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RECONCILIATION OR ESTRANGEMENT? COLOPHON AND PAINTINGS IN THE TİEM ZAFARNĀMA AND SOME OTHER CONTROVERSIAL MANUSCRIPTS

The relative homogeneity of Persian painting in the early fifteenth century, represented by the court style of Herat,¹ with provincial activity at Shiraz, Yazd, and Samarqand,² gave way in the second half of the fifteenth century to more diverse idioms, with the Turkmen court centers of Baghdad and Tabriz, and other provincial centers such as Shirvan and Gilan, producing work in different styles.³ With the coming of the Safavids at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was a further diversification of ateliers, as some painters working for Timurid patrons left for new centers of manuscript production at Bukhara, Tabriz, and Istanbul. Some remained at Herat or neighboring Mashhad, or perhaps even moved to Shiraz, where painted manuscripts display a marked increase in quality in the sixteenth century. However, this flux produced to some extent a homogenization of styles, with the result that differentiating late Timurid from early Safavid, Uzbek, and Ottoman painting can raise many difficulties. It can be even more difficult when, as is not uncommon, a manuscript has a colophon stating that it was calligraphed at a certain place, but some, or all, of its paintings are in a style that is different from others made in that location.

This paper examines this problem with regard to a number of manuscripts calligraphed in late fifteenth-century Herat, taking as its main subject the unjustly neglected *Zafarnāma* now in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, henceforth TİEM) (Ms. T 1964) in Istanbul.⁴ Its text is dated firmly within the Timurid period, but its paintings are in a variety of styles. Some of them, I suggest, are masterpieces equal to the finest produced for the court of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469–1506).

The reason for the neglect of its paintings probably stems from the only major scholarly analysis of it

to date, by Eleanor Sims in her doctoral dissertation of 1973.⁵ Sims recognized that there were paintings in several styles within the manuscript. She divided them into three groups, the first of which she claimed was “related to certain late Herat painting but falling well below its standards.”⁶ The style of groups two and three, which display figures with red batons or long white plumes, was clearly Safavid and had many affinities to known paintings from the Shiraz school. The provenance of group one she also ascribed to Shiraz in the early sixteenth century, partially on the basis of the colophon, one signed by Hamd Allah b. Shaykh Murshid al-Katib,⁷ whose father, Shaykh Murshid, calligraphed several manuscripts “at Shiraz.”⁸ Her main argument with regard to this was that the colophon had been tampered with, and that the current date of 891 (1486) was the result of the first digit, the eight, having been added and a last digit, a seven, having been scratched away. Thus, she argued, the original date of 917 (1511–12) had been altered to read 891, and this might have taken place at Shiraz. However, the most recent discussion of the manuscript assumes that they were all painted at the same time and place.⁹ I have examined the colophon carefully myself, but have not found any evidence for these supposed changes; on the contrary, the date is centered above the word *sana* (year) exactly as one would expect (fig. 1).¹⁰

This means the manuscript paintings need to be looked at afresh for evidence of date and provenance. Knowing that the calligrapher’s father worked in Shiraz, and anticipating my conclusions on the choice of subject matter of the paintings, which suggests an atelier not quite familiar with the planning of royal iconography, one could raise the question at the outset whether the calligrapher may have brought with him painters

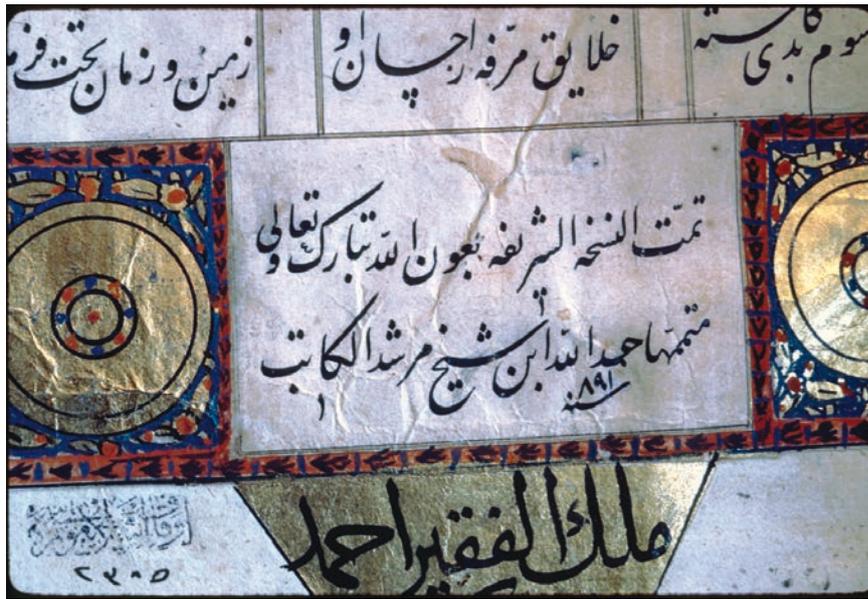


Fig. 1. Detail of colophon. Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TĪEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 491a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

from Shiraz who worked at the Timurid capital, possibly in a style different from that of the mainstream. Could it be that the stylistic features of sixteenth-century Shiraz were anticipated in Herat in the late fifteenth century, and that all the paintings of our manuscript might have been completed in Timurid Herat? Other scholars have suggested that the production of paintings in Herat at that time did not necessarily conform to the canonical model of Bihzad (d. 1537) and his school normally taken for granted in discussions of this period. A review of the evidence for this will put us in a better position to evaluate the possibilities for a variety of idioms in or around the court atelier.

The claim for diversifying the canon rests primarily on three manuscripts, which I shall refer to hereafter as the core group. The first is the *Divān* of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, located in the Topkapı Saray Museum (henceforth TKS) (Ms. E.H.1636), with a colophon dated the end of Sha‘ban 897 (June 1492) specifying that it was written in Herat. It has a double-page frontispiece (fig. 2) and three other paintings. The most thorough examination of the paintings of this and related manuscripts was by Filiz Çağman,¹¹ who attributed all of the paintings to the date of the manuscript. A little earlier, Stchoukine had argued that the frontispiece and

the painting on the colophon page were contemporary with the text, but that the other two paintings were inferior and must have been added much later.¹² Soudavar assigned all its paintings to Tabriz, around 1530.¹³ More recently, David Roxburgh has informed me that he considers the frontispiece to be the only original painting from the manuscript.¹⁴

The second manuscript is another *Divān* of Husayn Bayqara, in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (henceforth BN) (Suppl. Turc 993), with a colophon also stating that it was written in Herat, dated 890 (1485). Çağman considered its three paintings to be original,¹⁵ as did Welch, who considered them to be the output of “a less sophisticated Herat atelier that was busy at the same time as the great royal one led by Bihzad.” Welch recognized that “some specialists suppose (the) miniatures to be later additions to their manuscripts”; however, his own ambivalence seems to be reflected in his final judgment on them as “barely distinguishable in quality from the run-of-the-mill output of the Shiraz picture factories.”¹⁶ Stchoukine argued that they were later, suggesting first the second half of the sixteenth century at Istanbul,¹⁷ and in a subsequent publication the same dating, but at the court of Ibrahim Mirza (r. 1556-67) at Mashhad.¹⁸

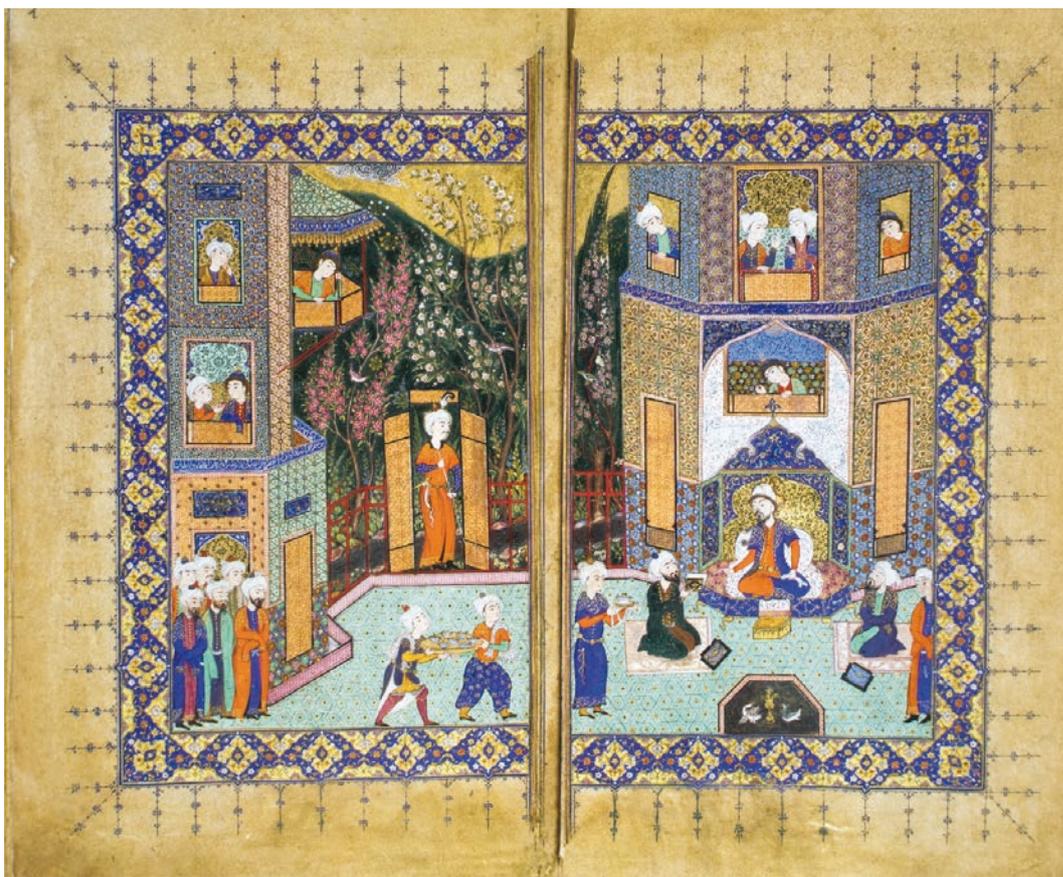


Fig. 2. Double-page frontispiece. *Dīvān* of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, TKS Ms. E.H. 1636, fols. 1b–2a. (After David Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* [London, 2005], 240)

