ZEREN TANINDI

ADDITIONS TO ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS IN OTTOMAN WORKSHOPS

The royal workshop at the Ottoman palace functioned as a center not only for the production but also for the conservation and repair of manuscripts. Like other patrons of art in the Islamic world, Ottoman patrons were well aware of the activities of workshops in neighboring states—what and how much they produced, the caliber of their artists, and the amount of patronage extended by their ruler. Historical documents tell us that conquest did not lead to the destruction of royal or commercial workshops; when a city fell the best manuscripts in its workshops were simply gathered up and taken to the conqueror’s library or kept in the treasury. The new patron would take care of them, and if need be have them repaired. The artists of his workshop would fill in any spaces left blank for illumination or paintings. If a manuscript was unbound, it was given a binding in accordance with the taste of the new owner. Not just the sultan, but all the members of the Ottoman court—sehsades, hanim sultans, and bureaucrats—were patrons of art and took great interest in the manuscripts that were presented to them by visiting princes and ambassadors.

Manuscripts that were presented by ambassadors sent to negotiate peace treaties or to represent their rulers at circumcision or enthronement ceremonies, enriched not only the treasury but also the culture of the Ottoman court. The abundance of illustrated books in the Topkapi Library today shows that the illustrated Perso-Islamicate classics, especially Firdawsi’s Shāhnāma and Nizami’s Khamsa, were particularly coveted by the Ottoman elite.

This paper begins with the appearance of some sixteenth-century Safavid ambassadors and refugee princes at the Ottoman court who brought with them objects that enriched the Ottoman royal treasury. It concludes with an analysis of a group of royal manuscripts which found their way into the Topkapi treasury in unknown ways. The aim in examining these manuscripts is to understand the diversity and the richness introduced to Ottoman painting by these acquisitions and through the additions to them by their new owners.

In 1567 Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) sent Shah Quli Khan from the Ustajlu Turkmans as his ambassador to represent him at the enthronement of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566–74). Shah Quli Khan was attended by 720 people, requiring 1,700 pack animals. When the envoy and his entourage arrived in Istanbul, however, they learned that the sultan was in Edirne, so they continued on, entering the city in a spectacular procession. The gifts for the sultan were so numerous that it took forty-four camels to carry them. They were presented to the sultan on 17 Sha’ban 975 (16 February 1568). One of the most outstanding of them was a manuscript of Firdawsi’s Shāhnāma with 259 illustrations. Ahmed Feridun Bey (d. 1583), the nisanci (chancellor) of the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579), a close friend of patrons of the arts in the palace and the son-in-law of the grand vizier Riistem Pasha (d. 1561), was an eyewitness to this ceremony and describes this remarkable book in his chronicle, Nizhet (al-asrar) al-ahbr der sefer-i Zigatvar (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1339, fol. 246b).

This Shāhnāma or Shāhnāma-yi Shāhī had been made by skilled artists in Tabriz in the first half of the sixteenth century for Shah Tahmasp. Ahmed Feridun Bey reports in his chronicle that when the Shāhnāma was presented to Sultan Selim II it impressed the high-ranking courtiers and bureaucrats in the palace. In less than a year, Seyyid Lokman from Urmiya, who was close to Sokullu Mehmed Pasha and Ahmed Feridun Bey, was appointed official court poet to write a dynastic history of the Ottomans. Beginning in 1569, the Shāhnāmas of the Ottoman sultans were written in the style of Firdawsi’s text; a decade later they began to be illustrated.
The son of Shah Quli, Toqmaq Khan, was in his turn sent to Istanbul as ambassador from Shah Tahmasp, this time for the enthronement of Murad III (r. 1574–95) in 1576. His entourage totaled 250 people supported by 500 pack camels. His audience with the sultan took place in the Chamber of Petitions; he came with thirty attendants. Among the gifts he presented were eighteen illuminated Korans and more than sixty divans of Persian poets, a Shāhnāma of Firdawsi, and some illustrated albums (muraqqa’s). Shah Muhammad Khudabanda (r. 1577–87) and his son Hamza Mirza (d. 1586) sent as gifts eighteen manuscripts, including Nizami’s Khamsa illustrated by Bihzad, an illustrated Iskandarnāma written in Turkish, and a Shāhnāma, via their ambassador Ibrahim Khan on the occasion of Sultan Murad III’s son Mehmed’s circumcision in 1582. Some of the books presented to Sultan Murad III were brought by the ten-year-old Safavid prince Haidar Mirza (d. 1595) and his envoy Mahdi Quli Khan in 1590, who had been sent by his uncle Shah ‘Abbas (r. 1587–1629) as a hostage to guarantee peace. All twenty of the books he brought with him were illustrated and illuminated, and some had jeweled bindings.

