in Balkh is made known. When Firuzshah is asked to respond he storms out of the court; Shaikh Ruhk sends a conciliatory message, but the amir sickness and in spite of further approaches by the king he dies. Muhammad Juki’s own death follows very soon after this in Zu’l Hijjah 848/March–April, 1445.13 The epitaph that Samarqandi accords him glides from finely crafted, laudatory generalities into an account that touches on the circumstances of his later life and death.

“The prince was of noble mettle, the youngest son of His Majesty the Khivaqun, and the fire of bravery and the illumination of excellences were manifest on his brow. From his earliest youth and as he grew the signs of victory and command had entered his soul, borne by the breeze from the gardens of the north winds of virtue; and the eye of rule beheld the light of fortunate government springing in his visage. When like a new moon he rose from the rank of infancy and came by degrees to attain the height of full manhood, the splendour of his valour and the shaft of his understanding sped like a brilliant ray of sunlight over all the seven regions of the world. The visitation of his arrow drew blood from the eye of the Lion of the heavens, and the edge of his avenging sword scored envy on the heart of Mars.

The prince was always in the service of His Majesty the Khivaqun, ever willing to perform any duty for His Majesty. His Majesty regarded him with the complete favour that was his due; however, the Great Lady, Gauhar Shaid, who was his mother, would not countenance the natural disposition of His Highness, and she made every effort to show him in a bad light, and would draw no veil over his errors. Mirza Ali al-Daulah and Mirza Abd al-Latif, who were sons of the prince’s brothers, had full access to the councils of state and to material benefits; the prince, with regard to the high council, had absolutely and rigorously no access. Of the ease of acting with assurance and the involvement in state affairs he was able to exercise not a whit. At last misery and frustration overcame the prince, his sense of injury—or eternal destiny—brought it about that his constitution was undermined and his health deteriorated. Sickness took hold and he became very weak. In spite of extreme weakness, from a sense of honour, he would not take his ease in one place, but seated in a litter, he continually toured the provinces, until in a part of the district of Sarakhs the bird of his soul took flight from the cage of his body to consort with the nightingales of the everlasting garden.”

Shaikh Ruhk is very distressed but looks for consolation in scripture. Muhammad Juki’s body is brought to Herat to the Madrasah of Gauhar Shaid and buried by that of Bayunghur.15 His lands are given to his sons.16

Though the epitaph is conventional in its use of hyperbole, the themes selected for adornment are carefully chosen. Samarqandi conveys the two phases of Muhammad Juki’s life. He presents the prince in youth as brave and intelligent, with an aura of attractiveness, and great skill in archery; and later as having the dutiful endurance to remain engaged in the humdrum aspects of administration when debarred from its upper levels. He implies that Muhammad Juki would have made an excellent ruler, had this not contradicted his mother’s plans, and perhaps also had his father not failed him. Wilkinson, who presents a similar passage from Khvandamir, speculates that Gauhar Shaid’s hostility may not have been confined to poisoning Shaikh Ruhk’s mind against Muhammad Juki. However that may be, she had certainly exerted herself against him and for ‘Ali al-Daulah, who had become her favourite.17 Gauhar Shaid’s hopes were not in fact fulfilled. Following the death of Shaikh Ruhk in 850/1447, ‘Ali al-Daulah is only briefly in possession of Herat, since Ulugh Beg contests it. Other Timurid princes enter upon a complex struggle. The Turkman threat returns. Ulugh Beg is murdered by his son ‘Abd al-Latif, who is in turn murdered.

‘Immat al-Dunya

In addition to the great princely manuscripts that precede Juki’s Shihna’mah, a survey of its context cannot be complete without mention of the Khamash of Nizami copied for his wife in Herat in 849/1445–46, the year after his death. The scribe, Yusuf al-Jami, is otherwise unknown. The Khamash (Topkapi Sarayi Kutuphaneli, H. 781) has long been recognized as important, and a detailed understanding has emerged progressively.18 Though the illustrations were published by Schouskine, the identification of...
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the patroness as Muhammad Juki's wife was first made in an unpublished dissertation by Soucek. The shamsah reads (f. 1a; pl. 26):

bi-nizam-i khazinah-yit mahd-i 'alaj 'ujvat al-dunya tay-i islam khun btes amir-i a'zam 'umman bahadir

'For the treasury of the mother of princes 'Umdat al-Dunya (Chastity of the World), diadem of Islam, khan, daughter of the great amir 'Umdat bahadir (the warrior)'.

Such female titulature in an illustrated manuscript appears to be unprecedented, and suggests a woman of powerful character. An extended honic inscription above the dado in 'Bahram Ghr in the Black pavilion' seems to promise more information, but it does not provide a name, and thus does not take us beyond the domain of

illustration to the narrative (pl. 66). The illustrations will be discussed in chapter V.

Late Fifteenth Century

Below the concluding lines of the text of Muhammad Juki's Shahnma (f. 536a; pl. 32, detail page 48) a couplet has been written in a slightly quivering hasta 'ljq:

'My God the bud of hope disclose,

Show from the eternal garth a rose'.