The third manuscript is an undated copy of Mir ‘Ali Shir’s *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡhar* (Wonders of Childhood) in the Istanbul University Library (henceforth IUL) (Ms. T 5740), calligraphed by Sultan ‘Ali al-Qa’ini. Sultan ‘Ali al-Qa’ini worked mostly at the Aqquyunlu courts of Ya‘qub (r. 1478–90) and Rustam (r. 1493–97), appending many of his calligraphies with the *nisbas* (element of a name indicating relation or origin) al-Ya‘qubi or al-Rustami accordingly.¹⁹ He returned to Khurasan late in life. Bayani makes a good case for him being the Sultan ‘Ali (rather than Sultan ‘Ali al-Mashhadi) who was responsible for the text of one of the most important manuscripts that has early Safavid images, the Asafi *Jamāl and Jalāl* now at Uppsala, dated to 908 (1502–3) and written at Herat.²⁰ Eldhem and Stchoukine assigned the eight paintings of the *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡhar* to

the second half of the sixteenth century, perhaps after a Timurid model;²¹ Çağman and Welch considered them to be original.²²

What are the common characteristics of this core group? Çağman herself suggests that “the paintings reveal a style that is very different from the one identified with Herat.” She aptly notes that they feature the work of an illuminator with “an exceedingly decorative handling... particularly noticeable in architectural renditions.”²³ This is certainly true of the frontispiece of the *Dīvān* of Sultan Husayn. The octagonal pavilion on the right page alone has six different geometric tile patterns; that on the left page has seven (each different from the previous six). In contrast to the usually simpler Timurid paving patterns, that of the courtyard has a design of six-pointed stars surrounded by hexagons.²⁴ This busy-

ness is compounded by the design of the throne, with arabesques on blue and gold backgrounds, arabesques on white for its cushions, and again arabesques on white for the wall painting in the alcove behind the throne. No Timurid painting tries to cram in this amount of detail. Even Bihzad's "Yusuf and Zulaykha" from the Cairo *Būstān*, which, it can be argued, uses pattern as an element in the psychological heightening of tension, leaves the paving of the courtyard and the white walls of its two alcoves plain as a foil to the surrounding visual complexity. Çağman notes that the *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) also has similarities to this style,²⁵ and amongst its tendency to greater decorativeness than Timurid examples, we may note that plain paved courtyards are a rarity, and that the use of six-pointed stars surrounded by hexagons as paving occurs in a full twenty-three of its paintings.²⁶ The style was not confined to court-sponsored painting; an example contemporary to the *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp that is very similar to the *Dīvān* frontispiece is "Bahram Enthroned," from a *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi that has been attributed to Shiraz around 1535, showing precisely the same tendency to cram ornament on architecture (including the paving of six-pointed stars of the courtyard), textiles, and thrones.²⁷ Another related manuscript mentioned by Çağman is a *Dīvān* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi dated 943 (1537) in Vienna. Its double-page frontispiece²⁸ repeats the servant cooking kebab that is found in the frontispiece of the BN *Dīvān* of Husayn Bayqara, and the octagonal pool inhabited by one or more ducks that figures in all of the frontispieces of the core group.²⁹ In addition, it also includes a harpist remarkably similar to one in another indoor scene in the BN *Dīvān* of Husayn Bayqara³⁰ and to that of the frontispiece of the IUL *Gharā'ib al-ṣighar*.

A common feature of the major personages in these three manuscripts is the presence of a white feather outlined in black springing forward from their turbans. Although Sultan Husayn does not wear one in the frontispiece of the TKS *Dīvān*,³¹ the figure isolated in the gateway on the page opposite does.³² In the BN *Dīvān*, the sultan wears a feather in the frontispiece, as do four courtiers; he is the only figure with a feather in two other paintings, and in another, a prince and a courtier each wear one. In the IUL *Gharā'ib al-ṣighar*, the enthroned

figure of the frontispiece as well as some courtiers sport feathers in their turbans, as do the principal actors of the polo game and the hunting scene.³³

There are some Timurid paintings that have figures wearing feathers in their turbans (or sometimes military helmets), but the feathers differ in three respects from those in the above group: they are much smaller in size; they are monochrome; and they adorn relatively insignificant personages, not those who embody imperial power.³⁴ Where then do we find similar examples? They appear in the TKS Ms. H 762 *Khamṣa* of Nizami, a manuscript with both Aqquyunlu and very early Safavid paintings. The dating of some of them can be hard to pinpoint, but in general, the more obvious the use of the black-fringed feather, the more likely a painting is to be early Safavid.³⁵ That northwest Iran was where the fashion first developed is further suggested by several paintings of the 899 (1494) *Shāhnāma* (known as the "big head" *Shāhnāma*), which have much larger feathers than is usual previously, some of them gray, tinged with a darker outline.³⁶ Its patron, 'Ali Mirza, was the ruler of Gilan in the Safavid heartlands (and a supporter of the young Shah Isma'īl [d. 1524]), so it would be no surprise if, as Welch observed, "the style of its miniatures... must closely resemble pre-1500 Safavid art."³⁷ Closely related to the Safavid paintings in the TKS Ms. H 762 *Khamṣa* of Nizami are those of the Uppsala *Jamāl and Jalāl*, where the black-fringed feather appears in a full eighteen of its thirty-four paintings.³⁸ In a manuscript of Shah Isma'īl's Turkish poetry prepared for the Shah himself, the black-fringed feather also features prominently.³⁹ It remained a staple of early Safavid painting.⁴⁰

There are three other stylistic traits present in the above manuscripts that are more typical of early Safavid than late Timurid paintings: turbans, beards, and clothing. The large top-heavy turbans characteristic of Turkmen painting were enthusiastically adopted in early Safavid examples.⁴¹ They are more obvious in 'Ali Shir's *Gharā'ib al-ṣighar* and the BN *Dīvān* of Husayn Bayqara than in the TKS *Dīvān*; sometimes, as in Turkmen examples,⁴² the importance of the figure is reflected in the relative size of his turban.⁴³ Beards are, of course, a not uncommon feature of late Timurid painting. However, there is a plethora of dense but neatly trimmed

black beards in paintings in the core group of manuscripts⁴⁴ that is unmatched in any group of Timurid paintings. Rather, early Safavid examples again provide the closest parallels.⁴⁵ Thirdly, caftans and the tunics underneath them in the core group often have fastenings that feature bars spreading out horizontally on both sides.⁴⁶ Again, this type of button appeared in late Timurid paintings, but not with the almost regimental repetitiveness of the three manuscripts in question.⁴⁷ Although obviously different in scale, some of the nearest analogues are again found in the *Shāhnāma* for Shah Tahmasp.⁴⁸ In fact, this manuscript is one of the parallels mentioned by Çağman for the style of the paintings in the core group.⁴⁹ With respect to its busily-decorated architectural forms and its portrayal of figures with black-fringed plumes, large turbans, dense black beards, and garments with fastenings featuring horizontal bars, it is virtually the style of the core group writ large.

The main parallels for the paintings of the manuscripts were also examined in detail by Çağman. Of one of the paintings in another copy of Mir ‘Ali Shir’s *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡhar* in the Istanbul University Library (Ms. T 5669), calligraphed in Herat in 1524, she says “the only variation is the headdresses of the figures who wear the turbans of the Safavid period.”⁵⁰ Of the frontispiece in yet another copy of Mir ‘Ali Shir’s *Gharā’ib al-ṣiḡhar* (TKS Ms. R 803), copied in 1532–33 at Tabriz, she writes that

the landscape elements...are not only reminiscent of the hunting scenes which originated in Herat but the postures of the riders and the hunting motifs are almost identical...The only variation from the Herat example is that in this scene the ground is painted in a different manner.⁵¹

Of an enthronement scene in the same manuscript, which in truth is the style of the core group writ small, Çağman notes the similarity in composition and in the decorative details of the throne and garments.⁵² She goes on to identify similarities with other manuscripts produced in the early sixteenth century in Istanbul.⁵³

Keeping in mind these parallels, two comments by Çağman on the overall style of the paintings of the core group are instructive: “The paintings reveal a style that is very different from the one identified with Herat,”⁵⁴

and “It is my opinion that these works are the product of an atelier which was completely alien to the school of Bihzad.”⁵⁵ I am quite in agreement, but there are two possible explanations for this. Çağman and others posit that the paintings of the core group are contemporary with the late Timurid manuscripts in which they were written, and were used as models by later painters. There is another much simpler, and, to my mind, much more plausible explanation: the reason why the atelier was so alien to the school of Bihzad, and why its paintings have so many characteristics not otherwise found in late Timurid painting but common in early Safavid painting, is that the paintings were added to the manuscripts in the early Safavid period. This is also the conclusion reached by Soudavar, who noted that several manuscripts related to the core group had paintings with figures wearing Safavid Qizilbash headgear. He astutely suggested that the lack of such headgear in the core group could be because the Tabrizi Safavid artists painting them wanted to sell them to the Ottoman market (perhaps even as Timurid originals), and also therefore picked texts by the most prominent figures of their time in Turkish literature, Mir ‘Ali Shir and Sultan Husayn.⁵⁶