In addition to these official gifts were the presentations by refugee or captive Safavid, Turkman, and Timurid princes, seeking refuge at the court. One of those princes wasUGHRU Mehmed (d. 1477), the eldest son of the Aqqoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (r. 1457–78). In the year following the war between Uzun Hasan and Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) UGHRU Mehmed sought refuge at the Ottoman court in 1474, after having incurred his father’s wrath. We do not know who came with him, but the information provided in the chronicles and in colophons from books from Mehmed II’s reign tell us that in the one year UGHRU Mehmed stayed in Istanbul, he was among the elite who inspired the arts of the court. He married a daughter of Sultan Mehmed II (the couple had a son, Ahmed Göde [d. 1498], who became the ruler of the Aqqoyunlu Turkmans in 1496). According to the chronicles UGHRU Mehmed conveyed information about the Arabian and Persian courts to Mehmed II, and even the walls of Mehmed’s new palace were built according to UGHRU Mehmed’s recommendations. Their nisbas tell us that calligraphers from Shiraz and Isfahan who were under Timurid or, later on, Turkman rule moved to Ottoman cities such as Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul, beginning in the first half of the fifteenth century. The number of Aqqoyunlu scribes increased significantly after the Ottomans conquered the Aqqoyunlu Turkmans in 1473. Among them we can identify the nisanci of Uzun Hasan, Sayyid Muhammad Munshi al-Sultani al-Shirazi, and Ghiyath al-Din al-Mujallid al-Isfahani. Ghiyath al-Din was probably one of the attendants of UGHRU Mehmed, the governor of Isfahan for a time, who accompanied him to Istanbul. In his colophons, Ghiyath al-Din identifies himself as a scribe and bookbinder, but adds that he was also trained as a doctor, and copied several manuscripts on medicine. He also copied a work by the Timurid poet Jami for the Ottoman Prince Cem (d. 1495) (Istanbul Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya 4009), and thereby introduced this famous poet to the Ottoman court. Ghiyath al-Din was noted for his bindings; he would stamp motifs in high relief on their center and cornerpieces. He was also the first to apply landscapes with various animals and plants in panels of Turkish bindings. As a result of all these contacts between the Ottomans and the Aqqoyunlu, the cultural milieu of the Ottoman court was enriched and became more diverse in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

BADI’ al-Zaman Mirza (d. 1515 or 1517), son of the Timurid Husayn Bayqara (r. 1468–1507), lived in Herat and Astarabad. A poet and a bureaucrat in Herat, ‘Ali Shir Bayqara (d. 1501) had protected this prince and wrote eulogies of him in the beginning of some sections of his Khamsa, which he completed between 1483 and 1485. One of the copies of this Khamsa, which was produced in Herat in the late fifteenth century, was dedicated to the Timurid Prince BADI’ al-Zaman Mirza. This work was illustrated by an artist inspired by the style of Bihzad (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Elliot 287, 317, 339, 408; Manchester, John Rylands Library 3). BADI’ al-Zaman Mirza became ruler after Husayn Bayqara’s death, but when Herat was occupied by the Uzbeks in 1507, he fled and took refuge in Tabriz. When the Ottomans conquered Tabriz in 1514, he was taken captive and brought to Istanbul, where he died of the plague. BADI’ al-Zaman Mirza was a close friend of the poet ‘Ali Shir Nava’i and probably brought some of his works with him when he came to Istanbul, because some time after his arrival, the works of ‘Ali Shir Nava’i were copied and illustrated in the Ottoman royal nakkâshânê. The influence of BADI’ al-Zaman Mirza and the Khurasan artists brought from Tabriz to the Ottoman court taught the elite to appreciate the works of ‘Ali Shir...
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Nava’i. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, elaborate copies of his work were prepared in the court workshop.23 Alqas Mirza (d. 1548), the son of Shah Isma’il Safavi (r. 1502–24), was appointed governor of Shirvan at the time of his brother Shah Tahmasp’s rule.24 He quarreled with the shah, however, and took refuge with the Ottomans in 1547. The sultan, by then Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66), was in Edirne when he arrived, so Alqas Mirza had the opportunity to witness his spectacular entrance into the city. A few days later he had his audience with the sultan.

During his year in Istanbul, Alqas Mirza contributed to the enrichment of the arts of bookmaking; he was familiar with the Tabriz workshop where the Safavids produced illustrated manuscripts that were highly developed between 1510 and 1544, a production that continued even after the Ottoman occupations in 1514 and 1534. The most refined copies of the illustrated Shāhnāma of Firdawsī and Khamsa of Nizami were prepared in those years. Compared with works such as these, the illustrated manuscripts produced in the Ottoman palace workshop were modest. They consisted of a few literary works, such as those by ‘Ali Shir Nava’i, and the histories of Matrakçı Nasuh. Among Alqas Mirza’s attendants, when he came to Istanbul, was Eflatun Shirvani (d. 1569), the librarian (kitabdar) of Alqas Mirza, who was skilled in illumination, calligraphy, and painting.25 Alqas Mirza must have brought his own most precious manuscripts when he came to Istanbul; during his stay in the city, Fethullah ‘Arif Çelebi (d. 1561) was appointed as his nisancı, and he and Eflatun were asked to produce a Shāhnāma of the Ottoman sultans26 written in Persian and in the style of Firdawsī’s work. The five volumes of the illuminated and illustrated Shāhnāma written by ‘Arifi were presented to Sultan Süleyman in 1558.27 Alqas Mirza and his artisans were instrumental in preparing this remarkable Ottoman history with its delicate illuminations in the style of Firdawsī’s Shāhnāma. In 1548, Alqas Mirza joined the second campaign against the Safavids in the service of Süleyman I and plundered the Safavid cities of Hamadān, Qum, Kashan, and Isfahan. Among the booty he sent back to Süleyman were several illuminated and illustrated books. His cordial relations with the Ottomans ended abruptly, however, when he was captured and killed by his brother Shah Tahmasp during the campaign.

