Development in sequence of the whole history of the school, as a step towards the search for a satisfactory relation of miniature and text. Hitherto the conventions had been too much under the influence of the archetypes in Chinese scroll-painting or in large scale roll-painting to fit easily into the pages of a book. Consequently there had been too vast a tension between the action and the landscape setting, each claiming more than its due; and often requiring to be viewed from a greater distance than is convenient with a book. This situation is clearly shown by the background treatment, which had hitherto been used to suggest infinite recession through the plane of the page unless his was directly negatived by a curtain or wall. Now such a visual approach is abandoned in favour of an illusionary world in which the spectator participates as he does in a stage production. In this book of 1370, for instance, the wild country in which Buzan has been imprisoned is represented by a series of blue segments arranged in a scale pattern and enhanced with gold sprays to indicate vegetation. The dragon which Bahram is attacking is no longer the loathly bleeding monster of the Demotte Shah-name but a cerulean partition formidable because unearthly, as dynamic as a coiled spring; and still sinister with its black mane. Colour is now used for its formal qualities rather than representationally. So, by different routes the miniature art at Tabriz and Shiraz had arrived at solutions of the problem of the book painting.

Painting under the Timurids (1400-1450)

At the end of the fourteenth century Persia again suffered the terrible experience of repeated invasion by a ruthless ruler of boundless personal ambition from the confines of Central Asia. The fact that Timur and his clan, the Barlas, were Muslims made no difference to the savagery of their conduct. Part of the Chaghatay Turks who still retained a form of nomad life, they were bound by the traditions of the Mongol Rule rather than by the law of Islam. Gradually during their occupation of Transoxiana they absorbed Muslim culture; though Timur himself remained illiterate all his life, he spoke Persian as well as Turkish and he took the decisive step towards settled city life of fortifying Samarqand in 1370; thus, Barthold has pointed out, breaking the testament of Chinigiz Khan, from whom he was proud to claim descent through the female line. He was a great builder and laid out notable gardens outside Samarqand on which he lived to live in the intervals of his campaigns. Many craftsmen were transplanted hither from the captured cities of Persia, including Shiraz and Baghdad in the same year 1393. But he was probably not himself a patron of the arts of the book. In spite of the fact that Abd al-Hayy, one of the leading masters of the Jalairid school, was transported to Samarqand, there is no mention of any manuscript prepared there under his supervision.

Instead the literary evidence mentions several series of wall-paintings executed in the garden pavilions at Samarqand, celebrating Timur’s conquests and recording the features of his children and generals. This is the kind of painting preferred by the successful man of affairs and its significance in this history may be that it introduced, for the first time since the Sassanian period, the art of portraiture into Iran. Not many portraits exist which can be attributed to the Timurid period, but enough to suggest that it may have had a certain vogue. Some of the wall-paintings were on the walls of the garden palace of his grand-daughter Beghli Sultan, who may perhaps have preferred other subjects, such as the fragment of landscape discovered in the mausoleum of his sister Shirin Beg Aqa, built in 1385. No other trace remains of these wall-paintings, nor of any others in the palaces of Persia up to the time of Shah Abbas I. That paintings in other media were in fact carried out at the court of Timur is suggested by a story recorded by the Mughal emperor Jahangir, of his receipt from Shah Abbas of a battle picture of
Epic of Timur (Shahnameh-nama): Warrior in the Mountains. Shiraz, 1397 (1090 A.H.)
Or. 2786, folio 213 verso, British Museum, London.
one of Timur's campaigns in Central Asia signed by the master Khalil, who is recorded as one of the four ornaments of the court of Shah Rukh, Timur's son and successor in the government of Khurasan and Transoxiana, and therefore heir to much of his establishment. Whether or not this gift was an original old master or not, the story does suggest that there may have been paintings on cloth or silk at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and this was large enough for the names of the principal commanders of the army to be written beside their figures in the picture. One is reminded too of the celebrated painting on stuff of the princes of the house of Timur in the British Museum, made for Timur's descendant, the emperor Humayun about 1555, of which more will be said below. When the Spanish embassy of Ruy Clavijo reached Samarqand in the summer of 1405, the ambassadors were received in a succession of garden palaces or pavilions, tent-like structures lined with silk, which was woven or embroidered with patterns. Inside the roofs of some of these falcons and eagles had been "figured" in action, with wings spread, or as about to pounce. Otherwise the decoration of these tents, carefully described by Clavijo, seems to have consisted only of hanging silks embroidered with arabesque patterns and appliqués. There is no mention at all of painted decoration, yet the descriptions are very full and careful. The only figured decoration was in enamelwork on silver, looted by Timur from the Turks at Brusa, and Greek work no doubt. It is to the memoirs of Babur that we owe the reference to the representation of the Indian victories of Timur on the walls of one of his pavilions at Samarqand. These have vanished, but there fortunately survive several Timurid manuscripts with miniatures which were executed in the lifetime of Timur and within his dominions. The earliest are from Shiraz, which had bought off the keenest rage of the Conqueror. They are two volumes of Epics in the Chester Beatty Library and the British Museum, which date from 1397 and are stylistically so closely descended from the Shiraz manuscripts which have been described, from the last decades of Muzaffarid rule, that they must be given to Shiraz. This has been disputed on the grounds that their quality is so superior, but that is mainly a matter of better materials, a change to be expected from the change of rule. Gold is indeed lavishly used and the blue is a real lapis. The paper is especially thin and smooth, and it has suffered damage so as to affect several of the miniatures, of which there are sixteen in all. The theatrical device of the coulisse and the army hidden behind rocky hills continues, and so does the vigour of action and the dramatic use of the strong diagonal line (the steps of a pulpit, the lines of arrows slung on the bow or quivering in the flesh of Faramurz); while the walls of pumice-like rock are quite unlike anything to be found in the Jala'ird school. A beautiful tree at the margin of one miniature in the Chester Beatty book does recall the Tabriz school, and it may be that one or more of the painters from that city might have found his way to the south by this time. If so he had adopted the larger scale of the figures in relation to the page, and the plain golden skies of Shiraz. The high horizon, as has already been noted, is characteristic of these pages; but the rocky barriers are sometimes awkwardly handled, as in the Camp Scene in the Shahanshah-nama in the British Museum, where horsemen seem to be sinking down into crevasses from which horses and mules are scrambling out. The caravan
Anthology: Mountains and Streams. Bibshah (Pers.), 1398 (1921-22)
No. 1191, fols 12 verso, Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul.
silhouetted against the sky of this miniature is however particularly effective. In the *Wars of Chingiz Khan* in the same volume, the cleft in the background mountains, which we have seen to be a Shiraz characteristic, is exploited to dramatize a battle scene; but this is a far more important feature of another manuscript of this period, the Anthology of poems by seven poets copied by a scribe of Bibibahan in Fars, and now preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul (No. 1950). It is dated 1398, and contains twelve miniatures, of which eleven are pure landscapes; but all, including a hunting scene at the end, show the same rounded pattern of hills, non-representational in colour; in contrasting tones, purple, yellow, salmon-pink and orange; or the same river making a sinuous loop in the centre of the composition which is strongly symmetrical. These pages are unique in the whole history of the Persian school; and in their stylization rather recall the Indian painting of Rajputana of two hundred years later. The drawing however shows a fineness and sensibility which presupposes the long development of the art in Iran.

