

American University in Cairo

## AUC Knowledge Fountain

---

Archived Theses and Dissertations

---

1-1-1987

### The Shahnama of Firdusi of 990/1582 in the Laurenziana Library of Florence: An Analysis of the Miniatures

Francesca Casule

*The American University in Cairo AUC*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro\\_etds](https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds)



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

##### APA Citation

Casule, F. (1987). *The Shahnama of Firdusi of 990/1582 in the Laurenziana Library of Florence: An Analysis of the Miniatures* [Thesis, the American University in Cairo]. AUC Knowledge Fountain.

[https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro\\_etds/705](https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/705)

##### MLA Citation

Casule, Francesca. *The Shahnama of Firdusi of 990/1582 in the Laurenziana Library of Florence: An Analysis of the Miniatures*. 1987. American University in Cairo, Thesis. *AUC Knowledge Fountain*.

[https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro\\_etds/705](https://fount.aucegypt.edu/retro_etds/705)

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by AUC Knowledge Fountain. It has been accepted for inclusion in Archived Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of AUC Knowledge Fountain. For more information, please contact [fountadmin@aucegypt.edu](mailto:fountadmin@aucegypt.edu).



THE SHAHNAMA OF FIRDUSI OF 990-1582  
IN THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY OF FLORENCE  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE MINIATURES

BY  
FRANCESCA CASULE

1987



Islamic Studies  
708

THIS THESIS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE

FRANCESCA CASULE

THE SHAHNAMA OF FIRDUSI OF 990/1582  
IN THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY OF FLORENCE  
An analysis of the miniatures

by Francesca Casule

Thesis  
708/87

2V1

A thesis submitted to the Department of Arabic  
Studies of the American University in Cairo in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Master of Arts in Arabic Studies

CHIEF, THESIS COMMITTEE

MEMBER, THESIS COMMITTEE

CAIRO

February 1987

DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR ARABIC STUDIES



THIS THESIS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE

BY

FRANCESCA CASULE

HAS BEEN APPROVED

JANUARY 1987

[REDACTED]

CHAIRMAN, THESIS COMMITTEE

[REDACTED]

MEMBER, THESIS COMMITTEE

[REDACTED]

MEMBER, THESIS COMMITTEE

[REDACTED]

DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR ARABIC STUDIES



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The reader will have to take into account that this study has been done in Cairo mainly on a very bad black and white microfilm of the manuscript, and on eleven slides of the 26 miniatures. During the summer, the writer has analysed the coloured slides of the missing miniatures, but only inside the Laurenziana Library, where no comparable literature is available. Italian bureaucracy, which puts severe restrictions on the complete reproduction of the figural part of a manuscript, has been partly responsible for this, together with a misunderstood idea of "conservation". Only after two years of insisting, in fact, has it been possible to obtain five other photographs and to see the original manuscript for less than two hours. This explains the poor quality of some of the reproductions, which are black and white copies taken from the microfilm.

With this premise, I must add that the work would have been even worse without the help of Prof. Bernard O'Kane, who was the appointed supervisor of the thesis and undertook the uneasy job of correcting my English and checking the content. To him and to Prof. George T. Scanlon I am indebted for all I have learned during my four years at the American University in Cairo. Other precious suggestions came to me by Prof. Samuel Peterson, who was the appointed third reader and to whom I express my sincere gratitude. I wish to thank as well the librarians at the Creswell Library for their patience and help. Finally, I would like to thank Prof. Angelo Michele Piemontese, who kindly gave me precious information about the manuscript.



## CONTENTS

	Page
<u>CONTENTS</u>	1
<u>LIST OF PLATES</u>	5
 I - <u>THE SHĀHNĀMA OF FIRDAUSĪ OF 990/1582 IN THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY OF FLORENCE</u>	 12
I.1    INTRODUCTION	12
I.2    THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY ORIENTAL COLLECTION	13
I.3    GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT	17
I.4    THE PROBLEM OF THE ACQUISITION	19
I.4.1 <u>Ferdinando de' Medici and the Medicean Oriental Printing House in Rome</u>	20
I.4.2 <u>Giovan Battista Vecchietti's description of Persia in the years 1586-87 from his report to Philip II of Spain</u>	25
I.4.3 <u>Other travels of the Vecchietti brothers</u>	30
I.4.4 <u>Conclusions</u>	33
NOTES TO CHAPTER I	36
 II - <u>THE TEXT AND THE MINIATURES</u>	 41
II.1    THE TEXT	41



II.1.1	The Author and his work	41
II.1.2	The text of the Palat. Orient.5	45
II.2	THE EPISODES FROM THE SHAHNAMA ILLUSTRATED IN THE PALAT. ORIENT. 5	47
II.2.1	A brief account of the episodes illustrated in the manuscript and a general description of the miniatures portraying them	48
II.2.2	The relationship between the text and the miniatures	82
II.3	COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL NARRATIVE SCHEME	87
	a) The court of Gayūmars	87
	b) Gushtāsp killing a dragon	91
	c) The flight of Kai Kā'ūs	95
	NOTES TO CHAPTER II	99
III -	STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MINIATURES	104
III.1	STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS	104
III.2	MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS	106
III.2.1	General features	106
	a) Shape	106
	b) Color scheme	108



	c) Light	110
III.2.2	<u>The exterior</u>	110
	a) General setting of the landscape	110
	b) Rocks, vegetation, horizon	112
	c) Sky and clouds	116
	d) Water	117
	e) Building and tents	118
	f) Animals	120
III.2.3	<u>The interior</u>	122
	a) The rendering of an enclosed space	122
	b) Wall decoration	123
	c) Rugs	124
III.2.4	<u>Human figures</u>	124
	a) General rendering, postures and gestures	125
	b) Clothing	126
	c) Battle equipment	128
III.2.5	<u>Fantastic creatures</u>	129
	a) Divs	129
	b) Dragons	131