These three princes who took refuge with the Ottomans, Uğurlu Mehmed, Badi’ al-Zaman Mirza, and Alqas Mirza, all came from lively art centers (Shiraz, Tabriz, and Herat, respectively). They may have been incapable of living peacefully in their native lands, but they were highly successful in transferring their native art to their new home.

Manuscripts whose miniatures, illuminations, binding, and even in some cases text had not been completed when their original owners possessed them were dealt with in various ways by new ones. Dedications in illuminated medallions on the first page, colophons, inscriptions on the binding, and stamped impressions on the page all yield information about the original and successive owners of a given work. The books and albums (muraqqa’s) in the Topkapi Palace Library provide many examples. One is a manuscript incorporating Firdawsī’s Shāhnāma, Nizami’s Khamsa, and Asadi Tusi’s Lughat al-furs (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1510). Its history begins in Shiraz, probably under the patronage of Shah Shuja’ (r. 1357–84) during the Muzaffarid period in the second half of the fourteenth century. Some of its illuminations and a few illustrations date from that time. Later it came into the possession of the Timurid patron Shahrukh (r. 1405–47) and was brought to Herat. It was there at the end of the fifteenth century that its illuminations were completed and some more illustrations added under the patronage of the Timurid ruler Husayn Bayqara. When Herat was seized by the Safavids in the early sixteenth century, it was taken to Tabriz along with artists and other portable works of art from Khurasan. In Tabriz more illustrations were added, and when the Ottomans conquered Tabriz in 1514 it was taken to Istanbul, along with other works of art and artists from both Khurasan and Tabriz. Whether some of the illuminations and the binding were made in Herat, Tabriz, or Istanbul is still the subject of debate.29

Another copy of Nizami’s Khamsa (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 762), whose binding, calligraphy, illuminations, and illustrations make it one of the most outstanding examples of the Islamic art of the book, was made in Shiraz under the patronage of the Aqqoyunlu prince Khalil (r. 1478), son of Uzun Hasan in 1475.30 It was still unfinished at his death, when it passed to Khalil’s younger brother Sultan Yaqub (r. 1478–90) in Tabriz. During his reign the text was completed, some of the illuminations were executed, and initial sketches for all the illustrations were made. Some were painted and others were left half painted. When the Safavids destroyed the Aqqoyunlu state and took Tabriz, they seized the Aqqoyunlu treasury of books.
including this *Khamsa*. Some further illustrations were then added at the workshop in Tabriz under Safavid patronage, as one can tell because some of the turbans were redrawn to accord with Safavid fashion. A report giving valuable information about the book was added at the end and a binding was designed for it.

It is thought that all these Safavid contributions to the manuscript date from sometime between 1505 and 1510. The identity of the patron, deduced from the inscription on the binding, was almost certainly Amir Najm al-Din Mas'ud Zargar Rashti, a goldsmith in the Rasht capital of western Gilan who took care of the future Shah Isma'il when as a child he was forced to flee to Rasht. Najm al-Din Mas'ud never left his side until he ascended the throne, and until 1510 served as a high-ranking statesman in the shah’s service. His name is on the binding of the *Khamsa*, suggesting that he may have been in charge of the palace workshop. The decoration on the binding and the masterful execution of the gilding indicates the hand of a skilled goldsmith, perhaps Najm al-Din Mas'ud himself. The book ended up in the Topkapi. It was already bound when it was deposited there, but the paintings remained unfinished; no further work was done on it at the court workshops.

