 1992), 26–27, and 245, cat. no. 4.
32. Tehran, Majlis Library, Ms. 6550. See Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, “‘The Good Companion’ (‘*Anīs al-Nās*): A Manual for the Honest Man in Shirāz in the 9th/15th Century,” in Eslami, *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, 42.
33. Fouchécour, “‘The Good Companion’ (‘*Anīs al-Nās*),” 45. Although this may well be a trope, Ibrahim is known from other sources as an able calligrapher and a transcriber of the Koran.
34. London, British Library, Ms. Or.12856. See Basil Gray, “A Newly-Discovered Illustrated Nizāmī of the Timurid School,” *East and West* 14, 3–4 (1963): 219–223.
35. Leiden University Library, Codex Oriental 494. See Sims, “Leiden *Šāhnāmah* of 840/1437,” pl. XXIII, fig. 10.
36. I would like to extend my thanks to Bora Keskiner, who identified the colophon scripts of both the British Library *Khamsa* (Ms. Or.12856) and the Leiden *Shahnāma*.
37. Nizāmī, *Kullīyyāt-i Khamsa-i Ḥakīm Nizāmī Ganjavī: Sharafnāma va Iqbalnāma*, ed. Shibli Nu’mānī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Chapkhāna-i Aḥmadi, 1376 [1997]), 2:1034–1529.
38. It has around 3,000 couplets missing: see appendix.
39. Inv. no. LA 187.
40. Richard Ettinghausen, *Persian Art: Calouste Gulbenkian Collection* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972), 197, 6–7n19; Maria Queiroz Ribeiro, “Binding of *Qirān-i Sa’adāyn*,” in *Only the Best: Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum*, ed. Katharine Baetjer and James David Draper (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 76–77, cat. no. 35; and also in *The Art of the Book from*

East to West and Memories of the Ottoman World: Masterpieces of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (Istanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2006), 148–49, cat. no. 30.

41. Paris, Louvre Museum, inv. no. 20073. See Lâle Uluç, "Leather Binding of an Arabic Grammar Book," in *Three Empires of Islam: Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi; Master Pieces of the Louvre Collection* (Valencia: Fundación Bancaja, 2008), 50–51, cat. no. 3; and also in *Istanbul, Isfahan, Delhi: 3 Capitales of Islamic Art; Masterpieces from the Louvre Collection* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2008), 170–71, cat. no. 63.
42. Sims, "Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan," 122, suggests that the sparse illumination of Ibrahim-Sultan's *Zafarnāma* was also due to the fact that the prince died before the manuscript was completed.
43. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ouseley Add. 176. See Abdullaeva and Melville, *Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama*.
44. Sims, "Ibrāhīm-Sultān's Illustrated *Zafar-Nāme* of 839 (1436)."
45. Larisa N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami v srednevekovoi miniatiurnoi zhivopisi* [The Poems of Nizami in Medieval Miniature Painting] (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), 262. These are: 1) a *Khamse* of Nizāmī, Herat school, ca. 1440, London, Royal Asian Society, Ms. Morley 246, fol. 227: for a reproduction, see Adolf Grohmann and Thomas W. Arnold, *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to Its Art and History from the VII–XVIII Century* (New York: The Pegasus Press, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1929), pl. 54B; 2) an *Iqbalnāma* of Nizāmī, dated 883 (1478), St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Ms. D408, fol. 14: Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami*, 262, identifies the illustration as "Mavarannahr school, 2nd half of the 16th century."
46. A *Khamse* of Nizāmī, copied at Shiraz in 918 (1512–13) by Murshid al-Dīn Muḥammad, Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. H. 770, fol. 360. See Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des Manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1977), pl. LVII.
47. Priscilla P. Soucek, "Nizāmī on Painters and Painting," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), 12–14; and Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's *Khamseh*," 167.
48. Soucek, "Nizāmī on Painters and Painting," 14.
49. Both Ghazzali and Rumi equate the burnishers with Sufis, whose hearts reflect the radiance of God, while Nizami does not advance this mystical standpoint. Soucek suggests that the difference in Nizami's interpretation means that his version was not based on Ghazzali, but that both were based on a common source. For the three versions of Ghazzali, Nizami, and Rumi, see Soucek, "Nizāmī on Painters and Painting," 12–14; Serpil Bağcı, "Gerçeğin Suretinin Saklandığı Yer: Ayna," in *Sultanların Aynaları* (Istanbul: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998), 15–20; Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzād of Herāt (1465–1535)* (Paris: Éditions Flammarion, 2004), 9 and 128.