NOTES TO CHAPTER III	132
IV - <u>PRODUCTION CENTRE OF THE MINIATURES</u>	136
IV.1 THE PROVINCIAL STYLE OF SHIRAZ IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	136
IV.1.1 Other manuscripts possibly painted by the same artists of Palat. Orient. 5	138
IV.2 THE CONTEMPORARY QAZVIN STYLE	143
IV.2.1 Comparative analysis between Painter A's work and miniatures attributed to or signed by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn, Sadīqī, etc.	145
IV.3 SUMMARY	148
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV	149
V - <u>CONCLUSIONS</u>	152
NOTES TO CHAPTER V	157
APPENDIX <u>LIST OF THE MINIATURES WITH THEIR ATTRIBUTIONS</u>	158
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	
a) BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT	160
b) GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY	165
PLATES	177



# LIST OF PLATES

- Pl. 1 Kanarang storms the fortress of Rūm and captures the Emperor, Florence, Laurenziana Library, ms. Palat. Orient. 5 (from now on LLF, P.O.5), f.5 r.
- Pl. 2 The court of Gayūmars, LLF, P.O.5, f.14 v.
- Pl. 3 Farīdūn striking Dhaḥḥāk, LLF, P.O.5, f.47 r.
- Pl. 4 Minūchihr against Salm and Tur, LLF, P.O.5, f.59 v.
- Pl. 5 Sām fights against the divs, LLF, P.O.5, f.76 v.
- Pl. 6 Sām fights against Parīdukht, LLF, P.O.5, f.90 v.
- Pl. 7 Sām confronting the Faghfur of China, LLF, P.O.5, f.109 r.
- Pl. 8 Zāl asks king Minūchihr for permission to marry his beloved Rūdāba, LLF, P.O.5, f.136 r.
- Pl. 9 Rustam killing Qulūn, LLF, P.O.5, f.155 v.
- Pl.10 The flight of Kai Kā'ūs, LLF, P.O.5, f. 175 r.
- Pl.11 Rustam killing his son Suhrāb, LLF, P.O.5, f.192 v.
- Pl.12 Kai Kā'ūs sends his son Siyāvush to fight against Afrāsiyāb, LLF, P.O.5, f.213 r.
- Pl.13 The wedding of Siyāvush and Farangīs, LLF, P.O.5, f.226 r.
- Pl.14 Rustam kills Pīlsam, LLF, P.O.5, f.243 v.
- Pl.15 Bīzhan brings to his father Gīv the head of Balāshān killed in battle, LLF, P.O.5, f.268 v.
- Pl.16 Iran against Turan, LLF, P.O.5, f.282 v.



- P1.17 Rustam carries the head of a Turanian warrior, LLF, P.O.5, f. 299 v.
- P1.18 Rustam wrestling with Pūlādvand, LLF, P.O.5, f.326 v.
- P1.19 Rustam brings Bizhan back to Iran, LLF, P.O.5, f.339 v.
- P1.20 A messenger of Afrāsiyāb asks the Iranians in vain for peace, LLF, P.O.5, f. 378 v.
- P1.21 Gushtāsp killing a dragon on Mount Saqīlā, LLF, P.O.5, f.420 v.
- P1.22 Isfandiyār against Gurgsār, LLF, P.O.5, f.437 v.
- P1.23 Isfandiyār killing the Turanian king Arjāsp, LLF, P.O.5, f.449 v.
- P1.24 The trial of strength between Isfandiyār and Rustam LLF, P.O.5, f.483 v.
- P1.25 Rustam killing Isfandiyār, LLF, P.O.5, f.498 v.
- P1.26 Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhaḥḥāk, LLF, P.O.5, f.665 v.
- P1.27 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", Tabriz, c. 1370; Istanbul, Topkapi Serai, Hazine 2153, f.55 v.  
b) "The Court of Gayūmars", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c. 1430; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Ousley Add. 176, f.20 r.
- P1.28 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Tabriz, c. 1530, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.20 v.  
b) detail of the same miniature
- P1.29 a) "The Court of Gayumars", Shahnama of Firdausī, Shiraz, 946/1539; New York, Kraus Collection, N.114 (ex-Kevorkian Collection)  
b) "The Court of Gayūmars", Shāhnāma of Firdausī,



Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl Pers 932, f.18 v.

- P1.30 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, 967/1560; London, India Office Library, Pers. ms. 133, f.16 v.  
b) "The Court of Gayūmars", Iskandarnāma of Aḥmadī, Shiraz, 968/1561; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 635, f.185 v.
- P1.31 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1570; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 382, f.21 r.  
b) "Gushtāsp killing a dragon", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Herat, c. 1445; London, Royal Asiatic Society, ms. 239 (Shāhnāma of Muḥammad Jūkī),
- P1.32 a) "Gushtāsp slays a dragon", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz ?, 1480; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Coll. N. 158, f.295 v.  
b) "Gushtāsp and the dragon", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 932, f.308 r.
- P1.33 a) "Gushtāsp slays the dragon on Mount Saqīlā", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Tabriz, c. 1527; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.402 r.  
b) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Berlin, Staatliche Museum, sketch from the Diez Album, f.73 S.57 N.4
- P1.34 a) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, mid-XVth century; Leningrad, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences USSR, ms. S 822, f.78 r.  
b) "The flight of Kai Kā'ūs", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Tabriz, c.1530; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.134 r.
- P1.35 a) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John



Rylands Library, Ryl Pers 932, f.96 v.

- b) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1550-60; New York, H.P. Kraus Collection, N.131, f.14 v.

- Pl.36 a) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1550; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 331, f.185 r.  
b) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", detached folio from a Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1600; New York, H.P. Kraus Collection, N.149

- Pl.37 a) "Zulaikhā overcome by her love for Yūsuf comforted by her nurse", Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Jāmī, Shiraz, c. 1580; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 4122, f.38 v.  
b) "Practice makes perfect", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz c. 1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 856, f.106 v.

- Pl.38 a) "Khusrau before his father Hurmuzd", same ms. as Pl.32b, f.17 v.  
b) "Bahrām Gūr in the Sandal pavillion", Kullīyyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz, c. 1570-80; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 67, f.169 r.

- Pl.39 a) "Khizr Khan and Duvalrānī in the palace", same ms. as Pl.33b, f.345 v.  
b) "Scene in a bath", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, 993/1585; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. DORN 334, f.11 r.

- Pl.40 a) "Polo playing", same ms. as Pl.34 b, f.32 r.  
b) "Feasting scene", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Shiraz, c. 1585; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 352, f.152 r.