Two illustrated copies of the *Jāmi’ al-tavārikh* by the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din (d. 1318), which are in Topkapi Palace Library (H. 1653, H. 1654), were produced in 1314-17, probably in Tabriz. The text was copied, some of the illustrations completed, but no illumination executed. Subsequently H. 1653 came into the possession of Choban (d. 1327), son-in-law of the Ilkhanid ruler Uljaytu (d. 1316). Later the books were taken to Herat where, under the patronage of the Timurid ruler Shahrukh, some sections of the text were rewritten in 1425 and 1426, some illustrations painted in the empty spaces left for them, an illuminated dedication added, and the sultan’s seal stamped in one of the copies (H. 1653). At the end of the sixteenth century, under the patronage of Farhad Khan Qaramanlu (d. 1599), a leading statesman in the reign of Shah ‘Abbas I, illuminations were made and a broad edging of thick pinkish paper added to the pages to enlarge the size of the book. On the pages of one of the books (H. 1654) is stamped the endowment seal of Shah Safi’s shrine in Ardabil and the date 1017 (1608), showing that the book had found its way there. Both volumes entered the treasury either as diplomatic gifts or as spoils of war following the conquest of Ardabil during the reign of Osman II (1618-22). In the late nineteenth century, both books were rebound in the special bindings used at the Yildiz Palace Library founded by Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). Nothing is known about the fate of the original bindings.

The kind of work done on precious manuscripts at a court workshop can be illustrated by three books from the Topkapi Palace Library. All three have been studied in detail and published. The first is yet another *Nizami Khamsa* (H. 781) copied by the calligrapher Yusuf al-Jami in Herat in 849 (1445-46), with illustrations and illuminations by Khwaju ‘Ali al-Tabrizi. From the frontispiece we learn that it was produced for the daughter of Osman Bahadur Khan (fig. 1). The Osman in question is almost certainly the

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*Fig. 1. Illuminated dedicatory page. Nizami’s Khamsa. Herat, 1444-45. Topkapi Palace Library, H. 781, fol. 1a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)*
Aqqoyunlu Qara Yuluk Osman. His daughter Ismat married Muhammad Juki b. Shahrukh (d. 1444–45) in Erzincan in 1435. After their marriage the couple perhaps went to Herat, where Muhammad Juki commissioned copies of Firdawsi's Shāhnāma for himself and Nizami's Khamsa for his wife. Presumably both were unfinished upon his death. The Juki Shāhnāma is undated: spaces were left for illumination on some of the pages, and the two pages reserved for miniatures were empty. The seal imprints on the pages and the paintings later put on these two empty pages tell us that the book found its way to the Mughal court from Herat.

There are thirteen paintings in H. 781 and one empty space for a further painting (fol. 314a), which must have been intended to illustrate the story of Alexander the Great (fig. 2). Nine of the illustrations and the illuminations are the work of Khwaju 'Ali al-Tabrizi in Herat. The illustrations were strongly influenced by the miniatures of masnavīs done at the court workshops in Jalayirid Tabriz and Baghdad in the early fifteenth century where 'Ali probably did his apprenticeship. A painter and illuminator, 'Ali pioneered a new style in Herat. The other two paintings (fols. 230b, 244b) were sketched by the same artist and partially painted. One of these unfinished miniature paintings (fol. 244b) was probably completed at the Ottoman court workshop for the new owner, as evinced by the depictions of carpets, trees, and some of the wall paintings and the faces on the figures (fig. 3).
The artist responsible for the other two paintings did not base them on earlier examples (fols. 160b, 279b). One of his paintings (fol. 160b) depicts Bahram killing two lions in order to seize his crown which they were guarding (fig. 4). The figure of Bahram is not in the heroic mode. Contrary to tradition, he is shown as an elegant young man with hair falling to his shoulders and a small headdress; both throne and crown are of a type totally unlike earlier examples. The imposing soldier in armor descending the hill in front of him, his black groom, and the horsemen watching them are delicately painted (fig. 5). The ground and trees are painted in tones of green, with small brush strokes, and the sky in tones of blue. In the background is a castle whose entrance is reminiscent of the Topkapi Palace. The righthand wall of the castle, some of the decoration on the throne, and the head-
dresses of some of the figures remain unpainted.

The second picture (fig. 6) shows Khizr discovering the Fountain of Life (fol. 279b). At the top of the picture we see Khizr kneeling at the edge of a spring, drinking the water of immortality from a cup. His horse is drinking from the same spring. Before him is a cloth laid for a meal on the ground. In the center Alexander is riding his horse through the woods, accompanied by cavalrymen holding torches, and on the right (fig. 7) a group of musicians play wind and percussion instruments. Flowers and trees arrayed along the edge of the Fountain of Life at the upper left are reminiscent of those painted by 'Ali, but the same cannot be said for the rest of the painting. Some of the hills, trees, horses, riders, and musicians have been left unpainted. The figure of Khizr, however, is a finely executed portrait.
In the last two paintings the artist depicts a crowded scene of horses and their riders in diverse poses conversing with one another. Some of the horsemen are wearing red headaddresses with plumes on one side which might be a type of janissary headgear; they also appear in the miniature paintings of two copies of Ahmadi's *Iskandarnâma* thought to have been produced at the workshop of the Edirne or Istanbul palace between 1460 and 1480. On the evidence of this common feature it can be concluded that both paintings were done in the Ottoman palace toward the end of the fifteenth century. In both pictures horses in groups or rows fill the foreground, depicted from behind or from the side. The fact that most of them are white, the way in which the graceful, slender, and tall figures are shown in conversation, the thickly packed trees with slender trunks, and the fortress-city on a hilltop surrounded by high battlements, its entrance gate flanked by towers with conical caps, and within the walls a variety of pavilions, call to mind fifteenth-century Italian painting and the works of Northern European artists influenced by Italian painters of that period. In particular the *Très Riches Heures* of the duc de Berry from the early fifteenth century, the drawings and sketches of the Italian artist Pisanello, and fifteenth-century European tapestry designs are reflected in the details of both these paintings. The group of musicians in the top left corner of the paint-
ing representing the month of May in the *Très Riches Heures* and the musicians seen full face playing their wind instruments are very similar to their counterparts in the miniature of Khizr discovering the Fountain of Life.\(^3\)

