of the earliest and most wholesale adoption of the Chinese mode of drawing rock, and conveying its texture, together with the inventive use of meaningful rocky extensions into the margins.45 Also mentioned in the album preface is a Mi'rajnāmah, an account of the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad into the heavens. A few illustrations from this are again found as album pictures: they have a gravitas similar to that of the Great Mongol Shahnāmah, though eastern elements are less marked. Of particular relevance for the present study is a picture in which an angel offers to the Prophet Muhammad a miniature city (pl. 8).46

Work produced for Sultan Ahmad b. Shahr Uveys (r. 1382–1410) is of capital importance for the development of the classical tradition as a whole. Most celebrated is the fragmentary Khamsah of Khvājū Kirmānī (British Library, Add. 18113), whose text was copied in Baghdad in 1396.47 The illustrations are not of a piece with the main text and, since a detached picture in Istanbul is attributed to the painter ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, who was taken to Samarqand by Timūr, probably in 1393,48 they may be dated tentatively to c. 1390. The detached picture, ‘An angel inspires Khvājū Kirmānī’, is surrounded by the attribution applied in the sixteenth century, presumably on the authority of Dūst Muhammad (pl. 9).49 The picture style is renowned for the beauty of its courtly scenes, but in relation to the topic of Shahnāmah illustration the ‘Combat of Humāy and Humāyūn’ (pl. 10) is particularly important for the richness complexity that it brings to the basic single-combat format. Two more manuscripts must be mentioned as representing the last and most highly developed phase of Jalāyird painting at Tabriz. Both are in the Freer Gallery of Art. Possibly of 805/1403 is the Divān of Sultan Ahmad, some of whose margins are decorated with figures, mainly in a pastoral setting, very delicately drawn in ink.47 The other, perhaps of c. 1405, is a Khamsa of Shirin that continues both the lyrical tradition of the Khvājū Kirmānī and its grasp of the three-dimensionality of structures (pl. 11).48
Notes


2 Bosis, pp. 101–4, outlines the difficulties of dating and naming 1011 and 1019 as other possibilities.


4 Mohammad Mirza Paykhah, Sâ'îh-parvân: ‘Abîd al-Salâm’s biography of Ferdowsi, Tehran, 1972–1993, pp. 577–78. WWV, pp. 114 and note 106, "the prince of the exiles" is identified as Mahmûd’s general Arslân Farazî, whose surviving tomb demonstrates the powerful style of Ferdowsi’s day.

5 He is said to have devised it between a bath-attendant and a seller of drinks.


9 Ruygh, pp. 364–68.


13 WWV, p. 40; the history of fifty reigns is reconstructed if the Aḥkâmatt are reckoned as a single unit.


16 WWV, p. 29; points out that the basic meaning is the presentation of a dish of food. In translating ‘Course’ the brothers Warner are using a pun to link this idea with the tilting yard.

17 WWV, pp. 314–16, Ferdowsî refers to Rhodes a Greek tale whose location is Scythia, and which refers to a maiden’s choice of husband, a practice also recounted in the Mabûhâh and known in the Indian context as aryanara. Presumably extrapolating from his own time, Ferdowsî sees the silks of Rhum as an item of luxury from the Polînâvand time onwards (WWV, p. 185).

18 Presumably extrapolating from his own time, Ferdowsi sees the silks of Rhum as an item of luxury from the Polînâvand time onwards (WWV, p. 185).

19 Nöldeke, p. 3; WWV, II, pp. 114–16.

20 WWV, VI, pp. 61–64.

21 WWV, VI, p. 194 that material of Aḥkâmatt period is transposed to an earlier time.

22 Verlagt to the accession is on the day of ord of the month ašhadîn (WW, p. 74); it would appear that Ferdowsî deliberately chose to complete his work on that day.


24 WW, II, p. 286.


29 The number of subjects of illustration that could be derived from the Shubrah text is almost unthinkably large. First considered in Jülf Nörset and Edward Davis, Preliminary Index of Shubrah Illustrations, Amsterdan, 1969, this question is now addressed by the Shubrah Project at the University of Cambridge.
The Shihabids and the Early Tradition of Illumination

34 Of the four known copies, three are preserved in the British Library, London, and one is in the possession of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.
38 Demotte, PP., pp. 17–20.
40 From the last quarter of the fourteenth century there survive Sufi manuscripts from Mustafa Shah, their idiosyncratic style marked by elegant and doll-like figures and delicate, formalistic landscapes (Gray, PP., pp. 63–64).
Chapter II
The Timúrids and their Patronage

Timúr's empire

Timúr, a Turk of the Barlaš tribe, came to power in Transoxiana in 1370, ascending the throne in Balkh but making Samarqand his capital. He ruled nominally as subject to a descendant of Chingiz Khan, supported in this by marriage to a Chingizid wife, Saray Malik Khanum. In the 1370s he extended his rule in the region and began the process of acquiring scholars and skilled artisans to adorn his capital.