- Pl.41 a) "Majnūn in chains brought by a beggar woman to Lailā's tent", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Tabriz, 1539-43; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 2265, f.157 v.  
(miniature attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī)



- b) "Life in the camp", Tabriz, c. 1540; Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (miniature attributed to Mir Sayyid 'Ali)
- Pl.42 a) "Khusrau and Shīrīn holding a feast at night", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz, 1548; Washington, Freer Gallery, FGA 08.266  
b) "Last meeting of Lailā and Majnūn", same ms. as Pl.37a, FGA 08.270
- Pl.43 a) "Tīmūr surrounded by his court", Zafarnāma of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Shiraz, 1552; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 1359, f.35 v.  
b) "Iskandar and the shepherd", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz, c.1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 856 f.207 r.
- Pl.44 a) "Iskandar's relaxation in the lap of nature", Kulliyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz, c.1570-80; Leningrad, Leningrad State, Public Library, ms. PNS 67, f.169 r.  
b) "Hushāng slays the black div", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Tabriz, c.1530; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.21 v. (detail)
- Pl.45 a) "Garshāsp fighting the 'dog-heads'", Garshāspnāma of Asadī, Qazvin, 1573; London, British Museum, Or.12985, f.45 v.  
b) "Tahmuras defeating the demons", Shāhnāma of Firdausī, Qazvin, c.1576; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Cat. N. 256.1 (detached folio from the Shāhnāma of Ismā'īl II)
- Pl.46 a) "Bahrām Gūr fighting a dragon", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz, ...92/1584?; University Museum of Pennsylvania, Cat. N. 223  
b) "Battle scene", Divān of Ḥāfiz, Shiraz, c.1580; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 945, f.167 v.
- Pl.47 a) "Angels adoring Adam", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz,



- c.1570; Istanbul, Topkapi Serai, ms. B.146/K423, f.14 r.
- b) "Iskandar and his army in front of the snake and diamonds pit; same ms. as Pl.42a, f.364 v.
- Pl.48 a) "Hunting scene", probably from the same ms as Pl.42, f.380 v.
- b) "Nūshirvān and his vizir in front of a ruined castle", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz (?), 968/1561; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1956, f.10
- Pl.49 a) "Shīrin hunting with Khusrau", same ms. as Pl.43b, f.40 r.
- b) "Farīdūn hunting with his courtiers", same ms. as Pl.43b, f.14 r.
- Pl.50 a) "Lailā and Majnūn fainting at their meeting", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz, c.1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. 856, f.85 v.
- b) "Majnūn visited by Sālih", same ms. as Pl.45a, f.71 r.
- Pl.51 a) "Iskandar and the dying Dara", same ms. as Pl.45, f.163 v.
- b) "Khusrau spies Shīrīn bathing", same ms. as Pl.45, f.25 r.
- Pl.52 a) "Majnūn in the desert visited by his relatives", Kulliyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz, c.1570s-80s; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 67, f.120 r.
- b) Two miniatures from a copy of Majālis al-‘Ushshāg of Ḥusain Bāiqarā, Shiraz (?), 988/1580; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1150, ff.88 v. and 233 r.
- Pl.53 a) "Mystical meeting", Majālis al-‘Ushshāg of Kāzīrgāhī, Shiraz, c.1575; Cairo, Collection of S.E. Sherif Pasha, Cat. N. 32
- b) "Religious discussion", same ms. as Pl.48a, Cat. N. 35



- P1.54 a) "The sultan and the men of religion", same ms. as P1.48, Cat. N.34  
 b) "A prince assisting to executions", Khamsa of Nizāmī, Shiraz, c.1560; Istanbul, Topkapi Serai Library, ms. A.3559/K.432, f.34 r.
- P1.55 a) "Battle between Narīman and the Khāqān", Garshāspnāma of Asadī, Qazvin, 981/1573; London, British Museum Library, ms. Or. 12985, f.90 v.



## CHAPTER I      THE SHĀHNĀMA OF FIRDAUSĪ OF 1582 IN THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY IN FLORENCE

### I.1 INTRODUCTION

Until a few years ago, when the earliest extant copy of the Shāhnāma of Firdausī was found by chance in the National Library of Florence (1), only five manuscripts of the Persian national epic were known to be kept in public Italian libraries (2). Among them, the copy belonging to the Laurenziana Library in Florence has been always regarded as the most interesting one, and has attracted the attention of the celebrated Italian translator of Firdausī's work, Italo Pizzi, who devoted a brief paper to the text of the manuscript, presented at the Fourth Congress of Orientalists in Florence in 1881 (3). Yet since then the manuscript has been mentioned only in a short essay on Persian copies of Firdausī's poem in Italy (4), celebrating the Millennium of the Poet in 1935, and more recently, merely listed among comparative material of the late XVIth century by B. W.



Robinson (5). Thus this beautiful manuscript, containing 26 miniatures of good, sometimes outstanding quality, although comparatively well known in Italy, has passed virtually unnoticed among most of the scholars specialized in Persian painting of the Safavid period.

## 1.2 THE LAURENZIANA LIBRARY ORIENTAL COLLECTION

The most celebrated Italian oriental collection is definitely the one belonging to the Vatican Library in Rome. Its formation has been deeply analyzed by the late Levi della Vida (6), who considered it "the oldest in Europe". However the Vatican Library supremacy has been recently questioned (7) in favor of the oriental collection of the Laurenziana Library in Florence, the former Medici library named after the famous Lorenzo "the Magnificent". This is not surprising if we consider that the first group of Arabic and Coptic manuscripts came into the Vatican Library in 1441 as a present for Pope Eugene IV, brought to Florence by the Coptic mission taking part in the Council held in that city to



promote the unification of the Eastern and Western Church. On the same occasion in fact, Cosimo de' Medici acquired several Arabic, Hebraic, Chaldean and Indian manuscripts, which he added to his already celebrated private library (8). He got even more codices from the men of letters he invited to Florence twelve years later, following the fall of the Byzantine capital Constantinople to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II. The Medici's private library passed then to Cosimo's son, Pietro "il Gottoso", and from him to the famous Lorenzo, who greatly increased the number of oriental manuscripts and had more than two hundred ones collected in the East by his emissary (9). At this stage the main interest was directed towards the rediscovery of classics of Latin and Greek literature (10) and early copies of the Old and New Testament in oriental languages. It was in fact in this period that the most precious codex of the whole collection entered the Library: a gospel in Chaldean dated 586 A.D. and extensively illustrated with miniatures.