From the areas left unpainted we see that the artist used a sketching technique similar to that of European artists. Reflections of fifteenth-century European painting and tapestry designs in these last two picture may be explained by the fact that Italian painters were employed at the Topkapi during the second half of the fifteenth century.\(^9\) In an inventory book dated 10 Sha‘ban 910 (15 January 1505), there is an item described as a piece of a Frankish figured hanging (*frenkî musavver perde bir kit‘a*) (Topkapi Palace Archives, D. 10026, fol. 8b). This hanging must have been a tapestry of the sort then fashionable in Europe. It may well be that the artist had seen them in the palace, or that a Western artist who designed tapestries may have been asked to try his hand at producing an Ottoman-style painting while employed in the court workshop.

The binding of this *Khamsa* is further indication that the book was conserved at the Topkapi (fig. 8).\(^40\) The gold-tooled inscription on the spine of the burgundy-leather outer covers reads “by order of the treasury of Sultan Bayezid” (*bi-rasm al-khizana al-sultaniyya al-Bayzidiyya*), which tells us that it was made for Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512).\(^41\) In addition, on the outer covers a technique and design are used similar to that on a geography book produced for Mehmed II.\(^42\) In this way, a book copied and partially illustrated for an Aqqoyunlu bride in Herat in the middle of the fifteenth century and left unfinished, probably on the death of its patron, found its way to Istanbul, perhaps amongst the books of the Aqqoyunlu Uğurlu Mehmed. During the reign of Bayezid II, it was added to at the palace workshop, but still not completed. The seal of Bayezid II was printed on two of the pages (fol. 1a, 325b).

The second of these book is Amir Khusraw Dihlavi’s *Khamsa* (H. 799), copied by the scribe Mahmud Mir Haj on the first day (*gurra*) of the month of Ramadan 903 (23 April 1498).\(^3\) There are 28 illustrations in the book, and one empty space for a 29th (fol. 164a). The paintings can be divided into two separate groups executed in different places at different times. The first group dates from the years when the book was copied, and shows no notable skill (fig. 9). The hair decorations on the female figures and headdresses of the male figures, the colors, the way in which natural features, particularly mountains, are depicted, the illuminations, the binding, and the layout of the pages are all related, distantly at least, to what is known as the Bihzad style which emerged after 1480 in the Herat workshops in Timurid times. Some scholars have attributed this group of paintings to the Transoxianan region; others draw a tentative link to the Ottoman court workshop.\(^4\)

The large number of books illustrated with paintings in the Bihzad style indicates the existence of a modest workshop patronized by Timurid dignitaries in or around Herat in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Probably after the Uzbeks invaded Herat, some of the artists moved to Transoxiana; some to Tabriz, and some seem to have remained in Herat even after the invasion of the Safavids. During this period, another group of artists in Herat worked in a style very different from those described above, including the Bihzad style paintings. Their work was the product of a refined taste, and it spread from Herat to Tabriz and Istanbul.\(^4\) Researchers have attributed this second group of paintings in Dihlavi’s *Khamsa* to the Ottoman court workshop during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II.\(^4\) The plants, figures, and headdresses suggest fifteenth-century Aqqoyunlu Turkman painting, but the architecture and landscape elements in
the background reflect a Western (fols. 182a, 196a) or Ottoman (fol. 179a) fashion (fig. 10). The first owner of the book must have been from the Herat region; the book, still unfinished, must then have been taken by the Safavids from Khurasan to Tabriz along with other works of art, and from there to Istanbul, perhaps as part of the Badi' al-Zaman Mirza collection. The spaces left for the illustrations were filled in in a completely different style by Ottoman artists in the early sixteenth century.

The third book is a Nizami Khamsa (H. 753), of which neither the date of copying, nor the identity of the scribe, nor the original owner is known. The leather binding is an exquisite piece of workmanship and dates from the Qaraqoyunlu Turkman period early in the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 11). The text exhibits irregularities: the area covered by text is not uniform on each page, and there is illumination at the beginning of only one of the masnavis (fol. 4b). The style of this illumination makes it evident that it was produced at the Safavid palace workshop in the early sixteenth century. Six folios without text were added at the beginning of the book, and the first two double-pages of these were expertly illuminated (fols. 1b–2a, 2b–3a). It seems likely that illuminations on folios 2b–3a were carried out at the Qaraqoyunlu Turkman workshop in the middle of the fifteenth century and those on folios 1b–2a at the Ottoman palace workshop in the early sixteenth century. The thirty-seven paintings date from three dif-
ferent periods, and space sufficient for one miniature has been left empty (fol. 189b).