These are the most conceptual of all known Persian miniatures, but the only element that could not be matched elsewhere is the gold scrollwork which is scarcely noticeable at first sight, but which is to be seen on almost all of the pages. The Chinese conventions for water and clouds are used in some of the pages, but nothing could well be further from Chinese landscape painting. Dr Mehmet Aga Oglu, who first published these miniatures attributed them to the hand of a Mazdean devotee who had, he thought, attempted to symbolize the glory of the energy of the continuing creation of the world, known as “khwarz” in the holy book called *The Bundahish*. Such beliefs survived more in a tendency towards pantheism found in Sufism, which is an unorthodox but widespread way of thought in Persia. Manifestly these pages depict the splendour of creation, which has often been implicit in Persian miniatures but is here uniquely the explicit theme of the painter.

Although no other manuscript is illustrated exclusively with such pure landscapes, the same concentration on the world of nature is shown in the decoration of two anthologies prepared for Iskandar Sultan, son of Umar Shaykh and grandson of Timur, in 1410-1411, no doubt at Shiraz. For he was Governor of Fars from 1409 to 1414, and did not occupy Isfahan until 1412, but from that date he made it his home and was occupied in adorning it with fine buildings. He is said to have married one of the daughters of Sultan Ahmad Jalā’ir, who had been taken after the defeat of Sultan Bayazid the Ottoman at the battle of Ankara in 1402, and he certainly inherited one of the leading calligraphers from the Jalā’ir court at Baghdad, Maulana Ma’ruf, and he was surrounded by Mongol emirs. But his taste in art and poetry was Persian, although he also patronized a poet who wrote in Turki, Mir Haydar. All this means that there would have been no great change at Shiraz, and no break in the artistic life of the city. The two anthologies, which are now in the Gulbenkian Foundation at Lisbon and the British Museum (Add. 27 201), differ in size and script but are clearly the work of the same school of painters and illuminators. In particular they share one feature which is unique to them, the decorative thumb pieces in the centre of each page at the side of the folio nearest to
the edge. Triangular in shape they are filled with finely drawn flowers and animals, gilt in the smaller book in the British Museum, and delicately tinted in pale blue, pale rose, and with touches of gold in the Gulbenkian volume. Here most of the themes are hares, deer, birds (especially ducks at rest and in flight) and cloud forms, all in Chinese taste as it had been transmitted to the soil of Persia. This kind of chinoiserie is developed in the British Museum book from folio 403 to 420 and from folio 433 to the end of the book, filling first whole margins and then whole pages. The Gulbenkian book is in two parts, originally two volumes, and in the first are included, on folios 125 and 126 and on 175, whole pages of decoration in pale blue and pink similar to those in the British Museum; but less pictorial than these, with greater arabesque character. The opening title-pages in both volumes are in normal Persian arabesque, and particularly fine, and of course strictly symmetrical. The plants and trees drawn in the margins of Add. 27 26r have the grace and naturalism that we have noted in some of the work at the court of Sultan Ahmad. Technically they are connected with the larger margin paintings in the Freer Gallery Diwan of Sultan Ahmad. These more elaborate margins in Iskandar Sultan's book all occur in the section dealing with astrology, a subject in which he took an especial interest, probably nourished by his father's well-known scientific work on astronomy at his observatory at Samarqand. It has also been pointed out that this book contains the Shi'ite law written on a gold ground and that, like so many of this persuasion, he was a mystic and affected by Sufism. No wonder then that these drawings show an intensity of feeling for natural life which makes the line vibrant. This intensity also informs the best of the miniature paintings in this small volume, such as the Battle of the Clans watched by Majmun and the Majmun and the Animals. Even more romantic is the landscape in the two miniatures, Shirin looking at the Portrait of Khusrau and Iskandar visiting a Hermits. Several of these subjects are closely paralleled in the Gulbenkian book, which is probably the earlier of the two. There are twenty-four miniatures in the first part of the manuscript; only fourteen in the second, but these are the more original, especially the double-page compositions. Here the colour is most fully developed, and the use of different tints of gold the most lavish; the effect is thus much richer than in the Jala'ir manuscripts. Sometimes one feels that too much has been sacrificed to richness, so that the miniature becomes a mere pattern without feeling, as in the case of the Darab (Darius) taken prisoner by Iskandar (Alexander), where the arabesque border increases the jejune effect. Still the subordination of the landscape to the figures here forecasts the style of the Timurid school of the mid century. It is easier to enjoy the romance of the Iskandar peeping at the Sirens as they sport by a Lake, where the margin painting has mercifully been left undone. The curious texture of both water and rocks makes a perfect setting for the charming naiveté of the girls' gestures; whose apparent innocence is conveyed by the same leaf skirts as are worn by Adam and Eve. There is still however a stiffness in the figure drawing which reminds us that these are the first beginnings of a new art, the style which was to become the classic Persian book style. On the other hand the Babram introduced into the Hall of Seven Images is an accomplished work in the rather old-fashioned style of the Jala'ir school. Architecture and perspective