The following period witnessed serious difficulties in Florence for the Medici and the library was transferred to Rome, where several members of the family reached the highest



dignities of the Church. Clement VII brought it back to Florence after having managed to defeat the Florentine Republic in 1529. For this purpose, when still a cardinal, he had already ordered Michelangelo to build a proper seat for the family collection beside the Brunelleschian church of San Lorenzo, right in front of the Medici palace.

subsequent major acquisitions of the library remain linked to Rome. The Protestant Reformation and the Council of Trent in fact stimulated various attempts at the reunification of the Church of Rome with the other separated Eastern Churches (namely those of Alexandria, Antioch and Ethiopia) which in turn helped the acquisition of oriental manuscripts by means of missions sent to the East (11). In this way a good deal of oriental codices entered the Vatican Library, while others came as presents or bequests by private collectors, such as those formerly belonging to the famous traveller Pietro Della Valle (1586-1652). However, as far as the Vatican Library is concerned, only in the late XVIIIth century did oriental manuscripts begin to be sought and chosen according to a given plan. In this respect the Florentine Library has an unquestionable supremacy, mainly due to the ambitious



initiative of the Stamperia Orientale Medicea (Medicean Oriental Printing House), started in the late XVIth century by the Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. As we will see, he sent emissaries to Egypt, Persia and Ethiopia, entrusted with the supplementary task, beyond the above-mentioned political one, of collecting the most beautiful manuscripts in oriental languages, which were to be copied in Rome.

Although the Stamperia Orientale Medicea was a short-lived initiative, it led to the formation of an outstanding corpus of oriental manuscripts, mainly collected in Egypt and Persia by the learned Florentine merchant Giovan Battista Vecchietti and by his brother Gerolamo. To them we should add another hundred Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Syriac codices, acquired by the same Cardinal from the former Patriarch of the Antiochean Church, Ignazio Ni'matallāh (12).

At the beginning of the XVIIth these manuscripts were brought to Florence, where the Medici's oriental collection was studied for the following two hundred years by several orientalists, who considered it the major European one of the time. The famous French orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625-95), for instance, author of the first encyclopedia of



Islamic civilization (13), came to Florence in 1661, analyzed the manuscripts of the collection and prepared a new (although incomplete) index. It is worth mentioning as well that in XVIIth and XVIIIth century books dealing with the main European libraries the Laurenziana collection was always described in detail, although often using the index prepared before the introduction of the group of manuscripts linked with the Stamperia Orientale. In fact until the beginning of the XVIIIth century these had remained in the Medicea Palatina Library, inside the Pitti Palace, the new Medicean residence. From here they passed partly into the Laurenziana, where they have been kept until today, and partly into the collection of the Medici's librarian Antonio Magliabechi, later transferred into the National Library of Florence.

After the unification of Italy, the Laurenziana collection acquired new manuscripts from suppressed monasteries and from the private collection of Lord Bertram Ashburnham, formerly belonging to another Florentine family (14).



### 1.3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The volume, now marked Palat. Orient. 5, has a western binding in red leather with brass bosses bearing the Medicean blazon. It consists of 807 numbered folios in oriental polished paper and two flyleaves. Each folio measures cm. 40 x 24,5, whereas the dimensions of the jadwal, the frame delimiting the inscribed area, are cm. 24 x 14,4. This space is subdivided into four columns of 19 lines each, in their turn framed in gold. The text is written in elegant black ta'liq, with cartouches written in white on a golden background. The first folio bears an oblong stamp reading "Biblioth. Caesar. Palatinae" and the small round modern stamp of the Laurenziana Library. In the second flyleaf, made out of parchment paper, is written: "CII nunc sub no. V Liber Regum Persicus sive Historia veterum Persiae Regum auctore Hassano ben Sciarfsciah Fardusseio Tusensi; vid. Asseman. p. 148 Cat." The colophon (f. 807) contains only the date when the manuscript was completed: the month of Shawwāl of the year 990 H (1582 A.D.). The volume contains two frontispieces and 26 miniatures which will be analyzed in the following



chapters. On the whole, this beautiful manuscript seems in good conditions and although its margins have been clearly trimmed, no damage has been done to the miniatures, which in the plates look cropped only because of the bad quality of the reproduction.

#### I.4 THE PROBLEM OF THE ACQUISITION

Although no specific indication appears on the flyleaves of the manuscript - as it does on the contrary in the case of the Cl.III.24, the other Shāhnāma recently discovered - until very recently it was considered likely that the volume had been brought from the East either by the learned merchant Giovan Battista Vecchietti or by his brother Gerolamo, together with the other manuscripts purchased for the Stamperia Orientale Medicea, during one of their travels as emissaries of the Holy See.

The first clear mention of the book appears in fact already in a catalogue of the oriental manuscripts belonging to the Medicea Palatina Library compiled by Renaudot in 1701, who intended to correct and complete the earlier one drawn up



by d'Herbelot. As we have seen, at that time all the manuscripts connected with the Stamperia Orientale were still in the Medicea Palatina Library, whence they later passed partly into the Laurenziana. For this reason it was not surprising that none of the XVIIth century catalogues of the famous Laurenziana Library contained any reference to the Palat. Orient. 5, and the fact that the same manuscript had not been listed by d'Herbelot did not mean very much either, since his catalogue contained hardly a quarter of the manuscripts of the collection (15).