Might the paintings of the TİEM *Zafarnāma* also have been added in the Safavid period? A detailed discussion of the manuscript can help to determine this. Although the calligrapher was from Shiraz, his *nasta’liq* (fig. 1) is the equal of that of the finest contemporary Herat manuscripts. However, this should be no surprise, given the excellent penmanship in earlier Shiraz manuscripts such as the *Khāvarānnāma*.⁵⁷ It is not certain whether the binding of the manuscript is late Timurid or sixteenth-century Shiraz. It is less fine than one might expect for a major Timurid manuscript, but Shiraz manuscripts of the fifteenth century are less elaborate,⁵⁸ while those of the sixteenth century tend to be more ornate.⁵⁹ The outer cover (fig. 3) of stamped and tooled leather, showing fine Chinese cloud scrolls in the central and quarter medallions and outer cartouches, is similar to that of a Turkmen manuscript copied in 1463 at Baghdad.⁶⁰ A close parallel to the black filigree on a blue ground of the inner cover (fig. 4) is found in a commercial Turkmen manuscript of the late fifteenth century in the Chester Beatty Library (henceforth CBL),⁶¹

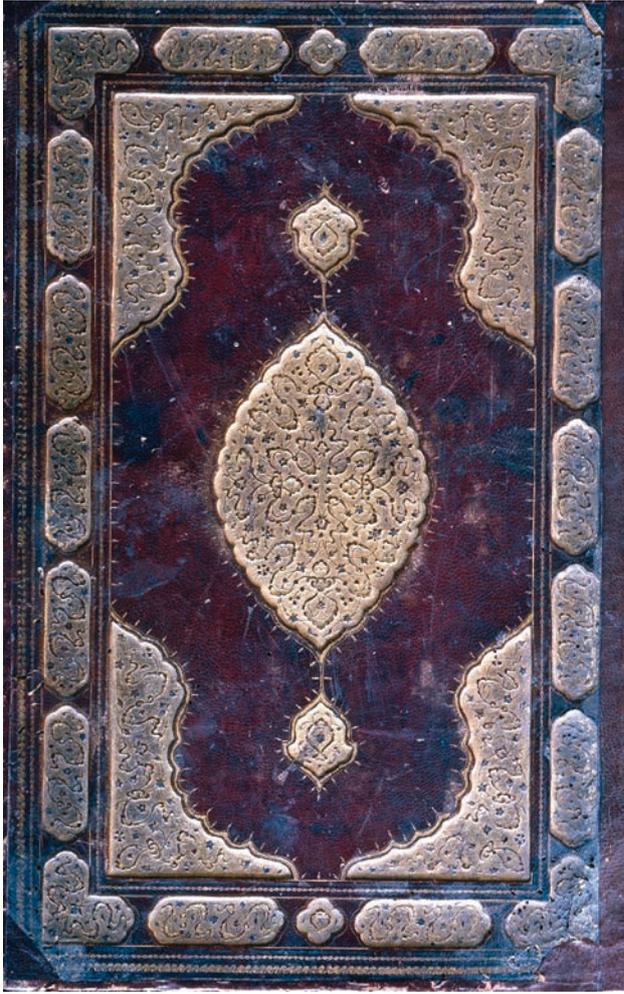


Fig. 3. Outer binding. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

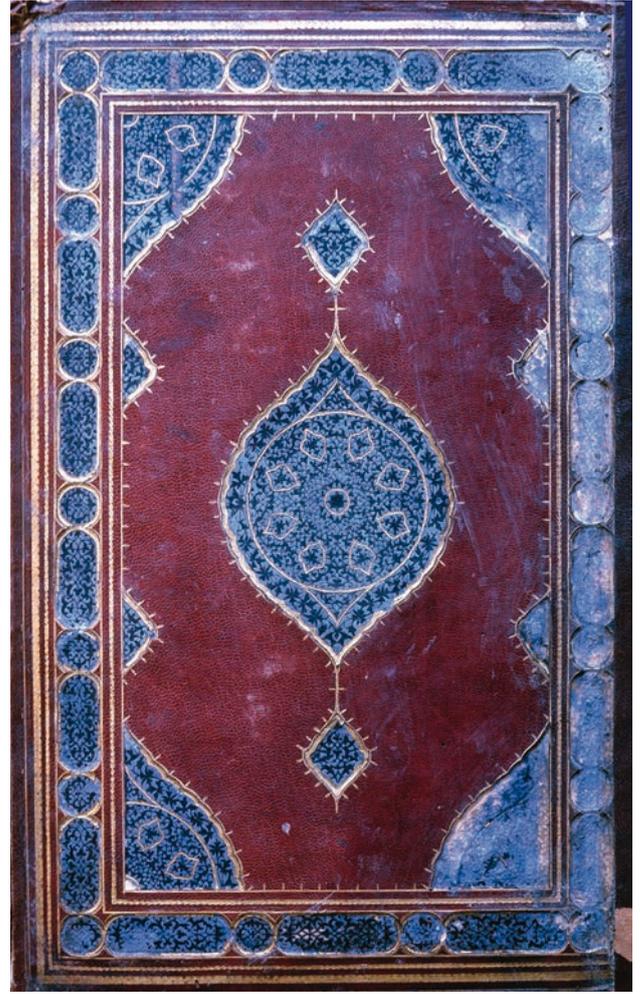


Fig. 4. Inner binding. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

although the TIEM example is a more elaborate version of the CBL one. The illumination in this manuscript is confined to the first two pages (fig. 5); in this it is paralleled by Sultan Husayn's *Zafarnāma*, but it lacks the initial *shamsa* (medallion) of the latter. Although this is not a sufficient characteristic to attribute the illumination to a Timurid date, it may be noted that the frame is mostly rectangular, rather than having the irregular outline associated with some later Safavid Shiraz examples.⁶² In addition, more space is reserved on a plain background for the text than in later Shiraz examples,

and the concomitant smaller outer border of reciprocating gold and dark blue crenellations contrasts with the larger, later Shiraz ones.⁶³ It is in any case much less common for illumination than for paintings to postdate the colophon of a manuscript.

With regard to the paintings themselves, there is more definite evidence for the attribution of several to the date of the colophon. We may begin their investigation with a discussion of the paintings that are presently in or known to have been in the manuscript.

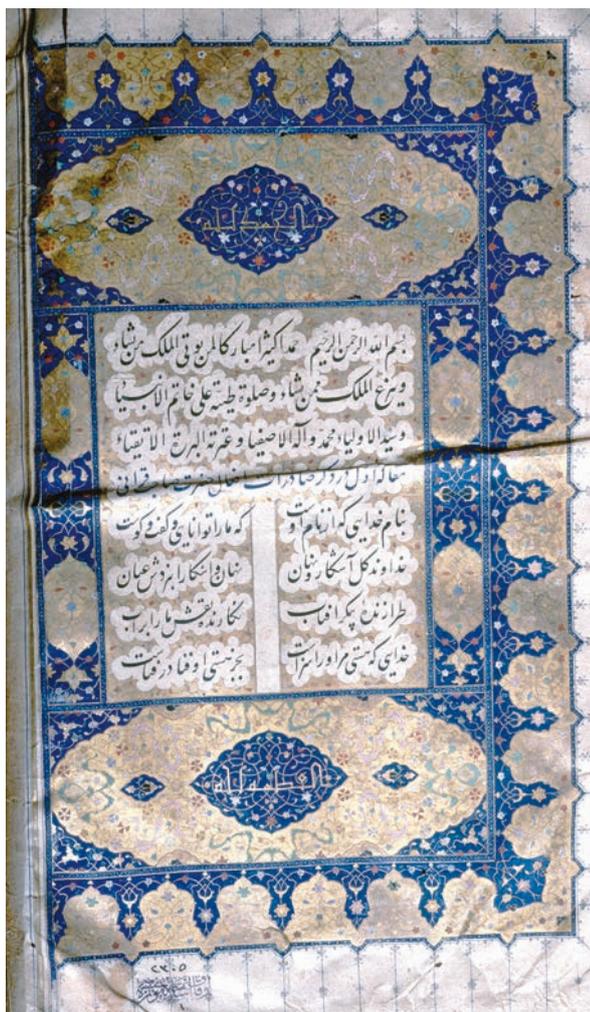


Fig. 5. Illumination. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 1b. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*,
Istanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Ms. T 1964

*Folio 32a, 228 x 155 mm*⁶⁴

"Timur and Amir Husayn Defeat Mengli-Buqa at the Ab-i Siyah" (fig. 6)

The two opposing armies face each other across the river, which cuts a diagonal swath across the painting, its two-dimensionality emphasized by the bird's-eye view given of its flowering borders, and by the improbable teardrop-shaped tree beside it. The transition from the flower-strewn ground to the rocky horizon is abrupt



Fig. 6. "Timur and Amir Husayn Defeat Mengli-Buqa at the Ab-i Siyah." Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 32a. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

and awkward.⁶⁵ Although the musicians at the top of the painting convey a sense of action, the cavalry is stiff and lifeless, with all facing one another except for a single horseman at the lower right, who turns to face his companion. All of the figures wear helmets of chain mail that extend to cover the shoulders. Although the painting is an ambitious full-page one with many figures, their stiffness and lack of variety, the repetition of the horses' gold carapaces, and the two-dimensional landscape are all hallmarks of Shiraz painting of the sixteenth century.⁶⁶



Fig. 7. "Timur Attacks the Forces of Amir Husayn at Tang-i Haram." Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 49b. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)

Folio 49b, 155 x 172 mm

“Timur Attacks the Forces of Amir Husayn at Tang-i Haram” (fig. 7)⁶⁷

Although some of the warriors wear helmets with colored flags on top that resemble those in fol. 32a, any similarity with the style of the previous painting ends there. The narrow defiles of the mountainous setting are convincingly conveyed, and the opposing forces are arrayed in a variety of poses. The attackers are spurred on by the most prominent figure in the group on the mountain, that of Timur, portrayed, as in several paintings of the Husayn Bayqara *Zafarnāma*, with a green *jāma* (a long-sleeved coat) and a long, bearded face. The soft wash of the contours of the mountain, the delicacy of the coloring, and the variety of the poses of the figures, some of whom are frantically pulling their horses’ bridles as they try to escape their attackers, are all features that differentiate this painting from Safavid Shiraz examples, and would argue for a date equivalent to that of the colophon, 891 (486–87).