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Anthology of Iskandar Sultan: Astrological Subjects. Shiraz, 1416-1417. (6½ x 4½"
Add. 27 261, folio 539, British Museum, London.

are skilfully managed and the colour-scheme cool and attractive. A quite new influence is seen at work in the Adam and Eve in Paradise, where the figures are on the larger scale which we have seen to have been characteristic of Shiraz before 1400.

Miniatures occupying the whole of a double-page opening are rare in Persian manuscripts, apart from frontispieces which show only stereotype subjects such as hunting and feasting scenes, or Solomon judging men and demons or surrounded by the whole animal creation. In the early Timurid manuscripts they are relatively frequent, and there are four in the big Iskandar Anthology, and one in the small Anthology which is
here reproduced. The panorama of the city of Mecca with the holy place and the Ka’ba in the centre surrounded by crowds of the faithful pilgrims, is a wholly conceptual picture, the city being laid out schematically without a single view-point; while golden clouds form a conventional frame cutting off the field of vision where it suits the subject. The first double page in the Gulbenkian book contrasts the enthroned king Khusrav with his courtiers and the prisoners awaiting execution on the page facing. Here is found one of the earliest examples of the combination of gold ground and blue sky which is one of the most striking inventions of the Persian school. So much of Persia is desert that it might be thought that this was a piece of naturalism, born of the sight of the burning sun on the bare ground, in which for a brief period in the spring flowers show with brilliant effect. But it seems more in accord with the spirit of the court of Iskandar, who was an extreme Shi’ite, as is indicated by literary sources and also by the resplendent double-page illustration in the second part of the book, showing the Shi’a Imams in Paradise and their opponents in hell (pp. 523-524). Two shades of gold are employed in the clouds of glory surrounding the Imams, through which can be seen a green curtain. A group of eight of their followers below show that they are far above them in the sky. On the facing page are eleven figures writhing in flames, against a blue ground; their faces being far more expressive than is usual in Islamic painting, and perhaps indicating some Western influence. This is followed by another version of the panorama of the Ka’ba, similar to the British Museum composition except that here the architecture does not continue from one page into the other; and the pilgrims’ camp here occupies the left side with a variety of different animals in lively action; two donkeys braying, a horse and two camels instead of the small group of three camels in the other book. And it must be remarked that the smaller volume still encloses some text in the field of the miniature, as had been the custom in the Jalai’r school. The last double page shows the catapulting of the patriarch Abraham into the fire by the pagan king Nimrod. Here again the two sides are contrasted; on the right the king is seated among his courtiers with the catapult conspicuously tied by a white rope which makes an amusing S-design with the machine, under a gold sky. Only the pattern of flowers on the blue ground carries across to the left-hand page, in the centre of which is the intensely realized scene of the Patriarch seated on a bed of flowers in the middle of the bonfire; remarkable for the realism of the flames licking the faggots. Again one wonders whether there might be any Western influence here, perhaps from some Italian book or panel painting brought by a Venetian trader to Tabriz. If at first sight the most conspicuous feature of the Gulbenkian Anthology is its sumptuous use of gold and silver beyond any which had preceded it, the truly significant thing is the unity of the Shiraz vigour and dramatic power with the tradition of craftsmanship and grasp of the principles of perspective of the Jalai’r school of Baghdad and Tabriz. There is no doubt that, in his brief floruit, Iskandar inspired the finest work that was then produced in Persia; whether by his personal taste and enthusiasm or by a greater generosity to his artists. His reign was short, for his ambition outran his discretion; so that his uncle, Shah Rukh, who was trying to keep the Timurid empire together, was exasperated by the insubordination of
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Anthology of Iskandar sailen: Darab taken prisoner by Iskandar. Shiraz, 1410.
(987-988) Pages 196, Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.
Anthology of Iskandar Sultan: Durab taken prisoner by Iskandar, Shiraz, 1410. (9½ x 5⅔") Page 106, Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