The first period and first group: The first group are in the same style as the illustrations made between 1440 and 1450 in Shiraz and Yazd in the Timurid period. The artist must have been the last representative of that tradition practicing in Shiraz or Baghdad about 1460 in the Qaraqoyunlu Turkman period (fig. 12).

The first period and second group: The miniatures show the influence of the Herat Timurid style of the first half of the fifteenth century. The colors, the figures, and clothing suggest that they were painted by another artist in the Qaraqoyunlu Turkman period, again in Shiraz or Baghdad (fig. 13).

The second period: The type and headgear of the figures and landscape elements indicate that these miniatures were added in the Safavid period in Tabriz (fig. 14). One of the illustrations (fol. 19b) is dated 916 (1510), probably the date for these second-period miniatures.

The third period: The landscape elements, the archi-
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Fig. 12. Bahram admires the portraits of the princesses. Nizami's Khamsa. Baghdad or Shiraz, ca. 1460. Topkapi Palace Library, H. 753, fol. 167a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 13. The contest of the Rum and Chinese painters. Nizami's Khamsa. Baghdad or Shiraz, ca. 1460. Topkapi Palace Library, H. 753, fol. 304a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul)

Architectural representations, the colors, and the figure types indicate that this group of paintings was made in the palace workshop in the first half of the sixteenth century (fig. 15). From all this, one can conclude that the book was copied in Shiraz or Baghdad under Qaraqoyunlu Turkman patronage. Some of the illustrations and its binding were prepared, but for about half a century the work was left incomplete. When the Safavids conquered Fars, the work was brought to Tabriz, and the Safavid artists filled in some of the blank spaces. Then when the Ottoman occupied Tabriz in 1514, it was brought to Istanbul, along with other booty. After about eighty years the third-period illustrations were added. The work was never finished: the spaces for one illustration and the headings are still empty.

There is no information concerning the ways in which these incomplete books reached the palace. It is unlikely that they would have been presented by ambassadors. Only complete and distinguished works could be used for that purpose. It is possible that they were brought to Istanbul byUGHUlu Mehmed, Badi' al-Zaman Mirza, or Alqaṣ Mirza as part of their private collections. The fact that they were illustrated in Ottoman style in Istanbul suggests that the ehl-i h rif (the palace artists' organization) was also in charge of refurbishing, renewing, and conserving the manuscripts. Evidence of their work can be found written
on the first page of the Koran in the Topkapi Palace Library (E.H. 49). It was copied by Abdullah Sayrafi in 745 (1344-45) and renewed between 962 and 964 (1554 and 1557). The illuminator Karamemi, the binder Mehmed Çelebi, and the scribe Hasan, son of the scribe Ahmed Karahisari, who were the most famous members of the ehl-i hıref organization in their respective crafts, repaired it in the middle of the sixteenth century. When it was finished, it was submitted to the bina emini (official in charge of construction) Hüseyin Çelebi. Although their pages were not recorded, the number repaired in this manner seems to have increased in the middle of the sixteenth century, especially during the vizierate of Rüstem Pasha, probably because copies of the Koran were needed by the elite to donate, as a gesture of respect, to the mosques built for Sultan Süleyman, his daughter, and son-in-law in Istanbul between 1550 and 1561.

The condition of these three manuscripts shows that they traveled through all these lands without damage. The care they were given by later owners prevented them from being dispersed and lost. The calligraphies, illuminations, and bindings of the three brought to Istanbul before they were completed indicate that they were distinguished works of their original owners’ workshops. They were refurbished at the end of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century for their new patrons when the production of illustrated books in the Ottoman court workshop was modest and the number of illustrators and binders who worked...
in the *ehli hiref* was not great. The miniatures executed in these unfinished manuscripts were not stylistically similar; none was representative of the widespread Ottoman style of contemporary and later times. These illustrations, which were among the earliest examples of Turkish painting, can be considered experimental. The administrators of the workshop might have thought that it would be less expensive and quicker to illustrate a work with a ready text and leave space for miniatures. The process that these three books underwent demonstrates the attitude of the palace administration as patron and led to the creation of an Ottoman style of illustration that can be identified at a glance.

*Uludağ Üniversitesi*

*Bursa, Turkey*

NOTES


7. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T. 413, See V. Minorsky, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin, 1958), no. 413. One of the miniatures of this manuscript illustrates the construction of Gûlamber castle (fol. 12b); Seyyid Lokman attended its foundation ceremony as a qadi of Harî in July 1563 (Kütköşgülü, "Şehnameci Lokman," p. 9.