In the 1380s and 90s his campaigns ranged through Iran; Sultan Ahmad Jalayir, ruler of Baghdad and Tabriz, fled before him, though the latter's Turkmen vassals, the Qara Qiyunli, proved more resistant. Campaigns extended into the lands of the Golden Horde, and as far as Delhi. Baghdad was taken in 1393 and again more destructively in 1401. In 1402 the Ottomans Buayid I was defeated at Ankara.

Timur died on 17 Sha'ban 807/18th February, 1405, in Otrar, while on his way to attack China. By this time his sons or grandsons were well established as provincial governors in Iran: the line of his deceased favourite Jahàngir in the southeast; the sons of the deceased 'Umar Shaykh in Fars; Miranshah and his sons in Azerbaijan; Shah Rukh and his sons in Khurasan and parts of Transoxiana (see appendix F).

The succession was the subject of a four-year struggle, but in 811/1409 Shah Rukh was able to make his son Ulugh Beg governor of Samarqand, while retaining Herat as his own capital. In 1410 Tabriz came under the rule of the Qara Qiyunli; to the west of them lay another Turkmen group, the Aq Qiyunli.

Timur's patronage

Timur's patronage is chiefly evident to us in what survives of buildings produced for him: the Aq Saray palace at Shah-i Sabz; at Samarqand, the Great Mosque and the Gur-i Amri; and at Turkestan the shrine of Khwājah Ahmad Yasavi, from which a monumental metal basin and lampstands have survived. All are grand and ostentatious, probably combining personal taste with an instinct for propaganda. Historical accounts of material that has been lost do not change this view, though they fill in some detail.

We hear of the gardens around Samarqand with pavilions, nimbly the possession of female members of the family, in which Timur would occasionally take up residence. 1 Clavigo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castile and Leon, tells us of astonishingly large and complex tents, and of hangings that are often red silks with liberal quantities of gold ornament; also of golden tables set with flasks and cups of gold encrusted with jewels and pearls. 2 He also tells us of the private collection of Saray Malik Khanum, who as Timur's senior wife must have had the pick of the spoils of war. Amongst these were a door with the figures of SS. Peter and Paul worked in silver, and a golden tree with a trunk as thick as a man's leg whose branches were covered with enamelled birds pecking at jewelled fruit. 3

With regards to manuscripts, it seems that a Qur'an of enormous size was made for the mosque at Samarqand. 4 In the field of representation, mural painting probably took precedence over the illustration of books. Ibn 'Arabshah, a captive from Damascus who

composed a
older he was seized with religious scruples and washed or burned whatever he could by hands on. An origin under Timūr has been suggested for a few paintings in the Istanbul Albums. Among these is the 'Monastery', which itself shows wall paintings, while it has been argued that some pictures in the Topkapı Albums, such as the 'Bridal procession', have a bold style rather suggestive of wall paintings.⁸

The sons of 'Umar Shaykh

The first surviving illustrated manuscripts produced under Timūrid patronage appear to be the pair of volumes, which may be known together as the Epica, an undated Šahānšāh (Chester Beatty Library, Per. 1144) and a collection of three lesser epics dated Safar 800/October–November 1397 (British Library, Or. 2780). The Epica are attributed to Shiraz, the predominant centre of their style of illumination, which would place their copying under Pir Muhammad, the eldest son of Timūr's son 'Umar Shaykh. It has recently been shown that their illustrations are likely to be inserted in the text.¹⁰ However, it is probable that they are not much posterior to the text, and still within the lifetime of Pir Muhammad, who was assassinated in 1409. The illustrations in both volumes are richly coloured, but relatively simple in composition; figures are for the most part large in the picture and energetic (pl. 12). It has been noted that their connection with previous or contemporary painting in Shiraz is of a moderate order, and a contribution from the Central Asian area has been suggested.¹¹