#### I.4.1 Ferdinando de' Medici and the Stamperia Orientale Medicea in Rome

Gregory XIII's pontificate witnessed the conception of an ambitious initiative, aimed at regaining the separate Churches of Alexandria, Antioch and Ethiopia, building a league against the Ottomans, and offering alliance to Safavid Persia (16). The purely political aspect of the initiative was flanked by the "pious" one of spreading the Gospel among



the populations of the East. To this purpose the Pope encouraged the Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco I, to set up an oriental printing house in 1584, with the aim of creating the means for such a political initiative and "to be better off in dealing with Eastern schismatics and Infidels" (17). Giovan Battista Raimondi, a professor at the Sapienza University of Rome, who had an adequate knowledge of oriental languages and philosophy, mathematics and physics, was appointed director of the Stamperia (18). The original idea was to print both religious and secular texts, so the first two problems to be solved were the setting up of typefaces and the collecting of various kinds of books to be copied in Rome. The famous French type-carver Robert Granjon, already in Rome serving the Vatican Printing House (19), entered the service of the Cardinal. Two emissaries were then sent to the East for preliminary political talks, entrusted at the same time with the task of collecting books for the Stamperia. The traveller Giovan Battista Britti was sent to Ethiopia, never, unfortunately, to return (20), while Giovan Battista Vecchietti's twofold mission succeeded in establishing



contacts with the Patriarch of Alexandria and with the Safavid Shāh Muḥammad Mīrzā Khudābanda.

Born in 1552 in Cosenza, although belonging to a famous Florentine family of bankers and merchants, Giovan Battista Vecchietti studied with the philosopher Telesio and was later in Pisa and Florence (21). After a first mission in Spain, in 1584 he was recommended to the Pope by Ferdinando de' Medici, who asked him at the same time "to keep in mind the business of the Stamperia Orientale" (22). A document containing detailed instructions "to Mr. Vecchietti, who has to go to Persia" is preserved in the State Archive of Florence, among hundreds of other papers relating to the Stamperia. It reads: "He will have to buy in Persia or elsewhere, provided that he does not go too much out of his way, some Arabic books whose list will be given to him by the Patriarch, and beside this he should try to find rich lexicons and Persian grammars with Turkish or Arabic translation or interpretation...and of all these languages he should try to get the best letters possible, and he must particularly try to get some books in Persian and Arabic with very beautiful letters, no matter what the subject is" (23). Vecchietti's stay in Egypt did



not last very long and on June 11, 1586 he arrived in Tabriz, where he met the old Shāh Muḥammad Mīrzā Khudābandā, and held with him the official talks he was sent for, although he was quite disturbed by Turkish attempts to capture the town. He remained in Persia for almost one year, first in Tabriz, then in Qazvin, collecting all the information he had been asked for on the political and economic situation as well as the organization of the Safavid reign. This information forms the subject of a very interesting report addressed to the famous Spanish king Philip II. A special section in the present work will be devoted to this report, which was written less than five years after the date of our manuscript.

In the same year (1587) Francesco I died and the Cardinal gave up the purple and went to Florence, becoming the Grand Duke Ferdinando I (1587-1609). Thus the Stamperia Orientale, which was still at its inception, lost most of its support and protection, and its property was formally handed over to Raimondi. This interesting philosopher and scholar spent the rest of his life trying to make the enterprise work, but the books he managed to print did not circulate very much, and at his death, in 1614, he was still laden with debts. In his



will be thus left everything - including oriental manuscripts and unsold books - to the Medici family (24).

Initially planned with the ambitious aim of printing a "polyglot Bible" in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, Slav, Armenian, Arabic, Persian, Coptic and Ethiopic (25), together with various grammars, dictionaries and literary masterpieces of oriental languages, the Stamperia Orientale succeeded only in printing a Persian grammar and about ten books in Arabic, among which were the Four Gospels (1590), a dictionary and two grammars (1592), a section of Idrīsī's Geography dealing with Upper Egypt, the Canon and another philosophical essay of Ibn Sīnā (1593), and Euclid's Geometry (1594). Yet we cannot consider the initiative in itself a total failure. Although short-lived, the Stamperia Orientale Medicea had in fact the merit of arousing European interest on oriental studies, giving at the same time the opportunity to collect hundreds of oriental manuscripts which, together with the printed books, served as a reference point for contemporary and later orientologists and "gave a memorable impetus to the further progress of European knowledge on Islamic languages and literatures" (26). As an example we



might recall that the famous traveller Pietro Della Valle started his study of Persian with the celebrated Raimondi's grammar.

#### I.4.2 Giovan Battista Vecchietti's description of Persia in the years 1586-87 from his report to Philip II of Spain

Several times during the XVIth century, when the Ottomans seemed more powerful and determined to pursue their expansionist trend towards Europe, the Christian kings tried to contact Persian authorities to incourage them to increase the attacks on the eastern boundaries of the Ottoman Empire, in order to relieve pressure on the West. Ferdinando I seriously believed in the importance of the "Persian factor" in the war against the Turks, and for this reason he did his best to organize Vecchietti's mission to the Persian Court, and later on greatly regretted that nothing had followed from the promises made to the Shāh (27). This was mainly due to the ambiguous role played by the Venetian Republic, whose



commercial interests were too deeply connected with the Ottoman Empire to allow it to be sincerely interested in fighting against Istanbul. The original proposal made by Ferdinando I de' Medici was in fact an agreement between the Pope, Spain and Venice, who were to help the Safavid Shāh against the Ottomans. The Venetian ambassador Contarini, however, cleverly blocked the initiative (28).

After having left Egypt, passing through Damascus, Aleppo and Van, on June 11, 1586 Vecchietti reached Tabriz, "where the Court was" (29). Immediately received by the old Shāh, he started his talks with him. From Vecchietti's written report to Philip II of Spain we know that Shāh Muḥammad Mīrzā Khudābanda had shown the strongest intention to go on with his war against the Ottomans, claiming to be ready to deploy two hundred thousand horsemen in the attack. Vecchietti doubts seriously the number given by the Shāh, and in a later section of his report dealing with the Persian army, he estimates that there were not more than 30,000 soldiers actually under the control of Muḥammad Khudābanda and his elder son, Sulṭān Hamza Mīrzā (30).

When Vecchietti reached Tabriz, the town was again in



Persian hands whereas the Fortress, built by the Turks in 1585, was still under Ottoman control. On the other hand the period immediately preceding Vecchietti's arrival had witnessed a widespread rebellion in the area around Qazvin, culminating in the defeat of the Turkman rebels in a battle which had taken place around Sultāniya in the month of May 1586 (31). From the rather obscure following passage (32) it seems that during the summer the Shāh, probably back in Qazvin, succeeded in reconciling the rebels who had been held prisoner, and left again for Tabriz on August 4, with an army of 10,000 soldiers in a new attempt to capture the Fortress. An eye-witness of the Persians' total lack of skill in this kind of warfare, Vecchietti came to the conclusion, reached by the Shāh as well, that the most useful help by the Christian kings would be the sending of people who knew how to build and to storm a fortress, having at the same time a good knowledge of artillery.