Folio 62a, 175 x 182 mm

“Aq Timur on Foot Causes Üch Qara Bahadur to Flee” (fig. 8)⁶⁸

Without knowing the text, it would not be clear from the composition that the focus is the unmounted figure with raised sword, whose horse has just been struck down, but who nevertheless was able to cause his enemy to flee. Timur watches the battle from afar. Like the scene of the first painting, this battle took place beside a river, in this case the Ab-i Rahmat near Samarqand, but perhaps the painter thought its omission here preferable to the perspectival awkwardness of the first painting. The figure of Aq Timur has a long white plume tinged with black in his helmet. The discussion of the use of black-fringed feathers above made it clear that they are a likely indication of Safavid provenance; this applies with even greater force to the more prominent feather here. This composition is more lively than most Shiraz painting of the time, but the crude landscape details, including the single incongruous Chinese cloud, the clump of pasteboard trees on the horizon, the rigid group of figures in the upper right, and the awkward pose of Aq Timur, raising his sword and gazing towards the rump of a horse rather than his enemy, all corroborate a Shiraz provenance.



Fig. 8. “Aq Timur on Foot Causes Üch Qara Bahadur to Flee.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 62a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

Folio 70a, 222 x 168 mm,

Metropolitan Museum of Art, 52.20.4.

“Timur and Jahan Malik b. Amir Husayn Rout the Badakhshan Army at the Jarum Gorge” (fig. 9)⁶⁹

This illustration fills a gap at fol. 70a of the original manuscript. The other illustrations in the manuscript have a seal of the Evqaf Museum (now the TIEM), and a number corresponding to the ten paintings in the manuscript plus the double-page illustrated frontispiece on fols. 1b–2a. The numbers are in sequence, so this illustration must have been removed before the manuscript was transferred from its previous location, the Yıldız Palace, to the museum. As we shall see, there are three other lacunae in the manuscript, which suggest that more folios with paintings were removed. The setting, the coloring, and the figures betray a great similarity to fol. 49b, and it is probably the work of the same painter. The composition is nevertheless a more ambitious one,



Fig. 9. “Timur and Jahan Malik b. Amir Husayn Rout the Badakhshan Army at the Jarum Gorge.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 52.20.4. Originally fol. 70a of TIEM Ms. T 1964. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

with hand-to-hand fighting taking place at the bottom left, while archers attack each other across a river at the bottom right. Various groups look on from defiles in the upper parts of the painting, including Timur with his usual long, bearded face and green *jāma* at the top left.

Folio 90a, 265 x 167 mm

“Shaikh ‘Ali, Storming the Fort of Kat, Seizes and Breaks the Lance of a Defender While Striking Him on the Head” (fig. 10)⁷⁰

The text at the breakline celebrates the audacious exploit of Shaikh ‘Ali, the first to ascend the attackers’ ladders, who simultaneously grabs a defender’s lance and administers a fatal blow to his head. Three attackers are close behind him, while on the other side the upturned shield of a figure on the ladder protects him from the stones about to rain down on him from the defend-

ers. One figure on the ground has already been felled, while two attempt to break through the main door. The inhabitants within the fortress are rendered vividly, with youths and women looking on in consternation behind the defenders. At a window at the top left, a woman raises her henna-decorated hands to her face, while several old crones at the top right look on in dismay. The shield that one defender employs above the central crenellations is decorated with an unusually delicate arabesque in black and maroon, almost identical to one found in fol. 49b. Other, more exceptional characteristics link this painting to the artist of fols. 49b and 70a, namely, his drawing of eyebrows, almost like the hieroglyph for a snake, with a line turned down at the outer end and up at the inner end, unlike the standard, bow-shaped eyebrows of the time. His mouths are also distinctive, being usually compressed to a small, dark red, wriggly line.

Many features of this composition were copied later by Shiraz painters. The defender at the top of the ramparts on the right, who is about to hurl a rock from his two hands raised above his head, also appears in three other paintings from sixteenth-century Shiraz *Zafarnāmas*.⁷¹ The whole centerpiece of the assault on the city was also very closely copied in two other sixteenth-century Shiraz *Shāhnāma* paintings, one in the David Collection representing “Shah Anushirvan Capturing the Fortress of Saqila,”⁷² another, with the composition reversed, in the John Rylands Library, in the scene of “Kay Khusrau Attacks the Castle of Bahman.”⁷³ Even so, the variety of poses, the liveliness of the detail of the figures, and the more ambitious composition of the TIEM page elevate it above its imitations. I will argue later that the manuscript was in Shiraz in the sixteenth century, so it would not be surprising that its Timurid compositions should have been copied for other manuscripts there.

Folio 97a, 253 x 167 mm

“The Marriage of Timur and Dilshad Agha” (fig. 11)⁷⁴

While the subject, but not the details, of the previous painting, the assault on the castle, is paralleled in the *Zafarnāma* for Sultan Husayn, here at least part of the subject and its general treatment are similar to the double-page illustration of “Timur’s Accession” in the same manuscript (fig. 12).⁷⁵ In both, Timur is seated

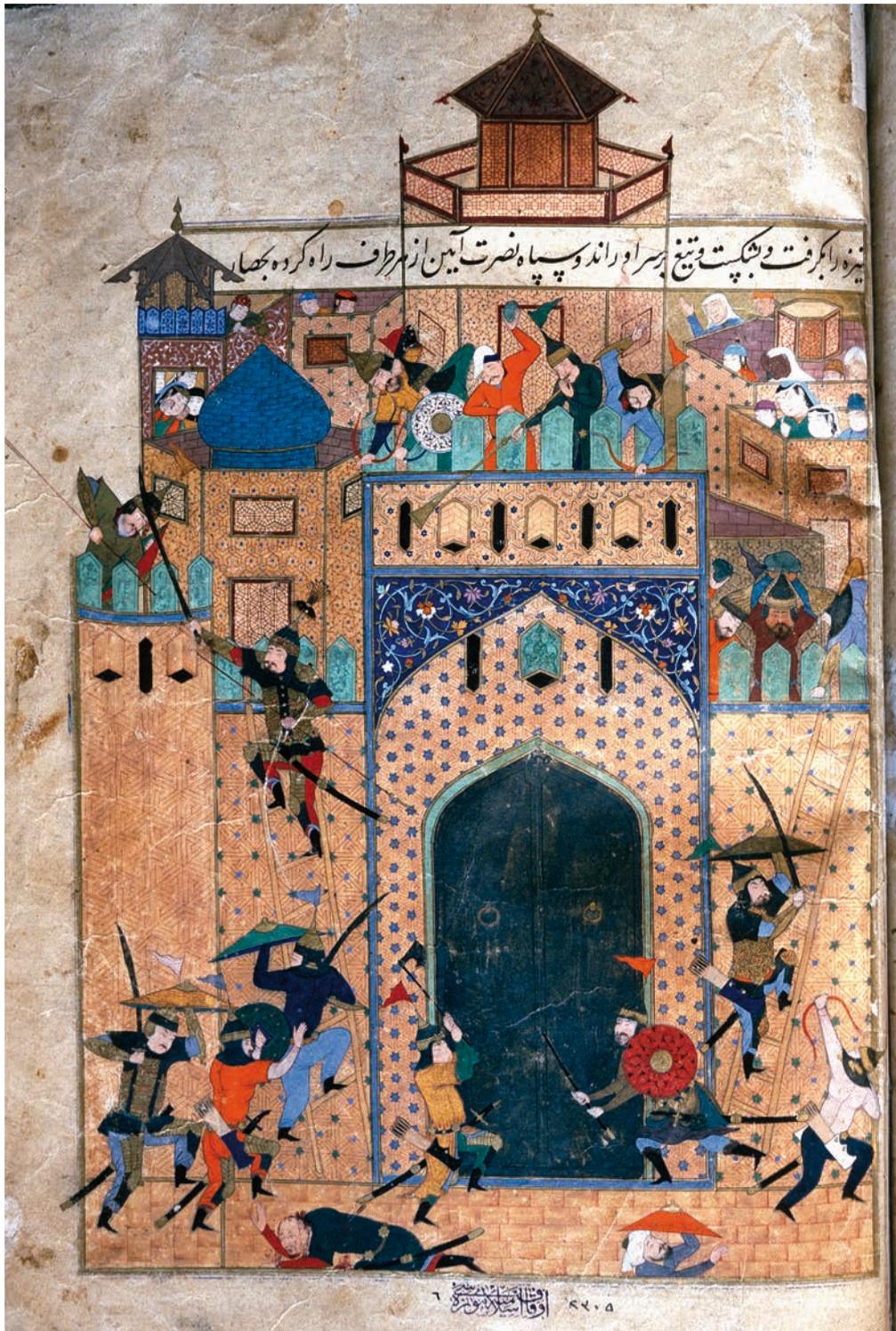


Fig. 10. “Shaikh ‘Ali, Storming the Fort of Kat, Seizes and Breaks the Lance of a Defender while Striking Him on the Head.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 90a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)