- For the versions of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi and 'Abdi Beg Shirazi, see Angelo M. Piemontese, "La leggenda persiana del contesto fra pittori cinesi e greci," in *L'arco di fango che rubò la luce delle stelle: Studi in onore di Eugenio Galdieri per il suo settantesimo compleanno*, ed. Michele Bernardini, Federico Cresti, Maria Vittoria Fontana, Francesco Noci, and Roberto Orazi (Lugano: Edizioni Arte et Moneta, 1995), 295–99.
50. Dodkhudoeva, *Poemy Nizami*, 262. These are: 1) an Anthology dated 838–840 (1434–1437), Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. P.124, fol. 242a; 2) an undated *Khamse* of Nizāmī, Istanbul, TSMK, H.753, fol. 304; and 3) a *Khamse* of Nizāmī dated 853 (1449–50), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 13.228.3, fol. 322a. Eleanor Sims reproduces the image from the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and mentions four versions, but does not enumerate them. Eleanor G. Sims, with Boris I. Marshak and Ernst J. Grube, *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 316–17, fig. 238. My thanks go to Olga Vasilyeva for providing me with the information from Dodkhudoeva's study.
51. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms. no. P.124, fol. 242. I am most grateful to Elaine Wright for making available the image of this scene. It is, however, a somewhat problematic image. I have not seen the manuscript, nor even the images of any other illustrations from it. The fact that the illustrations are later than the transcription of the text may possibly explain a style that is otherwise difficult to interpret: see especially fol. 279v. For a discussion of the difficulty of assigning the manuscript to any definite provenance, see Caroline Singer, "A Study of the Illustrations of the Sharaf-Nama in the Chester Beatty Library's Anthology: Pers. 124 of 1435–36," *Persica* 16 (2000): 67–107. She reproduces fol. 279v as pl. 23.
52. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ms. no. 13.228.3, fol. 322r. See Soucek, "Nizāmī on Painters and Painting," 13, fig. 2. For a color reproduction, see Sims, *Peerless Images*, 316, fig. 238.
53. Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. H.753, fol. 304r. For the reproduction of the image, see Ivan Stchoukine, "La *Khamseh* de Nizāmī, H.753, du Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul," *Syria* 49 (1972): pl. IX; Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizāmī*, pl. XXXVIIIa; Bağcı, "Gerçeğin Suretinin Saklandığı Yer: Ayna," 18, fig. 5; and Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam*, 5. For the manuscript, see additionally David Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 246, cat. no. 210; Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2006), 57–60. For additions to the manuscript (Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. H.753) at the Ottoman court, see Zeren Tanındı, "Additions to Illustrated Manuscripts in Ottoman Workshops," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 147–61. This is one of a small number of royally owned manuscripts that help us to understand the transmission of workshop/scriptorium (*kitābhāna*)

- practices in the Timurid-Turkman-Safavid world in the latter half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. It changed hands several times and contains illustrations that were added to it under each new ownership. It appears to have been produced under the Qaraqoyunlu Turks, when some of its illustrations were completed. "The contest of the *Rūmī* and *Chīnī* painters" can be attributed to this period. Some of its illustrations were then completed during the early Safavid period, with one dated 916 (1510–11) (fol. 19b). For a reproduction of the dated image, see Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 58–59, fig. 26. The only noticeable difference in the images produced for the new patrons is in the shape of the turbans, which were depicted in the distinctive style favored by the Safavids, wrapped around a cap with a high central baton, known as the *taj-i Haydarī*. Finally, some of its illustrations were added after it reached the Ottoman court.
54. These are: 1) Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. H.778, a *Khamse* of Nizāmī dated 900 (1494–95), fol. 324r: see Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizāmī*, pl. LIIB, and Bağcı, "Gerçeğin Suretinin Saklandığı Yer: Ayna," 19, fig. 6; 2) Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. H.788, a *Khamse* of Nizāmī dated 919 (1513–14), fol. 319r: see Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizāmī*, pl. LVIIa, and Bağcı, "Gerçeğin Suretinin Saklandığı Yer: Ayna," 20, fig. 7; 3) Istanbul, TSMK, Ms. R.856, a *Khamse* of Nizāmī dated 935 (1528–29), fol. 311v.