At the beginning of September the news came that the Ottoman army was arriving to help the soldiers besieged in the Fortress, and the Shāh gave the population his permission to leave Tabriz bringing with them whatever they could. Most



of them went to Qazvin, followed by the same Vecchietti, while Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda and his son Hamza remained in Tabriz with the army. Realizing that any attempt to resist would have been useless, they too left the city and went to Ghenge (Zanjān), almost six days from Tabriz. Tabriz was thus recaptured without bloodshed by the Ottomans, but two months later the same prince Hamza was murdered. The old Shāh asked then for help from his second-born 'Abbās, who had control over the very rich area of Khorasan. 'Abbās refused to join his father and Muḥammad Khudābanda then appointed the 16 year old Abū Ṭalib heir to the crown, and went back with him to Qazvin (33). In the meanwhile a new rebellion arose in Kashan and Yazd (34), and the two towns passed under the control of Turkman vizirs. When Vecchietti left Persia, the Ottoman forces were gaining ground, threatening the two important towns of Ardabil and Hamadan (35). On his way to Hormuz, the Italian traveller passed Kashan, Isfahan and Shiraz, which he calls "the main Persian cities", together with Qazvin (36). He gives many details on the general situation of the country, on its lack of city walls or fortresses, except for the "very weak and low" ones of Kashan and Isfahan, and on



the organization of the "chezilbasi". Probably because of the continuous rebellions and wars, the financial situation of the Court was very serious, if it is true that it was "unable to pay even for its clothes" (37). Among the main resources of the country, Vecchietti mentions woven and rough silks, carpets, books, turquoise, lapis lazuli, horses, tin, copper, fruits and other foods. The Safavid Empire was then divided into seven regions, the richest two being those of Khorasan and Azerbaijan. Vecchietti observes that in the absence of wars, the Shah could be considered quite rich, "since the army is paid with land, and the only Court expenditures are those for food and clothes" (38). Surprisingly enough, however, these expenses were considered very small, "[the Court] being in that country very moderate in these respects" (39).

Thus the situation in Persia was quite critical during the reign of Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda, who had taken power in 1578 after the death of his brother Ismā'īl II. No trace appears here of the exceptionally high standard of patronage which had taken place in the country under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, less than fifty years before, and virtually nothing might lead one



to foresee the grandiose scale of planning conceived at Isfahan under Shāh 'Abbās.

Vecchietti's report is a very singular document in its portrayal of a situation which was to undergo deep changes in a very short period (40). The very moment the Florentine traveller was writing down the information he had collected, "Prince" 'Abbās was leaving Khorasan and advancing with a powerful army against the old father. Helped by a new Turkman rebellion he won quite easily, and in May 1587 Shāh Muḥammad Khudābanda abdicated in his favor.

On his way back to Italy Giovan Battista Vecchietti talked with Philip II in Madrid and gave him his report. Two weeks after he left the Spanish capital, Venice had already managed to get a copy of this "absolutely secret document" (41).

#### I.4.3 Other travels of the Vecchietti brothers

After this first mission, Giovan Battista Vecchietti was sent again to Egypt in 1590 to resume his talks with the Patriarch of Alexandria. This time he was accompanied by his



brother Gerolamo, who later continued the mission alone, until its complete, although short-lived, success in 1597 (42). Meanwhile Giovan Battista divided his time between an unsuccessful mission to Spain, a short trip to Egypt to visit his brother, and, probably, helping Raimondi in Rome, as we can deduce from the above mentioned document now in the Vatican Library. In 1598, after having lost all his property in Florence, Giovan Battista decided to try his luck in the East by going into trade between Cairo, Persia and India.

Leaving Egypt, he reached Aleppo, whence he took another route through Baghdad and Basra, with the intention of sailing immediately from Hormuz. Forced to wait, he went to Shiraz, since an old manuscript of the book of Psalms in Hebrew and Persian bears the indication "bought in Shiraz in 1601" (43). Although this was definitely a private trip, Vecchietti was in fact still collecting books, as we can infer from the diary of his brother Gerolamo, who went in search of him a few years later. Gerolamo refers to having seen during his stay in Baghdad "a case of Persian and Hebrew books of great value" (44), which Giovan Battista had entrusted to a Venetian merchant to bring to Florence, "which



he actually did" (45). In the meantime Giovan Battista was in Agra, held in the highest esteem by the Moghol sultan Akbar the Great, intent on the translation and transliteration in Persian of the old Judaic-Persian manuscripts of some books of the Bible (46). From a letter sent from Isfahan in 1606 to the Pope to inform him of his work, we know that he intended to complete the translation before going back to Italy (47). For this reason it seems rather unlikely that the "Persian books" mentioned in the "case" had anything to do with the Bible (48).

After several years of other adventures and vicissitudes, the two brothers went back to Italy, and from late 1608 on Giovan Battista lived in Rome helping Raimondi in his work for the Stamperia Orientale. He died very poor in Naples in 1619. His brother Gerolamo, younger and enjoying better health, kept on travelling for private and political reasons. Yet his destiny was quite a peculiar one: after all the countries he had visited and the religions he had been acquainted with, he printed a booklet entitled "De Coena Domini", where he claimed that Jesus Christ did not celebrate the "Last Supper". Put on trial by the Inquisition in 1622,



he was condemned to prison, where he was still in 1630 and probably until his death, in 1640.