Anthology of Iskandar Sultan: Behram Gur introduced into the Hall of Seven Images, Shiraz, 1410. (9½ x 5⅔") Page 122, Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.
Anthology of Iskandar Sultan: Iskandar peeping at the Sirens as they sport by a Lake. Shiraz, 1440. (9½ x 5¼"
Page 215, Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.
Anthology of Iskandar Sultan: Prisoners before Khurasan. Shiraz, 1410. (9½ x 5¾"
At the same time the style is further developed than in any manuscript that we have so far discussed, in the just relationship of the animals and the landscape. There is a great advance in subtlety of characterization of the animals, as for instance in the scene in which the rat has to choose how to act when surrounded by three different perils, and quickly makes a compact with a cat which is caught in a trap. Here is an immediately convincing animal world with all in scale to their range of vision.

In a second illuminated manuscript of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, preserved in the Topkapı Sarayi Library in Istanbul (Revan 1222), there are a number of miniatures which closely resemble those in the Tehran copy, but the characterization of animals is handled in an entirely different and much less moving way. Of the subjects treated, less than half are common to both manuscripts; but when they are, as in the case of the *Thief discovered in the Bedchamber*, there are details which show decisively that the artist of the Istanbul book must have derived it from the Tehran version or from one very much like it; for he has reversed the figures and thus shown the husband who jumped out of bed to deal with the intruder, holding his stick with a left-handed action instead of the natural position in the other manuscript. Now the Istanbul book was completed in 1430 for Baysunghur Mirza in Herat. For anyone who has handled both these manuscripts, there can be no doubt that the Tehran book must be the earlier. Schroeder’s suggestion that it was produced in Isfahan for Iskandar is therefore to be preferred to that of Mr B. W. Robinson that it is a much later version, of about 1460 to 1470. The book opens with a double-page composition of a young prince enthroned in a garden, with flowering trees beyond the fence that encloses a paved courtyard on which are grouped the courtiers and musicians. Birds and clouds fill much of the gold sky and ducks swim in a pool in the foreground. All this is the conventional scene proper to an opening, though here a good deal damaged and retouched in places, especially the faces. The composition was used again in an *Anthology* of 1468 in the British Museum (Add. 16, 561), reduced and simplified to such an extent that the horses held by a groom are now forced backwards through the bars of the fence, and the prince is offered a cup of wine instead of the volume which should represent the manuscript itself. We shall see that the inventions of the earlier Timurid period were repeatedly used again in later manuscripts, even as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

With the miniature on folio 18r we reach one of the animal subjects which so greatly distinguish the *Kalila wa Dimna* of Tehran. This shows the solitary bull, Shanzaba, which so alarmed and impressed the other animals by its bellowing that it was taken into an uneasy partnership by the lion-king, at large in a flowery meadow. The sensibility of the drawing is enhanced by the richness of the colour; the vivid green of the bamboo on the left, contrasting with the dark and light greens, the brown and yellow of the other vegetation, so that the whole makes a heightened and daring harmony, with a range greater than was usual in later periods. It is however the draughtsmanship that sets this manuscript apart from even the other royal books of the early fifteenth century. The delightful scene illustrated on folio 61v, in which the monkey inadvertently wins the friendship of the tortoise which catches the figs he throws into the water,
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With the miniature on folio 18 v. we reach one of the animal subjects which so early distinguish the *Kalila wa Dimna* of Tehran. This shows the solitary bull, tanzaba, which so alarmed and impressed the other animals by its bellowing that was taken into an uneasy partnership by the lion-king, at large in a flowery meadow. The sensibility of the drawing is enhanced by the richness of the colour; the vivid green of the bamboo on the left, contrasting with the dark and light greens, the brown and yellow of the other vegetation, so that the whole makes a heightened and daring harmony, in a range greater than was usual in later periods. It is however the draughtsmanship that sets this manuscript apart from even the other royal books of the early fifteenth century. The delightful scene illustrated on folio 61 v., in which the monkey inadvertently ins the friendship of the tortoise which catches the figs he throws into the water,
because he likes the splashing sound they make, is rendered with the most loving care for natural detail. The water, as throughout this book, is rendered by grey on silver, with curling ripples ending in spray, as in early Chinese blue and white porcelain of the fourteenth century. On the shore exquisitely formed conical shells are surrounded by coloured pebbles, some even golden in the next miniature, which shows the monkey being carried on the back of the tortoise through the water. This (folio 61 v.) is the finest naturalism of all the illustrations; and yet the composition is dominated or controlled by a rhythmical repeated accent of the scalloped shore's outline and the tufts of green which lean all towards the left.