 55. Sims, "Ibrāhīm-Sultān's Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436)," 189, fig. 15; and Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 105, fig. 38. An image from the copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī dated 848 (1444–45) and copied by a scribe named Muhammad *al-ṣultānī* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Supp. Pers. 494, fol. 14v) repeats the exact pose. It can be attributed stylistically to Shiraz and the scribe's epithet, *al-ṣultānī*, suggests that he was attached to the gubernatorial court of 'Abdallāh b. Ibrahim. For the manuscript, see Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 81; Annie Vernay-Nouri, with contributions from Annie Berthier, *Enluminures en terre d'Islam: Entre abstraction et figuration* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2011), 69. For a web image, see <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8432263q/f34.item.r=supplement+persan+494.lang> EN.
 56. Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Ann Arbor *Shahnama* and Its Importance," in Hillenbrand, *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, 267–83, for example, presents a case for the Qaraqoyunlu prince Pir Budaq.
 57. According to Rieu, Yazdī's statements in his preface and epilogue show that he intended to write two more books (*maqāla*) devoted to the history of Shah Rukh and Ibrahim Sultan. See Charles Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols. & Supplement (London: British Museum, 1879–95), 1:174. Also see İlker Evrim Binbaş, "The Histories of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī: A Formal Analysis," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* 65, 4 (2012): 391–417.
 58. Sims, "Ibrāhīm-Sultān's Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436)."
 59. Thackston, *A Century of Princes*, 63–65.
 60. Soucek, "Ann Arbor *Shahnama* and Its Importance."
 61. Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career"; Priscilla Soucek, "The Theory and Practice of Portraiture in the Persian Tradition," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 98 and 104.
 62. Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 126–32; Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career," 38–39; Soucek, "Theory and Practice of Portraiture," 104–5; Soucek, "Ann Arbor *Shahnama* and Its Importance," 267–81; and Sims, "Hundred and One Paintings of Ibrahim-Sultan," 121.
 63. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. Muhammad 'Abbāsī, 2 vols. (Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1336), 2:480, cited by Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career," 27–29. For the reproduction of the image, see Sims, "Ibrāhīm-Sultān's Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436)," 194, figs. 36 and 37. Yazdī's words seem to recall Firdawsī's description of Iskandar's entry into Mecca at the head of his army with "drums rolling and trumpets blaring"; cited by Marianna Shreve Simpson, "From Tourist to Pilgrim: Iskandar at the Ka'ba in Illustrated *Shahnama* Manuscripts," *Iranian Studies* (2010): 128n3.
 64. Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career," 27–29.
 65. Sims, "Ibrāhīm-Sultān's Illustrated *Ẓafar-Nāmeḥ* of 839 (1436)," 188–89, figs. 13, 16.
 66. University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Ouseley Add. 176, fols. 6v–7r. See Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career," 33–36. For a color reproduction of the image, see Abdullaeva and Melville, *Ibrahim Sultan's Shahnama*, 23, fig. 9; or the Cambridge *Shahnama* Project Site: <http://shahnama.caret.cam.ac.uk/new/jnama/card/ceillustration:604187385>.
 67. Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sultān's Military Career," 33–36.
 68. Mieke Bal, *On Meaning-Making: Essays in Semiotics* (Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1994), 217.
 69. Keith Moxey, *The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics, and Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 102–3.
 70. *Ibid.*, 110.
 71. Thomas James Clark, *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic, 1848–1851* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Thames and Hudson, 1973), 12.
 72. Norman Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked: Four Essays on Still Life Painting* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 127–29.
 73. For passing references to audiences in album prefaces that imply viewings, see David J. Roxburgh, *The Persian Album, 1400–1600: From Dispersal to Collection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 193–194; and David J. Roxburgh, *Prefacing the Image: The Writing of Art History in Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 63–65, and 69–70.

74. This reading is based on the constative and performative levels of images explored by Bryson, *Looking at the Overlooked*, 119.
75. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," in "Memory and Counter Memory," special issue, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 11–12, maintains that the moment of *lieu de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history.
76. Soucek, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Military Career," 27–29.
77. Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), 8.
78. I would like to express my thanks to Mustafa Çiçekler, who tirelessly helped me pick up the text from the correct point whenever it got hopelessly tangled.