9. ʿAlî, Čâmî ʿu ʾl-Buhâr, pp. 24-28. One of the miniatures of the *Şahhâname*, vol. 2, of Murad III illustrates Murad receiving the Safavid ambassador İbrahim Khan at the Chamber of Petitions and the Ottoman courtiers carrying gifts (Topkapı Palace Library, B. 200, fol. 36b-37a [see Ulûq, "Ottoman Contribution;: figs. 3-4]).


11. This young prince illustrated in historian Rahimizade İbrahim Çavuş's *Kişık Gemînosî Fâhi Canjâ*, dated 28 Rabî II 998 (6 March 1590) (Topkapı Palace Library, R. 1296, fols. 46a, 48b, 53b; see Ulûq, "Ottoman Contribution," figs. 5-7. For the manuscript, see Çağman and Tanndi, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," p. 114). The arrival of this prince in Istanbul is described in detail in an eye-witness account by historian Mustafa Saltânî in his chronicle. See Selânî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarîh-i Selânî*, vol. 2, ed. Mehmet İpîrî (Istanbul, 1989), pp. 217-19. The contemporary Ottoman poet Bağî also wrote an eye-witness account of a few lines in his *D르mên*. One of the illustrated copies of this manuscript, dated ca. 1600, depicts the arrival of Haidar Mirzâ and envoy Mahdî Qull Khan accompanied by the Anatolian governor (later governor of Baghdad) Sokolluzâde Hasan Paşa; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 45.174.5; see Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, Calif., 1990), p. 8; 9, 99; Arte islámico del Museo Metropolitana de ArteNuevo York. Colegio de San Ildefonso septiembre de 1994-enero de 1995 (Mexico City, 1994), pp. 88-89. It has long been assumed that this painting depicts the Turkish army entering a city.


17. Ibid., p. 72.

18. Ibid., no. 33.


Another book of court quality among those taken from Herat is a Nizami manuscript in the Topkapi Palace Library, H. 757. See Ivan Choukine, Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizami au Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi d'Istanbul (Paris, 1977), pp. 148-50, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVIII, which is of particular importance in throwing light on the arts of the book and the cultural environment during the reign of the Safavid Shah Isma'il. The binding, calligraphy, illumination, and miniatures are of high quality, and the notes and seals on fol. 1b are the seal dated 989 (1581) of Ahmed Feridun Bey, nizam and son-in-law to Grand Vizier Rostem Pasha. The book must have been a wedding gift to this famous bureaucrat of the time. In addition to these documents, H. 757 has three complicated colophons on fols.149b, 265a, 288a. Fol. 149b: Sulh Dhu'll-Hijja 914 (30 March 1509). Examination of the colophon shows that its present date is not original. Fol. 265a: the written part is covered with gold. Fol. 288a: copied in 905 (1499-1500) by Sultan 'Ali Mashhadi, brought from the treasury of Shaibaq during the period of Shah Isma'il and illuminated by Mawlana Yari in 916 (1510-11), illustrated by Bihzad, completed in 918 (1512-13). It is difficult to decide whether or not the colophon describing the short history of the manuscript is original. Further investigation is needed.

Another book of court quality among those taken from Herat to Tabriz at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century and containing documentary information is a Nizami Khamseh (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 757. See Ivan Choukine, Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizami au Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi d'Istanbul (Paris, 1977), pp. 148-50, pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVIII), which is of particular importance in throwing light on the arts of the book and the cultural environment during the reign of the Safavid Shah Isma'il. The binding, calligraphy, illumination, and miniatures are of high quality, and the notes and seals on some of its pages give significant clues about its history. On the first folio it is written that the book was delivered into the hands of the clerk to the treasury bookkeeper, Muhammed Mu'min Marvarid, in Herat on 12 Sh'a'ban 918 (23 September 1512). Muhammed Mu'min was himself a writer and calligrapher, and his father was mushti (composer in prose) to the Timurid Sultan Husayn Bayqara. He and his father served the ex-shah Isma'il together (see Abdallah Marvarid, Staatsarchive der Timuridenzeit, ed. and trans. Hans R. Roemer [Wiesbaden, 1952], pp. 23-24). On fol. 1b is the seal dated 989 (1581) of Ahmed Feridun Bey, nizam and son-in-law to Grand Vizier Rostem Pasha. The book must have been a wedding gift to this famous bureaucrat of the time. In addition to these documents, H. 757 has three complicated colophons on fols.149b, 265a, 288a.
Repetition of Compositions during the Fifteenth Century," 
Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und 
Archäologie (Berlin, 1979), pp. 471-91; Lents and Lowry, 
Timur and the Princeley Vision: no. 32, pp. 109, 112, 163, 219, 
and 376.1c, 377.2b, 3a, 378.4c, 5c. 