Fig. 11. "The Marriage of Timur and Dilshad Agha." Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 97a. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)



Fig. 12. "Timur's Accession to Power at Balkh." Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, fols. 82b–83a. John Work Garrett Collection, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. (After Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* [Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., 1989], 294–95)

on a throne with one leg on a footstool, the throne on a carpet in front of a circular trellis tent (*khārgāh*) with an awning. The setting in both is a deep-green colored meadow, studded with flowers. There the similarities end: the Garrett manuscript has courtiers arrayed somewhat stiffly around Timur, while the TIEM painting shows dancers and musicians, and a more varied group of courtiers on the left, including one in red with a pronounced potbelly. The horizon is filled with the royal, tented enclosure (*sarā parda*), in which several of the female members of Timur's entourage can also be viewed. The eyebrows of the figures are all of the

more common bow-shaped variety here, suggesting that a different painter was at work from the three previous Timurid ones analyzed. The painting has previously been attributed to Mirak by Soudavar.⁷⁶ The oeuvre of Mirak is by no means canonized,⁷⁷ but if one relies on, for instance, the attributions of Jahangir in the *Khamsa* of Nizami (BL Ms. Or. 6810), then the frontispiece of that manuscript (fig. 13) is closest in subject to our painting.⁷⁸ One detail, however, of the type that would have been unconsciously added by the painter, is enough to suggest that an artist other than Mirak was at work. The courtiers of the Or. 6810 paintings have



Fig. 13. Double-page frontispiece. Nizami, *Khamsa*, BL Or. 6810, fols. 1b–2a. (After Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* [London, 1997], 130–31)

turbans whose ends invariably are tied with a tail that barely emerges vertically to the right of the skullcap. The turbans in the TIEM painting, by contrast, are long and droop to the side of the skullcaps. In addition, the courtiers of the TIEM painting are more varied in pose and expression than those of Or. 6810, suggesting the work of a more skillful painter.

Folio 145b, 125 x 205 mm

“Timur Hunts after the Conquest of Tiflis” (fig. 14)⁷⁹

This is the last of the original Timurid paintings in the manuscript. It is in much worse condition than the others, displaying flaking and some crude retouching of faces. Even with the damage to the faces, however, it

is possible to see that the eyebrows are again the conventional bow-shaped type, and so the artist here was not the painter of the first three Timurid paintings in the manuscript.

At first sight, the conventional ground, with its regularly spaced tufts of grass and lack of color variation, gives the impression of a sixteenth-century Shiraz painting. However, the figural depictions are much livelier and more varied than any of that school. Presiding over all, as usual, is the mounted Timur in green *jāma*, a courtier behind holding a parasol over his head. Immediately below Timur, two figures carry a dead ram. They are quite similar to the two figures carrying a cauldron in “The Preparation of a Feast,” a late fifteenth-century



Fig. 14. "Timur Hunts after the Conquest of Tiflis." Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 145b. (Photo: Bernard O'Kane)



Fig. 15. “The Wedding Celebrations for Muhammad Sultan, Pir Muhammad, and Shah Rukh at the Bagh-i Bihisht, Samarqand.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fols. 163b–164a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

painting, later mounted in an album, that has been attributed to Bihzad.⁸⁰ The awkward pose of the left figure of each pair in particular may be compared, with the neck in each case twisted to an unnatural degree.

The framing of the lower edge of the painting with a horseman in a U-shape recalls the double-page painting of a hunting scene inserted into a later copy of Jami’s *Silsilat al-dhahab*. The exact dating and provenance of the latter is still a matter of speculation, but it is probably earlier than our manuscript.⁸¹ However, another double-page painting of the Herat school also follows the same compositional device, the frontispiece of the *Hasht Bihisht* of Jami, TKS Ms. H 676, dated 902 (1496). The setting of the *Hasht Bihisht* frontispiece is much

more detailed and varied than the *Zafarnāma* hunting scene, but several of its horsemen also share another slightly unusual feature—white domical hats with a brim cut in a V-shape at the front and back.⁸²

Folios 163b–164a, 242 x 161 mm (163b), 244 x 159 mm (164a)

“The Wedding Celebrations for Muhammad Sultan, Pir Muhammad, and Shah Rukh at the Bagh-i Bihisht, Samarqand” (fig. 15)⁸³

This is the most ambitious and accomplished Shiraz painting in the manuscript, and the only double-page painting in the manuscript. It echoes the themes of the earlier “The Marriage of Timur and Dilshad Agha,”

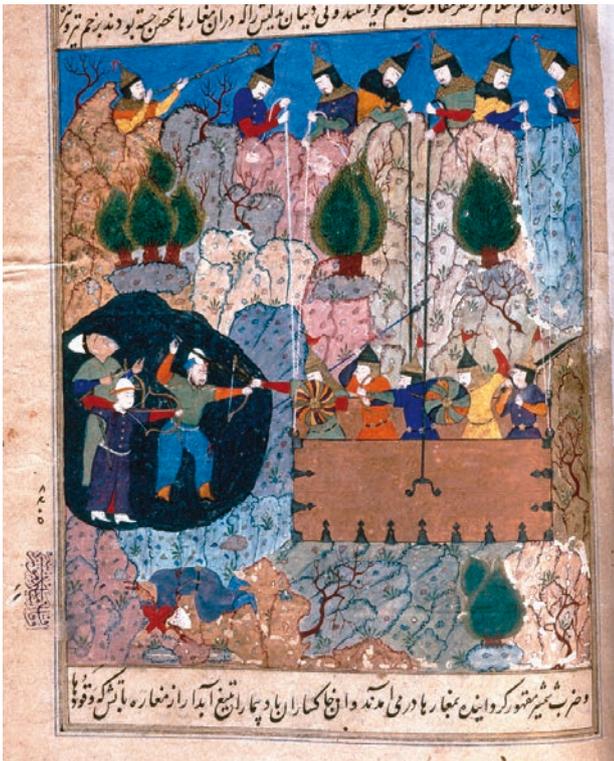


Fig. 16. “Timur’s Army Is Lowered in Boxes to Fight the Georgians in Caves.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 343a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

including the enthroned figure of Timur with a royal, tented enclosure behind him, but this time the setting is the courtyard of a garden or palace, rather than the verdant meadow of the former. Dancing women and courtiers are also present here, but among the additions are the three betrothed princes (each sporting a turban with no less than five black-fringed white feathers at the back, and two at the front), and the bearers of food and drink in the lower half of the left side. The princes, like virtually all of the other major figures in the painting, also wear the Safavid baton (*tāj-i haydarī*), an incontrovertible sign of a Safavid date.

Folio 343a, 201 x 141 mm

“Timur’s Army is Lowered in Boxes to Fight the Georgians in Caves” (fig. 16)⁸⁴

This is another scene that repeats the subject of one of the Garrett *Zafarnāma* paintings. The abstract treatment of the rocks here is unmistakably characteristic



Fig. 17. “Sultan Mahmud Khan Brings the Defeated Yıldırım Bayazid into Timur’s Presence.” Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāma*, TIEM Ms. T 1964, fol. 401a. (Photo: Bernard O’Kane)

of sixteenth-century Shiraz painting; the composition is also greatly simplified, with one cave instead of three, one box instead of two, and a rigid line of soldiers at the top of the cliff rather than the varied group of the earlier painting.⁸⁵ The rocky landscape with crudely drawn trees is very similar to one in another Yazdi *Zafarnāma* manuscript, dated 939 (1533),⁸⁶ possibly written by the father of our *Zafarnāma* calligrapher.

Folio 401a, 167 x 141 mm

“Sultan Mahmud Khan Brings the Defeated Yıldırım Bayazid into Timur’s Presence” (fig. 17)⁸⁷

This is by a more accomplished painter than the previous one. An unusual attempt at perspective is given by the diminutive figures that are visible in the upper balconies. However, the red batons of the courtiers make it clear that it is also a Safavid addition.

In order to gain a complete picture of the iconography of the manuscript, it should be realized that four folios, which almost certainly once contained paintings, are now missing from it. This is corroborated by the foliation of the manuscript. Two systems are used, and in one, clearly the older, the colophon is labelled fol. 495a; in the other, it is fol. 491a. One of the missing pages is the original fol. 70a mentioned above, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. At present, the other three have unfortunately not come to light.

The first of them was after fol. 12b, which ends at fol. 92a, line 2 in the ms. of the *Zafarnāma* edited by Urumbaev (henceforth ZNU; see also the *Zafarnāma* edited by 'Abbas [henceforth ZNA], vol. 2, p. 314, line 13); fol. 13a starts at ZNU, fol. 92a, line 20 (ZNA, 1:24, line 1).⁸⁸ A typical page of text occupies sixteen lines in the Urumbaev manuscript. Had a folio with text filling both pages been missing, one would have expected fol. 13a to start thirty-two lines later; in fact, it starts eighteen lines later, indicating a painting that would have taken up virtually a full page. The subject matter in the missing folio concerned the battle of Malik Husayn Kart with Amir Mas'ud Sarbidar and Shaykh Hasan Jawri, in which Malik Husayn was ultimately victorious.⁸⁹

The second gap is at fol. 172b, which ends at ZNU, fol. 206a, line 1 (ZNA, 1:349, line 20); the following folio, now 173a, starts at ZNU, fol. 206a, line 20 (ZNA, 1:351, line 7). This is again a gap of only nineteen lines rather than the expected thirty-two, also leaving a space for a nearly full-page painting. The subject would have been "Timur and His Courtiers Go Hawking at the Winter Quarters of Gul-i Firkati."