This quality is completely absent from the Istanbul copy of the same work (Topkapu Sarayi Library, Revan 2022), in which the drawing is hard and crisp, without feeling; the figures often arranged in straight lines, birds and animals frozen even when in action, and the landscape a mere decorative background, however splendid the colouring of rocks or clouds. In these respects the manuscript is at one with the famous Shah-nama copied for the same patron, Baysunghur, son of Shah Rukh, at Herat in the same year, 833 A.H. (1430 A.D.). We must now turn to the history of the school of painting at this centre which was the capital of the province of Khurasan and the seat of Shah Rukh who was recognized as head of the Timurid house after the death of its founder, and maintained some kind of control over all the princes until his own end in 1447. Shah Rukh had won this ascendancy by 1409, when he established himself in the capital of his father, Samargand, in the mainly Turkic-speaking lands beyond the Oxus where he was still most at home, rather than in the heart of Persia at Shiraz or Isfahan, where his nephews had their governorships. For most of the rest of his life he lived at Herat when not campaigning, another centre where he had been governor since 1397, and to which the Shah may have led back some of the artists and craftsmen removed to Samargand by Timur. He was a man of very different character, who combined a liberal patronage of learning with strict adherence to the code and spirit of Islam. Far from joining in the drinking bouts in which so many members of his father's house indulged, he was a teetotaller who poured down the draughts that he could find in Herat, including that in the house of his own son Juki. It seems likely that this same severity may have led him to command the preparation only of improving books, rather than poetry or romances. Certainly judging from the surviving manuscripts, he seems not to have attracted to his library the best artists of the book who were working in Herat or elsewhere in his time. On the other hand he was a notable patron of scholars, especially the historians Hafiz Abru and Abdul Razzaq. He is known to have sought out the few surviving manuscripts of the universal history by Rashid al-Din, so as to establish the text and prevent it from perishing. Consequently his library seems to have been fully occupied with work of this kind, demanding accuracy of copying rather than originality, and speed of production rather than quality of the work produced. Three of the few surviving contemporary manuscripts of Rashid al-Din's history carry Shah Rukh's library seal, including the fragment in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society from which two miniatures have been here reproduced; while another in the Topkapu Sarayi
Library in Istanbul is of special interest to us because it contains some miniatures added at this time in places still unfilled in the original atelier at Rashidiyya. This historical school hardly ever rises above the pedestrian.

The most famous historical manuscript which must be assigned to this school is the richly illustrated volume in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Sup. Pers. 1113), which has few direct echoes of the style of Rashid al-Din, but preserves the same simple grouping of figures and bright colour-scheme as the Herat books made for Shah Rukh about 1425. It may be that this volume was completed ten or fifteen years later, for it shows that liking for symmetry which becomes commoner towards the middle of the century. The pigments are good and gold is freely used, so that it is not likely to be a provincial work. At the same time the colouring is less rich and decorative than in that other manuscript in the same collection (Sup. Turc 190), the Muraq-nama, recounting the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad to heaven and hell, written in Eastern Turki for Shah Rukh according to the colophon, at Herat in 1436. This is a sumptuous quarto volume, in which the deep blue of the night sky is a dominant, and several shades of gold are

employed in many of the miniatures. The subject makes the pictures rather monotonous, but there is great dignity as well as decorative value in the mosaic-like scenes in which the angel Gabriel guides the Prophet through the courts of heaven and hell, here represented as among gold cloud swirls; and once more the artists have responded to the opportunity in the two scenes in which the blessed are shown arriving in the flowering land of paradise, which are as fresh as anything in the earlier Shiraz volumes.