Iskandar, a younger brother of Pir Muhammad, took advantage of the latter's death to seize power in Fars. His celebrated career as a patron of illustrated manuscripts may have begun already during Timūr's lifetime, since Robinson has attributed to him a tiny manuscript of Nizāmi's Shāhānšāh (British Library, Or. 13329) with a proposed dating of 1405;¹² it is illustrated with very small-scale figures that probably are from the learned tradition of Baghdad. Following this, it seems certain that an Anthology copied in Yazd in 810/1407 (Topkapı Sarayi Küşüphanesi, H. 796) was produced in his workshop; in it the delicacy of the Jalāyirid tradition is much in evidence, together with some traits from Shiraz painting of the fourteenth century.¹³ Manuscripts that acknowledge Iskandar's patronage are found from the period of his governorship in Fars.
when he resided first in Shiraz and then in Isfahan. Characteristic are the two *Anthologies* of 1410–11 (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, L.I. 161; and British Library, Add. 27261, pls. 13, 14). It is assumed that, when in 1414 Shah Rukh defeated and deposed Iskandar, who had arrogated too much sovereignty to himself, the treasure that he took to Herat would have included his painters. In the year following his defeat of Iskandar, Shah Rukh ended the rule of the sons of 'Umar Shaykh in Fars by installing his own son Ibrahim Sultan as governor.

The rule of Shah Rukh

Shah Rukh ruled with a considerable degree of security, though problems occurred from time to time in the further western and eastern parts of his territory. On the western side Qara Yüsuf of the Qara Qiyunlu supplanted and killed Sultan Ahmad Jalayir in 813/1410. A decade later Shah Rukh set out to impose his authority in the area but Qara Yüsuf’s death obviated hostilities and Shah Rukh installed another Qara Qiyunlu governor. The chief problem on the eastern side of the empire was the incipient pressure of the Uzbeks. Defence against this largely fell to Ulugh Beg, who in 830/1426–27, together with Muhammad Juki, his full brother, engaged them at Sighmaq; attacks continued in the 1430s. In 832/1429 Shah Rukh moved westwards to deal with a seizure of power by Iskandar b. Qara Yüsuf, whom he defeated at Salmas, but in 838/1434–35 he was obliged to repeat the process. In the interim his son Baysungur died in 1433, and Ibrahim in 1435. The illness of Shah Rukh himself in 848/1444–45 had a destabilizing effect on the polity as princes angled for the succession. Shah Rukh died in 850/1447 when setting out on a fourth campaign to the west, this time against Sultan Muhammad b. Baysungur, who was intent on wresting control of Fars from Ibrahim’s infant son Abdullāh.

The chief monument to Shah Rukh’s patronage, as befitted a ruler with a reputation for piety, was the shrine at Gazurgah above Herat; while his powerful queen, Gauhar Shah, endowed the central mosque in the shrine area at Mashhad, and a *mausoleum* and tomb complex at Herat (836/1432–33). The impulse to architectural patronage extended beyond the ruler’s personal activity (pls. 15, 16). Shah Rukh’s interest in manuscripts seems initially to have been concentrated on histories, the finest of which is a *Rūyān* (Collected Works) of Hāfiz-i Abrū (Topkapı Sarayi Kütüphanesi, B. 282). This is in a style not unlike that of the *Epic*, and presumably of parallel descent, though rather less colourful and a *Khamsah* of 835/1431 (Sivas) is a clear pointer. More concise are bright verses that this is an emirate from which they derive. The most important is a description of the city of Shiraz. Throughout Shah Rukh’s reign a copy of the *Khwāna* of Herat in 840/1434–35 by the scribe Muḥammad al-Dayrī is said to have been a mark of the emir’s prosperity, but it is not clear whether the poet was in trouble or the scribes were just more ambitious.
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a Khamsah of Nizâmi copied by Mahrûd in
835/1431 (State Hermitage, VR 1000; pl. 17)
with thirty-eight illustrations.14 The style here is
more confident, with figures of medium size in
the picture, round faces and solid build. Colours
are bright and tend to warmth. It seems probable
that this is an early stage of a style that would
migrate from Herat after the death of Shah Rukh,
and become the Commercial Turkman style of
Shiraz. Though his name is not mentioned, Shah
Rukh’s religious interests make it almost certain
that a copy of the Mi’rajnâmeh, produced in
Herat in 840/1436, was for him (Bibliothèque
nationale de France, Suppl. Turc 190).15 The
illustrations have a visionary character; their
style is related to that of the historical works,
though their compositions are more complex,
perhaps influenced by the great fourteenth-
century Mi’rajnâmeh, and their figure drawing
recalls that of Shiraz.