Being the opening lines of Jam's Yusuf va Zulaykha, this cannot predate 1483, and since it appears to be in a Timurid rather than a Mughal hand, it may be the reflection of a princely owner in late fifteenth-century Herat. 60

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la. II, 781, Topkapı Sarayi Kariyerhanesi, Istanbul
Notes


3. Clavijo, pp. 267–70.


8. See chapter I, n. 34 and n. 43.


15. Ernst J. Grebe and Eleanor Sims, ‘The School of Herat from 1400 to 1410’ in *ABC*, pp. 147–48 and pls. 84, 84a; *XIII–XLIIV B, 285* is usually seen as undated and of the 1420s, but a date of 1415–16 has been claimed (Thomas W. Lents and Glenn Lowery, *Timur and the Prince of Men: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century, Los Angeles, 1989, p. 318, cat. 44, 8*), in which case the illustrations may be later than the text.


20. Lents and Lowery, p. 103, cat. 10; Catalogue of Sirkhov’s, London, 23a. 96, Cat. 16.


23. See chapter IV, Nos. 1, 6, and more especially Nos. 14, 22.


27. Lents and Lowery, p. 124, fig. 40; Sims, Peerless, No. 52; Lents and Lowery, pp. 122–24, cat. 45; Sims, Peerless, No. 126.


30. *BWW*, No. 49; *Shahnah* and *Firdausi*, (in commemoration of 2500 years of the throne of Iran), *Tabriz* 1350 (1971), *Mefroor of Persian Painting*, following exhibition at Museums of Contemporary Arts, Tehran, 2005, pp. 76–78, Sims, ‘Commissioned by Princes’, p. 65, (verbatim quoted) subjects: 139 should read 219, 357 should read 237, 415 should read 413. See below appendix A.

30. An interesting feature is that in these pictures scenes have a semblance of a uniform colour. Violet is worn, pp. 219, 318, by Iran, p. 355, the iconography is not clear and violet may be worn by Turan, who are suffering a reverse; p. 401, by Tizhak, p. 604, note: it was my be the forces of Bahram Chubinabakh, it would be interesting to know if this was the patron’s aesthetic choice, or if it shows an awareness of a number of references in the text that suggest violet is the colour of Iran, for example in violent flags (WW, II, p. 807). The text here and elsewhere names the colour farghan. In his a version of royal purple—gold boots are also prominent.


33. Prisella S. Sowark, ‘The Ann Art Shoulder and its Importance in Mongol to Quay’, pp. 270 and 278, notes points in common with this subject is her Turkman manuscript of the 1460s, and sees the influence as coming from Herat.
Chapter III
The Manuscript: RAS, MS. 239

Structure and state

Neither a Timurid nor a Mughal binding survives. The manuscript reached the Royal Asiatic Society 'enclosed in rich crimson velvet and gold cloth cases' or 'Bound in crimson velvet, with a rich kinkah case'. Unfortunately these adornments, probably of the later eighteenth century, have been lost. A European binding of dark green leather is not at present in use; a note on a flyleaf headed 'Royal Asiatic Society, 74, Grosvenor Street, London, W1' records a rebinding that took place at the British Museum in 1927 and another hand adds 'Transferred to the British Museum on loan. 15th April, 1946'; the latter information is repeated in a typed note inside the front cover (pls. 27, 28). Three flyleaves at the beginning and three at the end are to be associated with this binding. The manuscript was unbound for the Exhibition of Persian Art at Burlington House in 1931, then rebound. It was again unbound for exhibition at the British Museum in 1998, and at the time of writing remains so.

The Timurid text area with its rulings measures 228 x 135 mm; it has been trimmed and remargined, and hence the original page size is not known. In a few cases a little more of the Timurid folio has been retained: two where illumination is used (f. 3, height 245 mm, and f. 244, height 242 mm); and four for wider pictures (f. 252, width with rulings 150 mm; ff. 269–70, width of each with rulings 153 mm; f. 430 width with rulings 150 mm). Extensions into the margin area are also retained. The remargining has produced bifolios that are arranged in gatherings of four; this may reflect the original structure.

Catchwords of the Timurid paper are stuck on to the margin paper of the majority of verso.

The remargining paper is buff, rather flimsy, and with noticeable laid lines; the resulting folio measures approximately 338 x 228 mm. A complete folio of this paper, formerly attached to f. 536h was separated from it in 2004, in order to reveal underlying seals and notes of the Mughal period. The remargining may precede or coincide with the note (f. 3a, appendix D, Note 4) that mentions the Nurab Safar Jang, since this is on margin paper. It may well be that he had the manuscript renovated with new margins and velvet covers to make a suitable gift. This work might then be of the 1770s or 80s. It was probably at the time of the remargining that small retouches were made to the paint of several illustrations, and also that the tissue-thin skins were inserted to protect some or all of them—these are now detached.