Turki was the native language of Shah Rukh and of the other Timurids, and this book is claimed sometimes as a masterpiece of Turkish art. It belongs however to the main stream of the development of Persian miniature-painting, to which no doubt the “Turkish” Timurids contributed by their patronage. What is most difficult to assess is the influence of this violent and accomplished family in supporting Persian culture in which most of them were at home. It is not to be doubted that the Persians regarded them as foreign lords. It has been well said, by Jean Aubin, that Iranian culture in the early fifteenth century could certainly alter the taste of its conquerors to its canons, but not their character or spirit. In the struggle for power their taste for Persian letters or art
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Turki was the native language of Shah Rukh and of the other Timurids, and his book is claimed sometimes as a masterpiece of Turkish art. It belongs however to the mainstream of the development of Persian miniature painting, to which no doubt the Turkish Timurids contributed by their patronage. What is most difficult to assess is the influence of this violent and accomplished family in supporting Persian culture in which most of them were at home. It is not to be doubted that the Persians regarded them as their overlords. It has been well said, by Jean Aubin, that Iranian culture in the early seventeenth century could certainly alter the taste of its conquerors to its canons, but not their character or spirit. In the struggle for power their taste for Persian letters or art counted for nothing, and they were never able to trust one another. In one respect the position for the Persians was worse than it had been under the Il-Khans, for power was now in the hands of the Turkish Amirs instead of the Persian Wazir. On the other hand most of these princes were proud of their personal accomplishments, and liked to pose as patrons of learning and art. The sons of Shah Rukh, Baysunghur and Ibrahim, were lovers of Persian literature, and their elder brother Ulugh Beg was a learned man and a patron of scientific studies, geometry, astronomy and music. Baysunghur was a good calligrapher and he prepared a new edition of the Shah-nama. Ibrahim corresponded with him on literary subjects. All three sons were given to feasting and concerts, unlike their strict father. There was therefore to be expected a difference in quality between the work produced at Herat for Baysunghur and for Shah Rukh.

The reputed date of the foundation of Baysunghur's library is 1420, when he was sent as commander of a force to recover Tabriz from the Turkman, and returned bringing with him the master Ja'far, a pupil, either direct or at one remove, of the inventor of nastal'iq writing, who became the head of the most famous scriptorium of
the day. In a manuscript of 1433, now in the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad, of the Khusrav and Shirin he already signs himself al-Baysunghuri. In 1427 a second master calligrapher, Muhammad b. Husam called Shams al-Din, who taught Baysunghuri himself calligraphy, produced for his master two beautiful small books, an *Anthology* and the *Gulistan* of Sa’di. They are both of great distinction for their illumination and writing, and also for the colouring of the miniatures of which there are eight in the *Gulistan*, now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin; and seven in the *Anthology*, preserved in the Berenson Collection at I Tatti near Florence. The compositions are not complex but subtle in their rich plane surfaces and glimpses of wider prospects. There are

Kalila wa Dimna of Baysunghuri: Lion killing a Bull. Herat, 1439. (5×6½")
Revan 1022, f. 46 verso, Topkapı Sarayi Library, Istanbul.
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The significance of every gesture is enhanced by the economy of the means of expression.

By far the most sumptuous of the manuscripts produced in Prince Baysunghuri’s library and known today is the copy of the *Shah-nama* in the Imperial Library of the Gulistan Palace in Tehran. It is comparatively well-known in the West, since it has been shown at exhibitions in London, Leningrad, Paris and Rome, and miniatures from it were reproduced in the Unesco World Art Series volume on Iran. It has twenty-two well-preserved miniatures and a dedication to Baysunghuri, and was copied by Ja’far Baysunghuri in 1430. Next after the brilliance of the colouring is struck by the extreme clarity of the compositions, and the sharp silhouette of the figures, who are nevertheless stiff and expressionless. A similar stiffness is to be seen, though not so conspicuously, in the earlier Baysunghuri books, in which sensibility is not so completely absent as from this too dazzling book. It opens with a double-page royal hunt, watched by the young prince, and of every figure is varied, the gestures are far from being monotonous, but the forms are stiff none the less. This hard, almost metallic quality, especially conspicuous in the tree trunks, and in the rock pattern, has stultified the attempt at a rugged profusion of coral-like boulders. It is indeed in the architecture that the artists have been most successful, where the brilliance of the tilework is not negated by the stage-property structures as elsewhere.

The question must be asked whether this manuscript is the original fair copy of the new text of the epic prepared under the personal patronage of Baysunghuri, the preface of which he prepared in 1426, four years earlier than the date in the colophon. It may be argued that it would have taken a long time to write, illuminate and illustrate a volume of this quality, and wherever we have evidence from dated miniatures or from dated sections in a volume of a poet’s works, one or two years are regularly shown between the earlier and the latest dates in the same volume. On the other hand it seems very likely that Baysunghuri might have commissioned more than one copy of a work to which his personal name was attached, and there have been reports of the survival in Persia of other equally fine examples of this new recension dated between 1426 and Baysunghuri’s death.