The third gap is after fol. 387b, which ends at ZNU, fol. 400a, line 22 (ZNA, 2:280, line 11); fol. 388a starts at ZNU, fol. 401a, line 3 (ZNA, 2:281, line 13), a gap of twenty-two lines, leaving a slightly shorter space than the others. The subject would most likely have been "Timur Hunts Lions near the Aras River."⁹⁰

The iconography would have been determined when the original manuscript was written, and so any later Shiraz additions would not, of course, have altered its original program. A list of the thirteen original subjects of the paintings in order will make the iconographic program clearer:

- 1) "The Battle of Malik Husayn Kart with Amir Mas'ud Sarbidar and Shaikh Hasan Jawri"
- 2) "Timur and Amir Husayn Defeat Mengli-Buqa at the Ab-i Siyah" (fig. 6)
- 3) "Timur Attacks the Forces of Amir Husayn at Tang-i Haram" (fig. 7)
- 4) "Aq Timur on Foot Causes Üch Qara Bahadur to Flee" (fig. 8)
- 5) "Timur and Jahan Malik b. Amir Husayn Rout the Bada-khshan Army at the Jarum Gorge" (fig. 9)
- 6) "Shaikh 'Ali, Storming the Fort of Kat, Seizes and Breaks the Lance of a Defender while Striking Him on the Head" (fig. 10)
- 7) "The Marriage of Timur and Dilshad Agha" (fig. 11)
- 8) "Timur Hunts after the Conquest of Tiflis" (fig. 14)
- 9) "The Wedding Celebrations for Muhammad Sultan, Pir Muhammad, and Shah Rukh at the Bagh-i Bihisht, Samarqand" (fig. 15)
- 10) "Timur and His Courtiers Go Hawking at the Winter Quarters of Gul-i Firkati"
- 11) "Timur's Army Is Lowered in Boxes to Fight the Georgians in Caves" (fig. 16)
- 12) "Timur Hunts Lions near the Aras River"
- 13) "Sultan Mahmud Khan Brings the Defeated Yıldırım Bayazid into Timur's Presence" (fig. 17)

As Sims has pointed out, there seems to be no obvious illustrative program to this manuscript, as it can be argued there was for the two earlier fifteenth-century *Zafarnāma* manuscripts.⁹¹ The 1436 manuscript made for Sultan Ibrahim has paintings celebrating the entry of Shah Rukh into Samarqand, when he was made its governor after the birth of his son, Ibrahim Sultan. And even Ibrahim Sultan himself is represented in one of its paintings, as an eleven-year-old leading the Timurid army.⁹² The Garrett manuscript, made for Sultan Husayn, has two double-page paintings celebrating the exploits of 'Umar Shaykh, the son of Timur, from whom Sultan Husayn was descended. There is no such obvious bias towards a particular Timurid line in the TIEM manuscript. Dilshad Agha, for instance, was not the mother of any of his sons, although she did produce

a daughter named Sultan.⁹³ Roxburgh has also pointed out that the iconographic emphasis is on Timur rather than his sons, and suggests this was to associate rulers with Timur's valor.⁹⁴ However, the decision to include "The Battle of Malik Husayn Kart with Amir Mas'ud Sarbidar and Shaikh Hasan Jawri," where Malik Husayn was ultimately victorious, is mystifying—Timur was not even a participant, and later was involved in a power struggle with Malik Husayn. Neither Timur nor his sons appear in another battle scene, "Shaikh 'Ali Storms the Fort of Kat." Another feature that distinguishes this manuscript from the two earlier illustrated Timurid examples is its incorporation of only one double-page painting, a great contrast, especially with the Baltimore manuscript, which features double-page paintings exclusively, six in all.

But evidence of difference and of the lack of a coherent iconography is itself useful, since it raises the possibility that, rather than being commissioned by a particular member of the Timurid family, it was produced on spec by a local atelier. Aware that it was a prominent text, but with insufficient nous to appreciate that a coherent iconography was very much a desideratum with this manuscript, work was perhaps begun on the manuscript. Even with a few finished paintings by some of the finest artists of the day, the atelier was unable to sell the product to a potential buyer, and hence it remained unfinished. In the following century, however, any Safavid buyer would have been happy to be associated with the glorious cultural legacy of the Timurids. The manuscript was worth finishing and placing on the market to compete with the many newly produced *Zafarnāma* manuscripts that were executed in Shiraz in the sixteenth century.

The analysis of the paintings of the TĪEM *Zafarnāma* has shown that the style of five of them, although not definitely attributable to any of the known Herat masters, is clearly related to them. Even if the patron is unknown and can not be connected with the illustrative program, its five original paintings, ranging from only a fair example of the school (fol. 145b) to one the equal of any produced in late Timurid Herat (fol. 97a),⁹⁵ are a valuable addition to the corpus of painting in the reign of Sultan Husayn. Its lack of a known patron and illustrative program is possibly also significant. It enables us

to raise the possibility that either the royal *kitābkhāna* was less centrally directed than is usually thought, or that an independent atelier with access to some of the finest painters might have been at work in the capital at the time.

Rather than diversifying the canon, this paper has inadvertently made the distinctly unfashionable case for reifying it. This is certainly not on principle; the Timurid court atelier worked in a variety of styles under Shah Rukh earlier in the century.⁹⁶ David Roxburgh's work on Bihzad has shown convincingly how the master himself was capable of working in several idioms,⁹⁷ and it would not be surprising if further research on the paintings in the Istanbul albums reveals other just as likely candidates for this. But I believe that on the evidence from the manuscript painting that we have at the moment, there is no good reason for supposing that ateliers working in a variety of idioms were active in late fifteenth-century Herat.

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NOTES

Author's note: I am grateful for the suggestions of several readers of this manuscript, including Sheila Blair, Gülru Necipoğlu, and an anonymous reader for *Muqarnas*, for encouraging me to take a broader view of the problems of late Timurid and early Safavid painting. Thanks also to all those who responded to a request for bibliographic information posted on the H-ISLAMART discussion list.

1. The appropriate word here is relative; even in manuscripts produced at Herat quite different idioms were used for paintings in historical and literary manuscripts: Bernard O'Kane, "Removing the Veil from the Face of Persian Painting," *Oriental Art* 48, 2 (2002): 57.
2. For Shiraz and related styles at Yazd, see Basil Gray, "The School of Shiraz from 1392 to 1453," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th–16th Centuries*, ed. Basil Gray (Paris and London, 1979), 121–46. For Samarqand, see B. W. Robinson, *Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting: Problems and Issues* (New York, 1991), chap. 3, "Transoxiana."
3. Basil W. Robinson, "The Turkman School to 1503," in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 215–48.
4. I am grateful for the assistance I received from Şule Aksoy while studying this manuscript at the TĪEM.
5. Eleanor G. Sims, "The Garrett Manuscript of the *Zafar-Name*: A Study in Fifteenth-Century Timurid Patronage" (PhD

- diss., New York University, 1973). Earlier mentions or illustrations occur in: Armenag Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1929), 83, pl. 64, fig. 109 (fol. 97a), attributed to the Herat school; B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1958), 68 (in a list of mss. of the later Herat style); Z. V. Togan, *On the Miniatures in Istanbul Libraries* (Istanbul, 1963), 48, pls. 108–9 (fols. 62a, 97a); Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting*, (n.p., 1968), fig. 39 (fol. 70a, an unidentified battle scene, attributed to Herat, about 1490, although it was not discussed in the text). Following Sims, Lentz and Lowry also asserted that the Ibrahim Sultan and Husayn Bayqara *Zafarnāmas* were the only fifteenth-century copies: Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles and Washington, D.C., 1989), 262. Two paintings from the TIEM manuscript, fols. 49b and 97a, were illustrated in Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), figs. 16 and 17, with an attribution to Mirak. In my article “Removing the Veil,” 55–60, fol. 97a and the colophon were reproduced. I also argued that fol. 97a was from the date of the manuscript, that other pages were original, and that the colophon, *pace* Sims, “Garrett Manuscript,” 213, had not been altered. Mika Natif, “The *Zafarnama* [Book of Conquest] of Sultan Husayn Mirza,” in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane, *Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers* 5 (Princeton, 2002), 211–28, had evidently not seen the manuscript, summarizing (p. 227 n. 31) Sims’s account of it as: “The manuscript’s patron and location are unknown, it has mediocre-quality paintings, and it is very ambiguous.” She mentions in the text (p. 223) the two paintings that Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, published (see above), but merely to query his identifications of the subject matter. In a recently published study of Timurid illustrated *Zafarnāmas*, the TIEM manuscript is again conspicuous by its absence: Eleanor Sims, “The Iconography of the Illustrated Timurid *Zafarnāma* Manuscripts,” in *Image and Meaning in Islamic Art*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London, 2005), 129–39. In another recent publication, David Roxburgh, ed., *Turks: A Journey of a Thousand Years, 600–1600* (London, 2005), Roxburgh’s discussion of catalogue entry 172 seems to assume that the paintings are all contemporary with the manuscript; only fols. 96b–97a are illustrated. The catalogue entry attributes it specifically to “Iran”; since other entries by the same author have, for instance, specific attributions to “Herat, Afghanistan,” this presumably indicates the author’s doubts about a Herat provenance.
6. Sims, “Garrett Manuscript,” 211. She included fol. 62a in this group, but, as I argue in the text, the style of this Safavid Shiraz painting bears little resemblance to that of late Herat painting.
 7. The signature reads: *tummat al-nuskha al-sharīfa bi-‘awn Allāh tabārūk wa-ta’ālā mutammimhā Hamd Allāh ibn Shaykh Murshid al-kātib, sana 891*: The noble copy was finished with the help of God, may He be praised and exalted; its finisher was Hamd Allah, son of Shaykh Murshid the calligrapher, in the year 891 (1486–87). Mahdi Bayānī, *Aḥvāl va āsār-i khushnivīsān*, 2 vols., 4 pts. (Tehran 1363 [1984–85]), 1:170, reads *nammaqahā* instead of *mutammimhā*.
 8. Sims, “Garrett Manuscript,” 311–12.
 9. Roxburgh, *Turks*, cat. no. 172.
 10. O’Kane, “Removing the Veil,” 60 n. 20.
 11. Filiz Çağman, “The Miniatures of the Divan-i Hüseyini and the Influence of Their Style,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), 231–59.
 12. Ivan Stchoukine, “Les images de Sultān Hosayn dans un manuscrit de son Dīvān de 897/1492,” *Syria* 53 (1976): 141–48.
 13. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 118–19, fig. 18. He also points out that “[n]one of the four paintings of the 1293 Topkapı manuscript is integral to the manuscript design: two have been added as a double-page frontispiece at the beginning, one occupies a blank space at the end of the text, and the last one is on the following page, below the colophon”: Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 125 n. 127. The other painting in the manuscript, on fol. 32a (Çağman, “Miniatures,” fig. 2), shows rocks and trees invading the text space in such a way as to make it clear that that is also one in which the painting is a later addition.
 14. Personal communication.
 15. I have not seen the original, but it has at least three in addition to the double-page frontispiece; all are illustrated in Edgar Blochet, *Les enluminures des manuscrits orientaux—turcs, arabes, persans—de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1926), pls. XLIII (fols. 2b–3a), XLIVa (fol. 27a), XLIVb (fol. 36b), and XLVa (fol. 51b).
 16. Martin Bernard Dickson and Stuart Cary Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1981), 1:26.
 17. Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timūrides* (Paris, 1954), 70–71, ms. no. 76.
 18. Stchoukine, “Les images de Sultān Hosayn,” 147.
 19. Bayānī, *Aḥvāl*, 1:236–41.
 20. Bayānī, *Aḥvāl*, 1:240–41, on account of the adjective *al-gharīb* (never used by Sultan ‘Ali al-Mashhadi) with which he prefaced his signature in this and several other manuscripts. This may be a more effective way of determining the authorship of the signature than the micrographic comparison called for by Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, *Le chant du monde: l’Art de l’Iran safavide, 1501–1736* (Paris, 2007), 160 n. 1. Melikian-Chirvani assigns the paintings of this manuscript to Tabriz or Herat in the caption of the illustration, but in the text argues for a Herat instead of the traditional Tabriz attribution. He states (p. 160) that an argument used in favor of a Tabrizi attribution, the portrayal of the *tāj-i ḥaydarī*, could be used as an argument for the opposite, as it is shorter and wider than typical Safavid ones, as if the painter wanted to represent a Safavid baton but did not know the model used in the west of Iran. On the contrary, the model used at