34. For the Shahnama, see B. W. Robinson, “Shahnama of 
Muhammad Juki, RA. Ms. 239,” The Royal Asiatic Society: Its 
History and Treasures, ed. S. Simmonds and S. Digby (Leiden 
and London, 1979), pp. 83-102, pls. III-X. For the marriage 
of this couple, see Isaal Aka, 
Mirza Şahruh ve Zaman (1403- 

One of them is in Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cod. Or. 
34. For the Shahnama, see B. W. Robinson, “Shahnama of 
Muhammad Juki, RA. Ms. 239,” The Royal Asiatic Society: Its 
History and Treasures, ed. S. Simmonds and S. Digby (Leiden 
and London, 1979), pp. 83-102, pls. III-X. For the marriage 
of this couple, see Isaal Aka, 
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35. One of them is in Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, Cod. Or. 
XC. See E. J. Grube, “The Date of the Venice 
Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies, ms. 135. See I. E. 
Perzov, “An Illustrated Turkish Manuscript of the 
“İskender-nâme” by Ahmedî,” 
Manuscrits Orientaux 1 (1995): 
47-50. 

36. Michael Levy, From Giotto to Cézanne: A Concise History of Painting 
37. Margaret B. Freeman, The Unicorn Tapestries (New York: 
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974). 
38. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The 
Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries (New York, 1974); E. 
Fordon, Les très riches heures du duc de Berry, trans. D. Maczae 
(Geneva, 1975), fig. 24; Peter and Linda Murray, The Art of 

This link was first pointed out by I. Stchoukine in Les peintures des 
diverses miniatures, p. 48, and later in an unpublished paper by 
Eleanor Sims. See Julian Raby, Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode 

The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, ed. B. Gray (London, 1979), 
fig. 45-46. 
40. Raby and Tanndi, Turkish Bookbinding, pp. 87-88. 
41. Ibid., nos. 132-35. 
42. I. Stchoukine, La peinture turque d’après les miniatures illustrées, 
vol. 1: De Salzumâr In à Osmân II, 1520-1622 (Paris, 1966), 
pp. 47, 105, pl. IV; Atasoy and Çağman, Turkish Miniatures, 
nos. 19, pl. 2; Çağman and Tanndi, Topkapı. The Albums, nos. 
129-31; Barbara Brend, “Elements from Painting of the 
Eastern Islamic Area in Early Ottoman Manuscripts of the 
Khamsh of Amir Khusrau Dihlawi,” 9th International 
44. N. M. Titley, “A Shahnama from Transoxiana,” British Library 
p. 427. One of the illustrated but undated Firdawsi Shahnâmâs 
from the Topkapî Palace Library (R. 1549) contains two 
groups of miniatures: one is in the Herati or Khurasani style; 
the other in the early-sixteenth-century Tabriz Safavid style. 
See Fehmi E. Karatay, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi 
45. Çağman, “The Miniatures of the Divan-i Hüseyâni,” pp. 231- 
59. 
46. Stchoukine, La peinture turque 1: pl. IV; Atasoy and Çağman, 
Turkish Miniatures, pl. 2; Çağman and Tanndi, Topkapı. The 
Albums, nos. 129-31. 
47. Soucek, “Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami,” pp. 461, 589-
90; I. Stchoukine, “La Khamâsh de Nizâmî, H.753, du Topkapî 
Saraya Müzesi d’Istanbul,” Syria 50 (1972): 239-46, pls. VIII-
X; idem, Les peintures des manuscrits, pp. 58-63, pls. XXXI-
XXXVIII; Zeren Akalay (Tanndi), “Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi 
Kütûphanesi Hazine 755 No.lu Nizami Hâmesi’nin 
Minyatûrleri,” Sanât Tarihi Yıllığı 5 (1973): 389-409, figs. 1-
18; Robinson, “The Turkman School,” p. 216, figs. 126-27; 
Çağman and Tanndi, Islamic Miniatures, no. 36, fig. 15; idem, 
48. Akalay, “Hazine 755 No.lu,” pp. 396-97, figs. 6, 9-10; 
Stchoukine, Les peintures des manuscrits, pl. XXXVI, XXXVIII, 
XXXVIII; Çağman and Tanndi, Islamic Miniatures, fig. 15; 
Topkapı. The Albums, no. 62; Robinson, “Turkman 
School,” fig. 126. 
49. Akalay, “Hazine 753 No.lu,” pp. 397-98, figs. 7, 11-14; 
Stchoukine, Les peintures des manuscrits, pl. XXXVIIIa; Çağman 
and Tanndi, Topkapı. The Albums, no. 63; Robinson, “Turkman 
School,” fig. 127. 
51. Ibid., pp. 399-400, figs. 3-5; Stchoukine, Les peintures des 
manuscrits, pl. XXXVIIa. 
Döneminde Yenilenmesi,” Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi. Yıllık 1 
53. Z. Tanndi, “The Manuscripts Bestowed as Pious Endowments 
by Rüstem Pasha, the Grand Vezier of Süleyman the 
Magnificent,” In Soliman le Magnifique et son Temps. Actes du Colloque 
de Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 7-10 mars 1990, 