*Kalila wa Dimna of Baysunghuri: Lion killing a Bull, Herat, 1430. (6x05")*  
Rexvan 1032, folio 46 verso, Topkapi Sarayi Library, Istanbul.
Anthology of Bayanghur: Scene from a Love Story. Copied by Shams al-Din, Herat, 1427. (7 1/4 x 4 1/4"
Folio 26 verso, Berenson Collection, I Tatti, Settignano (Florence).
Gulistan of Sa'di: Wazir as a Dervish begging in front of the King's Palace. Copied by Shams al-Din for Bayrunghur, Herat, 1437 (45x45") p. 119, folio 9, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
in 1433. One reason for assuming that there was another and even more richly illustrated copy appears to follow from the existence of a *Shah-nama* manuscript prepared for Shah Abbas I in 1614, which is obviously derived from some early fifteenth century original more fully illustrated than the Gulistan Palace manuscript, since it contains thirty-nine miniatures as against twenty-two in the latter. This manuscript, now part of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library, is discussed below, and it is sufficient to note here that of these additional miniatures some at least are completely different from anything in the Tehran book, while the remainder show so thorough a dependence on the Timurid originals as to make it quite unlikely that the artists concerned were capable of the invention required for an entirely new composition. It is most curious to detect how the artist who was set to illustrate the *Coronation of Luhrasp by Kay Khosru* lifted the whole framework of his composition from the scene of *Pamawas mourning for Rustam*, in the 1430 book, and simply added the figure of Luhrasp and the crown in Kay Khosru’s hands and the throne behind in the place of the coffin of Rustam! A new polo picture is supplied by ingeniously rearranging the figures of the hunters in the right half of the frontispiece! Others, like the *Bichar in the Well*, are entirely new, but in the same pseudo-Timurid style. Surely they must also be derived from some fuller, even more richly illustrated volume.

The other well-known manuscript produced for Baysunghur in this same year, the *Kalila wa Dimna* which is now Revan 1022 in the Topkapı Sarayi Library, seems to have the same status, for its twenty-two miniatures only partly correspond with the thirty in the earlier manuscript already discussed and assigned to about 1413. The figures are stiffer and grouped more rigidly in phalanxes instead of the easier grouping of the Tehran book. Everything in it is shown in the harshest light as realistically as in any early Persian work, or to put it more sympathetically, it shows the firm drawing and rich jewel-like pigments with every detail picked out in the strongest colouring. The combination of gold ground and blue sky is again found in this manuscript and the spongy rock forms are particularly richly coloured. The trees have the same smooth trunks with eyes like palms as in the *Shah-nama*, and a routine way of rendering each species seems to have been worked out. In fact what we have here is first-class craftsmanship, too seldom enlightened by the touch of imagination which had been so conspicuous in the earlier volume. In this respect Baysunghur’s workshop resembles that of his father Shah Rukh. Only the effects are more brilliant, the pigments richer, and the compositions more sophisticated. A scale of figure drawing and relationship had now been arrived at which satisfied Persian taste for a long time to come, so that this may be considered to be the beginning of the “classic” period of Persian miniature painting. From this time the background to every subject depicted is the paradise, the garden originally set aside as the hunting park of the ruler, but endowed with all that glory of the perpetual spring which is attributed to the walled garden watered by a never-failing stream, only to be understood against the background of a land that is two-thirds desert; and in a culture permeated by the Sufi sense of the immanence of the divine in the world of nature seen as the mirror of the divine.
One reason for assuming that there was another and even more richly illustrated copy appears to follow from the existence of a *Shah-nameh* manuscript prepared for Shah Abbas I in 1614, which is obviously derived from some early fifteenth century original more fully illustrated than the Gulistan Palace manuscript, since it contains thirty-nine miniatures as against twenty-two in the latter. This manuscript, now part of the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library, is discussed below, and it is sufficient to note here that of these additional miniatures some at least are completely different from anything in the Tehran book, while the remainder show so thorough a dependence on the Timurid originals as to make it quite unlikely that the artists concerned were capable of the invention required for an entirely new composition. It is most curious to detect how the artist who was set to illustrate the *Coronation of Luhrasp by Kay Khusraw* lifted the whole framework of his composition from the scene of *Faramurs vonning for Rustam*, in the 1430 book, and simply added the figure of Luhrasp and his crown in Kay Khusraw's hands and the throne behind in the place of the coffin of Rustam! A new polychrome is supplied by ingeniously rearranging the figures of the hunters in the right half of the frontispiece! Others, like the *Biclan in the Well*, are entirely new, but in the same pseudo-Timurid style. Surely they must also be derived from some fuller, even more richly illustrated volume.