- this time in the west of Iran, as evidenced in the early Safavid paintings added to the *Khamsa* of Nizami, TKS Ms. H762, is precisely the short, wide one, not the later tall, narrow one. Compare, for instance, “Jalal Sees the Pavilion of Jamal” (Melikian-Chirvani, *Le chant du monde*, 161, no. 7) and “Bahram Gur in the White Pavilion” (Lale Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* [Istanbul, 2006], 62, fig. 28): both paintings have one figure wearing a turban identical with the *tāj-i haydarī* and another wearing a red cap that transforms into a *tāj-i haydarī*. In Shiraz at this time, a similar form of turban with a *tāj-i haydarī* was also used, as evidenced in the *Khamsa* of Nizami dated 913 (1507–8), Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library, no. 340: *Miniatiuryk “Khamse” Nizami = Miniatures Illuminations [sic] of Nisami’s “Hamsah,”* ed. E. Yu. Yusupov and Fazila Suleimanova (Tashkent, 1985), pls. 87–101. Melikian-Chirvani also argues that since two paintings are dated 1502–3 and 1503–4, a volume of this quality is unlikely to have been made for Shah Isma‘il since his troops had not even taken the town of Tabriz by 1502–3; Melikian-Chirvani, *Le chant du monde*, 160 n. 1. On the contrary, Shah Isma‘il was crowned at Tabriz in 1501: R. M. Savory, *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition* (Leiden, 1954–2004), s.v. “Isma‘il I (Abu ‘l-Muzaffar)”; H. R. Roemer, “The Safavid Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), 212.
21. Fehmi Edhem and Ivan Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la bibliothèque de l’Université de Stamboul*, Mémoires de l’Institut français d’archéologie de Stamboul 1 (Paris, 1933), 35–37, figs. 27–28. Stchoukine is thus most consistent in his willingness to assign dates to paintings later than the date of the manuscript; I have argued against this tendency in the cases of two other manuscripts: Bernard O’Kane, “The Bihbihani Anthology and Its Antecedents,” *Oriental Art* 45, 4 (1999/2000): 9–18.
 22. Çağman, “Miniatures,” 233–34; Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:27.
 23. Çağman, “Miniatures,” 231.
 24. Present also in fols. 2b–31 and 27a of the BN *Dīvān* of Sultan Husayn: see Blochet, *Les enluminures*, pls. XLIII and XLIVa.
 25. Çağman, “Miniatures,” 236.
 26. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 2: pls. 11, 14–16, 25–27, 33, 36–37, 47, 56, 60, 73, 111, 134, 146, 216, 220–21, 246, 252, and 260.
 27. From the Bernard Berenson Collection: Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 142.
 28. Illustrated in Robert Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting: A Scottish Arts Council Exhibition* (Edinburgh, 1977), 40, cat. no. 43.
 29. Çağman, “Miniatures,” figs. 1, 5, and 7.
 30. Fol. 36b, illustrated in Blochet, *Les enluminures*, pl. XLIVb.
 31. There is only a thin wispy black feather visible at the back of his turban. The rather unprepossessing conical cap that he wears is also seen on the figure of Timur giving an audience in a *Timurnāma* that has been attributed to Bukhara, early sixteenth century: Crofton Black and Nabil Saidi, *Sam Fogg: Islamic Manuscripts* (London, 2000), 93.
 32. Illustrated in Roxburgh, *Turks*, 240.
 33. Çağman, “Miniatures,” figs. 7–9; however, none in the scene “Solomon and Sheba Enthroned” wears it: *ibid.*, fig. 10.
 34. One figure has a turban with a small white feather facing backwards in “Iskandar and the Seven Sages,” *Khamsa* of Nizami, BL, Ms. Or. 6810: Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* (London, 1997), 152. Three figures with small black feathers in their turbans are present in “Shaykh ‘Iraqi’s Farewell,” Navā‘ī, *Hayrat al-abrār*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Elliott 287: *ibid.*, 162.
 35. Khusrau, in “Khusrau at Shirin’s Palace,” one of three paintings from this manuscript that are now in the Keir collection, displays such a feather: B. W. Robinson et al., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, Keir Collection (London, 1976), col. pl. 20, although in his commentary Robinson is equivocal on whether it is later fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Two figures in “Iskandar and the Shepard” have prominent plumes: *Hunt for Paradise: Court Arts of Safavid Iran 1501–1576*, ed. Jon Thompson and Sheila Canby (Milan, 2003), 73. The plumes appear throughout on military helmets in a battle scene from the manuscript that is usually attributed to the Aqquyunlu period: Robinson, “Turkman School,” pl. 135.
 36. Robinson, “Turkman School,” col. pls. LXVIII–LXIX. The paintings were argued to be later by Stchoukine, who considered them mid-seventeenth-century Turkish works: Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d’après les manuscrits illustrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–71), vol. 2, *De Murad IV à Mustafa III 1623–1773*, 61–62. His arguments were analyzed in detail by Robinson, *Islamic Painting*, 160–62, who gave convincing reasons for their rejection.
 37. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:27.
 38. K. V. Zetterstéen and C. J. Lamm, *Mohammed Āṣafī, The Story of Jamāl and Jalāl: An Illuminated Manuscript in the Library of Uppsala University* (Uppsala, 1948), figs. 1–2, 4, 5–7, 15–22, 24, 29, and 31–32.
 39. Wheeler M. Thackston, “The *Diwan* of Khata‘i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma‘il I,” *Asian Art* 1, 4 (Fall 1988): figs. 1, 3.
 40. For another early example in a Shiraz *Gulistān* of Sa‘di, dated 919 (1513–14), BL Ms. Or. 11847, see Sheila Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art 1501–1722* (London, 1999), 33, fig. 21. It is unnecessary to detail, for instance, its ubiquity in the *Shāhnāma* of Shah Tahmasp. A large, white feather tinged with black appears in the late Timurid *Khamsa* of Nizami BL Ms. Add. 25900, with mostly late Timurid paintings, on fol. 44v, “Khusrau Sees Shirin Bathing” (illustrated in Bahari, *Bihzad*, 118, fig. 59). However, this is surely because, as Stchoukine (Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits timūrides*, 77) and Welch (Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:126; attributed to the Safavid painters Shaykh Muhammad and Dust Muhammad) thought, it is one of several Safavid additions to the manuscript. The rocks, which have more jagged edges than is usual in Timurid paintings,