#### 1.4.4 Conclusions

Thus until recently the only firm evidence concerning the acquisition of our manuscript was its presence in Florence in 1701, one which was connected, as we have seen, with the group of manuscripts acquired for the use of the Stamperia Orientale Medicea.

a few problems remained: among papers and documents connected with the Printing House no specific reference appears either to the volume or to its miniatures. Actually Giovan Battista Vecchietti mentions, in a list of manuscripts brought from Egypt in 1594 by his brother Gerolamo, a "Chronica Magna Persica ex exordio mundi" (50) which could be safely considered a Shāhnāma, yet this might have referred as well to the other Shāhnāma Cl.III.24 already mentioned, or to



a third copy of the same epic, also in the National Library of Florence (51), which probably came into the collection of the Medicean Librarian Magliabechi in the same way. This "Chronica" is listed together with "another book of Persian stories", and it was very tempting to identify the latter as a reference to the Palat. Orient. 11, a copy of the Khamṣa of Nizāmī containing miniatures in a XVIth century Shiraz style definitely comparable to our manuscript, in spite of a slightly earlier date and sometimes a rather inferior quality. Although the two identifications have proved to be wrong, the connection between the two illustrated manuscripts turned out to be right. An Italian scholar (52) has in fact recently discovered by chance in the State Archive of Florence a Turkish document dealing with a present sent around 1635-38 to Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici by the Ottoman admiral Muṣṭafā Pasha. This document mentions, with a clear reference to the miniatures, our copy of the Shāhnāma of Firdausī, the Khamṣa of Nizāmī, and an Iskandarnāma now lost (53). At that time the Stamperia Orientale Medicea was nothing more than a memory, yet somehow the knowledge of Medici's keenness on collecting oriental books seems to have







## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

- (1). On this subject see A.M. PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce su Firdusi": uno 'Shahnama' datato 614 H/1217 a Firenze", Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli 40, 1 (1980), pp.1-38 (part I); 40, 2 (1980), pp. 189-242 (part II). Although lavishly illuminated, this ms. contains no miniatures. Wrongly listed as an Arabic commentary of the Holy Quran, it was found by chance by Prof. Piemontese, who was conducting an overall survey of oriental mss. in Italian libraries.
- (2). Namely: Florence, National Library, Ms. II,III,2 (Cl.III, 3, 48), XVth century (with 9 miniatures); Florence, Laurenziana Library, Palat. Orient. 5, dated 990 H / 1582-3 A.D., (with 26 miniatures); Rome, Casanatese Library, Ms. 4893, XVIIIth century (?) (with 52 miniatures); Naples, National Library, Ms. III.G.68 bis (N.488699), dated 977 H / 1569-70 A.D. (with 27 miniatures); Naples, National Library, Ms. III.G.68 bis (N488690), late XVIIIth century (with 130 miniatures). Another copy executed at Yazd in 848 H, with blank spaces for miniatures was acquired by the Vatican Library in the 30s.
- (3). I. PIZZI, "Di un codice persiano nella Reale Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana", Atti del IV Congresso degli Orientalisti, Firenze, 1881, vol.II, pp.81-5.
- (4). G. and F. GABRIELI, "I manoscritti persiani del Poema di Firdusi in Italia", Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia XIII (1935), pp.261-73.
- (5). B.W. ROBINSON, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1958, p. 124. A more recent publication of the same author, namely "A survey of Persian painting (1350-1896)" in C. ADLE, Art et Société dans le Monde iranien, Paris, 1982, pp. 58-60, reproduces as well on p.61 a miniature of the Palat. Orient. 5 (f.299 v.) although without a specific comment.



- (6). G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Ricerche sulla formazione del piu' antico fondo di manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma, 1939.
- (7). A.M. PIEMONTESE, "I fondi dei manoscritti Arabi, Persiani e Turchi in Italia", in F. GABRIELI and U. SCERRATO, Gli Arabi in Italia, Torino, 1979.
- (8). A.M. BANDINI, Lettera sui collettori dei codici orientali della Biblioteca Laurenziana, Firenze, 1772, p.10.
- (9). BANDINI, Lettera..., pp. 10-18.
- (10). Ibidem
- (11). PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 663.
- (12). PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 665.
- (13). D'HERBELOT, Bibliothèque Orientale, Paris, 1697.
- (14). PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 675.
- (15). BANDINI, Lettera..., p. 57: " I codici furono poi trasferiti nel Real Palazzo detto de' Pitti, dove Bartolommeo d'Erbelot nell'anno 1661 fece di essi il Catalogo in lingua Italiana, ma imperfettissimo, poiche' non conteneva che la quarta parte dei medesimi ".
- (16). On this subject see V. BURI, "L'unione della Chiesa Copta con Roma sotto Clemente VIII", Orientalia Christiana XXIII n.72 (1931), pp. 108-10 and 133-4..
- (17). From a contemporary chronicle quoted by PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 663.
- (18). Cfr. G.E. SALTINI, "Della stamperia orientale medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi", Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani IV (1860), pp. 257-308.



- (19). On the work of Granjon and his presence in Rome see A. TINTO, "Per una storia della tipografia orientale a Roma nell'eta' della Controriforma", Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia XLI (1973), pp. 294, note 16.
- (20). R. ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista Britti cosentino viaggiatore in Oriente", Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania 26 (1957), pp. 313-45.
- (21). R. ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Gerolamo Vecchietti viaggiatori in Oriente", Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti di Scienze Morali serie VIII, vol. XI (1956), p. 315.
- (22). State Archive of Florence, Miscell. Medicea, Appendice, Stamperia Orientale, filza 3 inserto 2; reported in ALMAGIA', Giovan Battista e Gerolamo Vecchietti ..., Appendix II, pp. 346-47.
- (23). Ibidem
- (24). PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 666.
- (25). Cfr. G. E. SALTINI, "La Bibbia poliglotta Medicea secondo il disegno di Giovan Battista Raimondi", Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali NS nn.22-24 (1882), pp.490-95.
- (26). PIEMONTESE, "I fondi...", p. 666.
- (27). Cfr. U. TUCCI, "Una relazione di Giovan Battista Vecchietti sulla Persia e sul Regno di Hormuz (1587)", Oriente Moderno XXXV (1955), n. 4, p. 151.
- (28). State Archive of Venice, Disp. Firenze, filza 4, 1588, marzo 26.
- (29). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p.152.
- (30). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 156.



- (31). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 154.
- (32). Ibidem
- (33). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p.155.
- (34). The text reads actually Fezd
- (35). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 155.
- (36). Ibidem
- (37). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 157: "De denari questo Re puo' dirsi anco povero che ricco, non solo in tempo di queste ribellioni che li impedisce le rendite riducendolo fino a strettezza tale che conviene torre a credenza i panni et drappi per vestire la Corte et mal volentieri gli erano dati da mercanti...".
- (38). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 158.
- (39). Ibidem.
- (40). This document has attracted as well the attention of H.F. Brown, who published it in The English Historical Review VII (1892) pp. 314-21, under the title "A report on the condition of Persia in the year 1586". The text, however, was not translated and did not have any footnotes or comments.
- (41). TUCCI, "Una relazione...", p. 152. The secretary of the Venetian Embassy in Madrid seceeded in getting it "da secretissima parte et da persona molto confidente".
- (42). ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo Vecchietti...", pp. 319-21.
- (43). ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo Vecchietti...", p. 322, note 2.
- (44). ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo Vecchietti...", p. 328.