The other well-known manuscript produced for Baysunghur in this same year, the *Ca'ila wa Dimna* which is now Revan 1022 in the Topkapı Sarayi Library, seems to have the same status, for its twenty-two miniatures only partly correspond with the thirty in the earlier manuscript already discussed and assigned to about 1415. The figures are stiffer and grouped more rigidly in phalanxes instead of the easier grouping of the Tehran book. Everything in it is shown in the harshest light as realistically as in the early Persian work, and to put it more sympathetically, it shows the firm drawing and rich jewel-like pigments with every detail picked out in the strongest colouring. The combination of gold ground and blue sky is again found in this manuscript and the Bonyo rock forms are particularly richly coloured. The trees have the same smooth trunks with eyes like palms as in the *Shah-nameh*, and a routine way of rendering each species seems to have been worked out. In fact what we have here is first-class craftsmanship, too seldom enlightened by the touch of imagination which had been so conspicuous in the earlier volume. In this respect Baysunghur's workshop resembles that of his father Shah Rukh. Only the effects are more brilliant, the pigments richer, and the compositions more sophisticated. A scale of figure drawing and relationship had now been arrived at which satisfied Persian taste for a long time to come, so that this may be considered to be the beginning of the "classic" period of Persian miniature painting. From this time the background to every subject depicted is the paradise, the garden originally set aside as the hunting park of the ruler, but endowed with all that glory and the perpetual spring which is attributed to the walled garden watered by a never-failing stream, only to be understood against the background of a land that is two-thirds desert; and in a culture permeated by the Sufi sense of the immanence of the divine is the world of nature seen as the mirror of the divine.
Shah-nama of Muhammad Juki: The Div Akwan throws Rustam into the Sea. Herat, c. 1440. (f. 85v)
MS 239, folio 165 verso, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Shahnama of Muhammad Juki: The Div Akwan throws Rustam into the Sea. Herat, c. 1440. (9 x 8\(\frac{1}{2}\))\ns. 279, folio 165 verso, Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Shahnama of Muhammad Juki: Gustaham beheading Farshidward. Herat, c. 1440. (9 x 8\(\frac{1}{2}\))\ns. 279, folio 206 verso, Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Baysunghur, who was considered the best connoisseur of his generation, died of dissipation in 1433, but Herat remained the centre of the arts of the book for some time longer. First, according to the report of Dust Muhammad, under the patronage of his son, prince Ala al-Dawla, who survived until 1447, and not only retained his father’s artists but also attracted to Herat Ghiyath al-Din, a painter who had accompanied the embassy of Shah Rukh to China in 1419 to 1422, as the envoy of his son Baysunghur, and had made vivid notes of what he saw there and on the way, which had been incorporated by Abdul Razzaq in his History. He came now from Tabriz, where he had presumably been employed by another son of Shah Rukh, Ulugh Beg, who patronized the arts and learning there in spite of the opposition of the local dervishes, who tried to impose the prohibitions of orthodox Islam, instead of the lax or free-thinking principles of the Persian Sufis. Unfortunately at present it has not been possible to attribute anything to this artist or his school, either at Tabriz or Herat. Prince Babur Mirza is recorded by his namesake the Mughal to have built a pleasure house of two storeys with wall-paintings which he, surely mistakenly, thought to be later additions by Abu Sa’id. But Ala al-Dawla’s uncle, Muhammad Juki, was another patron of the arts; and a finely illustrated manuscript of the Shah-nama made for him survives in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society of London. He was not trusted by his father with any important political appointment and he also was given to dissipation, perhaps on that account; as is suggested by the story that in 1440 Shah Rukh personally ordered the throwing away of all the wine found in his son’s house in Herat. At any rate he is said to have led an invalid life until his early death in 1445. This Shah-nama is generally attributed to about 1440, and naturally to Herat, although some influence has been noted in its miniatures from the school of Shiraz, which we shall see to have pursued a different course after the death of Sultan Iskandar.

The miniatures are all on a much smaller scale than those in the Baysunghur manuscripts, painted with great skill in enamel colours, the figures dwarfed by the brilliance of the landscape. The artists show far greater interest in the natural world, so that it takes over the function of dramatic setting and the action of the figures is quite subordinated to it. There is a tendency to elaboration, in such features as the rocks, which now often form great sponge-like masses in unreal colouring; trees are more windswept and clouds more conspicuous, with pink shading to the white swirls. The painters knew how to heighten the romantic feeling by poising castles or palaces precariously among crags and precipices, or by giving the rocks themselves a kind of architectural quality; so organized are they in towering or jutting needles or wall circles as to make an amphitheatre for the action. In the 1430 Shah-nama the star-filled sky has an all-over sameness which is simply rich in effect, while in the Royal Asiatic Society manuscript of 1440 stars seem to burst across the sky in clusters of intensity. Human figures are no less stiff, generally, especially when on horseback, but there is less monotony in stance or movement; and, in some, a definitive advance towards more complex compositions, especially in the great battle scene here reproduced, The Battle between Gay and Tarikand, where the central mêlée has more energy in the counterpoint of involved movement than anything
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Before the decade was over the sway of the Timurid house was shattered and the days of their patronage of Persian art and letters finished, at least for a season, and never to be as pervasive as it had been during the first half of the century. Muhammad Juki died in 1445, Shah Rukh in 1447, and his remaining son Ulugh Beg in 1449. A certain Abu Sa'id, of dubious origin, set himself up as heir of the Timurids, and inaugurated twenty years of philistine rule under the influence of the orthodox dervishes of Samarqand, who, as Barthold puts it, were "hostile to any form of culture." An Anthology in the Chester Beatty Library is said to have been his. He was killed fighting against the Turkmans in 1468, and was succeeded in Herat by Sultan Husayn Bayqara, who ruled Khurasan for about forty years and inaugurated a second age of Timurid patronage there, as splendid as the first, but confined to that north-eastern province of Persia. Before entering on an account of that period attention must be paid to what had been happening in other parts of the country, which gradually passed from the control of the house of Timur. Since the main centre seems to have lain in Shiraz, it may be best to start with what we know of the schools of painting in that city.