- and the plane tree in this painting may be compared to those in "Bandits Attack the Caravan of Aynie and Ria," Jāmī, *Haft Aurang*, 963–72 (1556–65), Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., 46.2, fol. 64b, illustrated in Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang: A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran* (New Haven, 1997), 113.
41. 'Aṣṣār, *Mihr u Mushtari*, BN Sup. Pers. 765, dated Shiraz 909 (1504), illustrated in Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1997), 133; Zetterstéen and Lamm, *Story of Jamāl and Jalāl*, passim.
 42. E.g., in the "big head" *Shāhnāma*: Robinson, "Turkman School," col. pl. LXVIII.
 43. Çağman, "Miniatures," figs. 5–7.
 44. *Ibid.*, figs. 1–7.
 45. E.g., in the *Khamsa* of Nizami, Metropolitan Museum of Art 13.228.7, of ca. 1525 (Bahari, *Bihzad*, 204) and above all in the *Shāhnāma* for Shah Tahmasp, especially those attributed by Welch to Aqa Mirak: Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:95–117, and Bahari, *Bihzad*, 211.
 46. For extant early Ottoman examples of such caftans, see J. M. Rogers, Hülye Tezcan, and Selma Delibaş, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: Costumes, Embroideries and Other Textiles* (London, 1986), pls. 1–3, 7–8, 10–12.
 47. This type of fastening is especially prominent in the court scene of Solomon in the IUL 'Ali Shir *Gharā'ib al-ṣiḡhar*: Edhem and Stchoukine, *Les manuscrits*, fig. 27; Çağman, "Miniatures," fig. 10; and in another enthronement scene in the same manuscript: Çağman, "Miniatures," fig. 7; as well as in the figures at the bottom left of the frontispiece of the TKS *Divān* of Sultan Husayn: Çağman, "Miniatures," fig. 1, and Roxburgh, *Turks*, 240.
 48. See, for example, Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 2: pls. 3, 15, 19, 32, 37, 54, 66, 110, and 125, to list just a few.
 49. Çağman, "Miniatures," 236.
 50. *Ibid.*, 236. Another manuscript contemporary with this one, which also has a similar style, is the Jāmī, *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, TKS Ms. R 910, dated 931 (1525), calligraphed by Shah Mahmud Nishapuri: Ivan Stchoukine, "Un poème de Jāmī illustré à Tabriz en 931/1525," *Syria* 51 (1974): pls. XXI–XXIV.
 51. Çağman, "Miniatures," 231, 236.
 52. *Ibid.*, 236.
 53. *Ibid.*, 236 n. 9.
 54. *Ibid.*, 231.
 55. *Ibid.*, 235.
 56. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 118. To this core group we should add a *Divān* of Mir 'Ali Shir in the Soudavar Collection, which has one painting in the style of the others: see *ibid.* It is interesting that it is undated: those willing to pass painted manuscripts off as intact Timurid works might have been willing to add paintings to the text, but stopped short of forging manuscript dates. Perhaps they realized that connoisseurship of calligraphy would let them down faster than expertise in painting; the safer course would then be to leave the manuscript with no colophon.
 57. Dickson and Welch, *Houghton Shahnameh*, 1:25, fig. 22.
 58. Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and Indian Manuscripts and Paintings in The Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1997), fig. 43.
 59. For Shiraz examples, see Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, figs. 133, 171–2, 175, 184, 195–6, 197–8, 235, 247, and 259–61.
 60. From a *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi, reproduced in Oktay Aslanapa, "The Art of Bookbinding," in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, pl. XV.
 61. Ms. 171, a *Khamsa* of Nizami, unpublished.
 62. For example, that seen in a *Haft Awrang* of Jami, TKS Ms. H 751, illustrated in Lâle Uluç, "Selling to the Court: Late-Sixteenth-Century Manuscript Production in Shiraz," *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): fig. 1; in a *Kulliyāt* of Sa'di, Bodleian Library, Oxford, illustrated in *idem*, *Turkman Governors*, 102, fig. 50; and in a *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsi, TIEM Ms. 1984, *ibid.*, 154, figs. 103–4.
 63. In addition to the examples in the previous footnote, see also an *Iskandarnāma* of Ahmadi, TKS R.813, illustrated in Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 172, fig. 121. She also illustrates (*ibid.*, 95, fig. 48) a *Kulliyāt* of Dihlavi, TIEM Ms. 1980, dated 903 (1497), which has a contoured text area and bolder reciprocal crenellation in the outer border, indicating a transition in the later Timurid period towards characteristics that would become normal in the following century.
 64. The dimensions of the paintings are given in millimeters, height followed by width. The folio size has been cut down, but at present it is 335 x 224 mm; the size of the text frame is 223 x 138 mm.
 65. A landscape with a diagonal river and a verdant border, a flower-strewn ground, and a transition to a rocky horizon is also seen in "Shaykh 'Iraqi's Farewell," Nava'i, *Hayrat al-abrār*, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Elliott 287: Bahari, *Bihzad*, 162, fig. 95. The perspective rendering of the river, the variety of the clumps of flowers, and the smooth transition to the horizon all contrast strongly with the *Zafarnāma* painting.
 66. For comparable examples, including the helmets with fluttering flags worn by most of the cavalry, see another Yazdi *Zafarnāma* manuscript, written by Murshid al-kātib al-Shirāzī (presumably the father of our *Zafarnāma* calligrapher), 939 (1533), India Office Library, London, Ms. 137: B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1976), 82, no. 237; and a Firdawsi *Shāhnāma*, copied at Shiraz by Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Kātib, TKS Ms. H 1485: Uluç, *Turkman Governors*, 132, fig. 40.
 67. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma: Tārīkh-i 'umūmī mufaṣṣal-i Irān dar dawrah-i Timūriyān* (henceforth ZNA), ed. Muḥammad 'Abbāsi, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1336 [1957]), 1:94, line 20.
 68. ZNA, 1:118, line 5.
 69. ZNA, 1:134, line 7.
 70. ZNA, 1:177, line 12.
 71. At the center of defenders of a *Zafarnāma*, BL Ms. Or. 1359 (959 [1552]), illustrated in Grace Dunham Guest,

- Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1949), pl. 40A; in a leaf from the Praetorius *Zafarnāma* (953 [1548]) in the V&A (ibid., pl. 39A); in the Gulistan Library *Zafarnāma* (ibid., pl. 38B); in the *Zafarnāma*, BL Ms. Or. Add. 7635 (929 [1523]) (ibid., pl. 28A). The latter (pl. 28A) also has similarities in the figures of the attackers at the left scaling the ladder, especially the warrior with outstretched sword near the top of the ladder. The motif of the rock thrower is, of course, earlier; it is found (but in a differing pose) in the painting of “Timur’s Assault on the Fortress of Smyrna” in the Garrett *Zafarnāma*: Bahari, *Bihzad*, fig. 38.
72. *Sultan, Shah, and Great Mughal: The History and Culture of the Islamic World*, ed. Kjeld von Folsach et al. (Copenhagen, 1966), 203, no. 179, Shiraz, mid-sixteenth century.
 73. Illustrated in B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the John Rylands Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1980), 172, no. 586. A much freer version is to be found in a copy of ‘Abd Allāh Hātifī, *Zafarnāma*, dated 976 (1568), Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan, no. 2012, fol. 45b, reproduced in *Oriental Miniatures: The Collection of the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan*, vol. 1, *14th–17th Centuries*, ed. M. Khairullaev, G. Pugachenkova, et al. (Tashkent, 2001), 162, attributed to the “Maverannahr” style.
 74. ZNA, 1:191, line 6.
 75. Bahari, *Bihzad*, 70–71, pls. 28–29.
 76. See n. 1 above.
 77. As seen in the controversy over whether Mirak or Bihzad was the painter of the frontispiece of the Cairo *Būstān*: Michael Barry, *Figurative Art in Medieval Islam and the Riddle of Bihzād of Herāt (1465–1535)* (Paris, 2004), 194–96 (which mentions earlier studies on the topic); Barbara Brend, “A Kingly Posture: the Iconography of Sultan Husayn Bayqara,” in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O’Kane (Edinburgh, 2005), 81–92.
 78. Bahari, *Bihzad*, 130–31, pls. 69–70.
 79. ZNA, 1:293, line 22.
 80. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 52.20.4, reproduced in Bahari, *Bihzad*, 92, fig. 45.
 81. Reproduced in Robinson, “Turkman School,” figs. 140–41; for a color illustration, see G. Pugachenkova and O. Galerkina, *Miniatiury Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1979), pls. 1–1a. Although attributed to the period of the Aqqyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan by Robinson, the extraordinary rock faces in this painting have no parallels in any manuscript painting outside of the Istanbul albums.
 82. Illustrated in color in J. M. Rogers, Filiz Çağman, and Zeren Tanındı, *The Topkapı Saray Museum: The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (London, 1986), pl. 64; and in Bahari, *Bihzad*, 166–7, pls. 99–100.
 83. ZNA, 1:331, line 3.
 84. ZNA, 2:173, line 14.
 85. Several of the soldiers have eyebrows portrayed as an almost straight line, joined in the middle. This is also found in fol. 62a, “Aq Timur on Foot Causes Üch Qara Bahadur to Flee.”
 86. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, 87 no. 255.
 87. ZNA, 2:314, line 13.
 88. Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, *Zafarnāma* (facsimile), ed. ‘Iṣām al-Dīn Urunbaev (Tashkent, 1972); for the *Zafarnāma* edited by ‘Abbas, see n. 67 above.
 89. Pace Sims, “Garrett Manuscript,” 307 n. 1, there is nothing in this passage about Timur, nor anything about Amir Husayn making peace with the kings of Badakhshan and Talikhan.
 90. Ibid., suggests that the scene represented the ambassadors of Yıldırım Beyazid carrying letters to Timur. The ambassadors were honored at the end of the hunt, and are mentioned before it began, but almost all of this passage is devoted to a description of the lion hunt itself.
 91. Ibid., 305–8.
 92. Sims, “Garrett Manuscript,” 315.
 93. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khvāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1333 [1954]), 3:542.
 94. Roxburgh, *Turks*, 420.
 95. Sakisian, *La miniature persane*, 83, was also of the opinion that this was the finest painting in the manuscript, hence his decision to reproduce it.
 96. See n. 21 above.
 97. David J. Roxburgh, “Kamal al-Din Bihzad and Authorship in Persianate Painting,” *Muqarnas* 17 (2000): 119–46.