Whether moved directly by their father’s
example or influenced more generally, three
of Shah Rukh’s sons were patrons of illustrated
manuscripts, and in particular surviving copies
of the Shāh nâmeh were made for Ibrahim,
Baysunghur, whose son A’llâ’ al-Daulah appears
to have cherished the same intention, and
Muhammad Jâki.

The Shâhnâmeh of Ibrahim Sultan
Ibrahim Sultan, born in 796/1394, was a
considerable patron of manuscripts, though only
a minority are illustrated. Possibly his first essay in
this direction was an Anthology of 823/1420 (Berlin,
Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4628) made in
the name of his brother Baysunghur, and perhaps
to ingratiate himself when Baysunghur came
westwards in 1420.16 The illustrations evidently
draw on remembered styles, suggesting that he
does not at this point have an active team of
painters. The dominant style appears to be a
reduced derivation from that of the Epics, with
tall angular figures and very little in the way of
background. A more confident version is used
some years later for a Shâhnâmeh (Oxford,
Bodleian, Ouseley Add. 176), whose tradition
persisted in Shiraz while the city continued
under Timurid rule.17 The precise date of this
Shâhnâmeh is not known, but since a broadly
comparable work, a Zafarnâmeh dated 1436,
a year after Ibrahim’s death, shows a slight
softening of the style, it is likely that the
Shâhnâmeh was made c. 1430.18

The manuscript has forty-three narrative
subjects and an additional four double-pages,
perhaps of a year or two later, celebrating
princely activities (pls. 18–19, 20).19 Colour is
not consistently important and, in the narrative scenes, compositions are simple, though often forcible; figures are tall in the picture, lanky and high-shouldered; horses are large and carry their heads vertically. Landscape is reduced to a minimum, though rock is sometimes used for a dramatic effect. The non-narrative scenes are more complex and indeed a scene of battle with a very dense mêlée has been noted by Robinson as a model for an illustration in Muhammad Juki’s Shāhnāma. It will be argued that this manuscript was taken to Herat. From thence it would have been transported to India, where some overpainting was applied.23

The Shāhnāma of Bāyūnghur Mīrzā

Born in 799/1397, Bāyūnghur’s patronage of manuscripts begins early with a Tābāqāt-i Naṣīrī of 814/1411–12 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petramann L. 386), whose two illustrations approximate to the history style of Shāh Rukh.24 During Shāh Rukh’s campaign of 1420 Bāyūnghur took possession of Tābīriz and acquired from thence artists, including Khwājah ʿAli maʿāwir (figurative painter).25 In the 1420s a succession of fine manuscripts were produced for Bāyūnghur.26 All are finely drawn and coloured, and rich in detail. Two distinct tendencies may, however, be distinguished among them, and these are typified by two manuscripts produced in 830/1426–27. An Anthology (Florence, I Tatti, Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies) has figures of medium size with round faces, and tends to fill the page; a Gulistan of Saʿdi (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Per. 1 9) has figures smaller in the picture and slimmer, and more spacious compositions.27 The styles both derive from aspects of late Jalāyirī tradition, and indeed in two more manuscripts for Bāyūnghur, where the contrast is very apparent, the illustrations with slimmer figures probably are of Jalāyirī date. The manuscripts are both copies of Kahlāl va Dinmāh. The volume of 833/1429 (Topkapı Sarayi Kütüphanesi, R. 1022) has the stockier figures, stronger colour and a more opulent effect; the volume of 834/1431 (TSK, H. 362), with slimmer figures and more delicate colouring, has illustrations cut from an older work and cleverly stuck in.28 How much earlier is a matter of debate, but the style might precede that of the Gulistan, which rather resembles it, by ten to twenty years. In the Shāhnāma for Bāyūnghur (Tehran, Golestan Palace Library, M. 61) illustrations are in the opulent mode (pls. 21, 22, 23).29 Copied in six columns by Ja’far al Bāyūnghuri and dated al-khūms Jumādā I 833/30 January, 1430, it is an imposing work. There is a double-page hunting frontispiece and twenty narrative