A small amount of worming has occurred, but mainly in the margins.

Text page, rulings and script

Folios are numbered in pencil to 536; however, this includes two initial leaves of marginal paper, the surviving Timurid text commencing on f. 3, and thus comprising 534 folios only. The Timurid paper is of good quality. For the most part it is a light cream-buff in colour. However, occasional folios from 216 on, and more generally towards the end of the work, are of a slightly yellower and possibly less floccular paper, as though of a different batch. The text is in four columns of twenty-five lines. Immediately before or after an illustration of lines whose height diagonal. The man the breaks lines the picture page, the intention to add spaces generated lines was added.

The original 7 hand outlined in b and an outer, broad lines in black. An e at the remargining, being visible on the at the outer edges.

There is no co the scribe is not a quite staccato and vertical line below has noted this text is a pupil of Jafar al Khamsah for Shah manuscript may w be attributed to M.

Illumination

Rectangular tunan and the second part rubbed, the second
are stuck on the y of versos, her flimsy, resulting in 4 x 228 mm., formerly attached in 2004, in nd notes of the may precede or ind. D. Note 4) ng, since this is hat he had the margins and it. This work is. It was prob- ing that small of several of these skins all of them— as occurred, 536; however, marginal paper, encing on os only. The For the most sur. However, 1 more work, are of a floccular paper, text is in four sedately before

or after an illustration there may be a number of lines whose hemistichs are written on the diagonal. The main purpose would be to adjust the break-lines to the desired position on the picture page; there may have been a secondary intention to add illumination in the triangular spaces generated by the diagonal lines, but none was added.

The original rulings are: an inner narrow gold band outlined in black; a central band in reserve; and an outer, broader gold band with double outlines in black. An extra dark blue ruling was added at the remaining occasion marks from the ruler being visible on the new paper. A blue line also runs at the outer edges of the margin paper (pl. 31).

There is no colophon and in consequence the scribe is not named. He writes a fine, small, quite staccato nasta'liq, sometimes placing a vertical line below the two dots of jīʿ. Sonneck has noted this trait in the calligraphy of Mahmūd, a pupil of Jaʿfar al-Baysunghuri and copyist of the Khamsah for Shah Rukh (pl. 17). The RAS manuscript may with reasonable confidence be attributed to Mahmūd.

Illumination

Rectangular 'unasims precede the preface (3b) and the second part (244b); the first is slightly rubbed, the second has almost entirely lost its fnials (pls. 29, 30). They are very finely executed in lapis lazuli, gold, black and white, with green, turquoise, light blue and a dull red, and employ the curvilinear bands typical of Herat work of the fifteenth century. Under a decorative frieze, a rectangular panel contains a cartouche with a legend in white ornamental kufic, flanked by further decorative units. Any major illumination that there may have been before the commencement of the Shāhnāmah proper has been lost (see below: Lautens). The illumination is of a generally similar character to that in Baysunghuri's Shāhnāmah, but less abundant and rather more minutely detailed. It is more elaborate than that in 'Imāt al-Dunyā's Khamsah. On the first page of the preface, small squares of illumination divide the hemistichs of several lines in verse. Some subsequent folios in the preface have spaces where similar units were evidently intended but not executed.

Subheadings are in riqa'. Most are in outlined gold; some in un-outlined; some in black on gold; a last example is in an outlined cartouche (529a). From 530a spaces for subheadings are blank. Robinson suggests that those in black on gold were produced in India at the time of the remargining. The style does indeed appear Indian, and its use may be intended to reflect the autograph note of Shāh Jahan, which is written black on gold (frontispiece).
The text commences, 3b, with Baysunghur’s preface:

افتحى سخن أنس به ككند اهل كمال

and concludes, 536a (pl. 32):¹¹

Her ankses ke darh hesh va rai va din

پس از مراک بر من كند افرین

The text resumes in the verse narrative with:

Lacunae

Robinson noted two major lacunae, and one shorter.

1. The first lacuna, between ff. 7 and 8, would have been some 24 ff. in length.¹²

It begins about a third of the way into the preface, following the first illustration, and after:¹³

... احتمال بتحمل اعتبار مشاق...
This occurs when Faridun is in debate with his son, Tūr and Salm being ranged against Iraq. The missing folios may have included illustrations. Since for this portion of text the Shāhānūs of İbrahim and Bayzandbūr both include paintings of 'Jamshid teaches the crafts' and 'Zalībak nailed to Mount Damavand', it may be that these were also included in the copy for Muhammad Žiğjī. These hypothetical pictures are here designated π1 and π2 respectively.14

II. The second lacuna is between ff. 41 and 42, and would have been some 8 ff. in length.15 It starts at the outset of the account of the reign of Kay Qubad, after:

بشامی نئست از برکش کیقباد

and ends in Rustam's Fourth Exploit, the killing of a witch:

یکی طاش می بر کفش بر نهاد

The latter is a break-line in İbrahim's Shāhānūs.