(45). Ibidem.

(46). Cfr. W.J. FISHEL, "The Bible in Persian translation", The Harvard Theological Review XLV (1952), pp.7-21.

(47). ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo Vecchietti...", Appendix II, pp. 348-50.

(48). Although we have to admit that he might have had the precious mss. copied. See Fr. RICHARD, "Les manuscrits Persans rapportés par les Freres Vecchietti et conservés aujourd'hui a' la Bibliothèque Nationale", Studia Iranica (1980), pp. 291-300.

(49). ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo Vecchietti...", p. 343.

(50). Cfr. PIEMONTESE, "Nuova Luce...", p. 8.

(51). See note 2.

(52). Namely A. Gallotta, professor of Turkish Language and Literature at the "Istituto Universitario Orientale" of Naples.

(53). For this precious piece of information I am indebted to Prof. Piemontese, who has shown me the draft of a forthcoming Index of Persian mss. in Italy.

(54). In 1635 the Lebanese Emir Fakhr al-Dīn was killed by the Ottomans. He had been guest, almost twenty years before, of the Medicean Court of Florence, which had remained on good terms with him until his death, sending architects and engineers to restore Lebanese monuments and build some palace and gardens "all'italiana". We might thus tentatively suggest that the present sent by the Ottoman admiral was somehow linked with the delicate political situation, perhaps as a way of showing respect to the ancient ally of the murdered Emir.



## CHAPTER II THE TEXT AND THE MINIATURES

### II.1 THE TEXT

#### II.1.1 The Author and his work

A collection of legends told in verses, the Shāhnāma (or Book of Kings) is itself, together with the life of its author, Firdausī, wrapped in legends.

Born some time about 935 A.D. at Tus from a family of minor land owners, Abu'l-Qāsim Firdausī undertook, about forty years later, the ambitious task of fixing in verses the endless material of myths and epic legends related to the history of pre-Islamic Persia, continuing the work of the famous Samanid poet Daqīqī (1). In his enterprise he was helped at first by friends and fellow-citizens and by the Samanid princes later. When the latter were defeated by Maḥmūd of Ghazni, Firdausī started to send him the verses he had composed. Although the exact reason will probably remain



unknown forever, the relationship between Firdausī and Maḥmūd caused bitter disappointment to the poet, and after having completed his work in the year 400/1009, he left the Ghaznavid court seeking protection elsewhere, and died at Tus around 1020. Although some of the crucial episodes of his relationship with the Ghaznavid ruler - the meeting with the court poets as well as the refusal of the inadequate reward of Mahmud - might be pure invention (2), the main information given in the biographical introduction to the poem by Bāisunghur has been indirectly confirmed by the similar chapter found in the earliest extant copy of the *Shāhnāma* recently discovered in Florence, which dates from less than two centuries after Firdausī's death (3). Still disputed, however, is the format of the original text, of which a really convincing critical edition has not yet been established. Scholars attribute to the poem a number of verses ranging between 48,000-60,000, the discrepancy being mainly due to the presence of collateral episodes of uncertain attribution (4).

The Persian national epic begins with Gayūmars, the "Adam" of Iranian mythology, and goes on through the legendary



figures of his descendants, until the Golden Age of Jamshīd. The latter's pride brings an end to his reign, usurped by the evil Dhaḥḥāk, in his turn defeated by Farīdūn the Just. In the division of his territory among his three sons Salm, Tūr and Īraj, and the murder of the latter, who had inherited Iran, comes the main theme of the whole epic, namely the eternal fight between Iranians and Turanians (Turks). From one single combat or a war to another, the story goes on passing through different dynasties and depicting a multitude of characters which is impossible to summarize here. Among the tens of heroes populating the epic, the most famous one is definitely Rustam, the Iranian Achilles, terror of Afrāsiyāb, the Turanian king. With the former's death, due to the treacherous Shaghād, the mythical part of the epic is virtually concluded, giving place to the historical figures - although treated as legendary ones - of Alexander the Great, the Arsacids and the Sasanian kings.

The main stories of the epic are usually well known to anyone familiar with Persian miniature painting, since the *Shāhnāma* is, together with the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, the most frequently illustrated book of medieval Iran. Although the



choice of episodes illustrated with miniatures varies from one copy to another, it is thus always possible, with a few exceptions, to compare other illustrations of the same episode.

Although other Persian poets were known in Europe about the middle of the XVIIIth century, it was not until a hundred and fifty years later that Firdausī was introduced to the European public. The first modern edition of the poem, although incomplete, was published in 1811 in Calcutta, as a result of the collation of 27 manuscripts by M. Lumsden, professor of Arabic and Persian at the College of Fort William (5). It was followed in 1829 by a new edition of Turner Macan, who used 17 complete manuscripts and 4 incomplete ones (the earliest being dated 1477). A new French edition based on Macan's was edited by Jules Mohl and printed in Paris in the years 1838-68. Other critical editions, unfortunately still rather unsatisfactory, have been carried out by Vullers at the end of last century, and by Persian (1934) and Russian (1960-71) committees in this one. The English translation usually referred to by scholars is the complete one by A.C. and E. Warner and published in London



in 1905-25.

In Italy the name of Firdausī is linked to the work of Italo Pizzi (1849-1920), who dedicated virtually his whole life to the translation of the *Shāhnāma* and the interpretation of its contents (6). A complete translation was published in Turin between 1886 and 1888, while a selection of episodes, partially revised by Pizzi, came out in 1915.

As we have seen, Pizzi analyzed the text of the *Palat. Orient. 5*, and it is mainly his findings together with some new information kindly given to me by Prof. Piemontese (7), that form the basis of the next paragraph.

#### II.1.2 The text of the *Palat. Orient. 5*

The volume contains, with only a few exceptions, the complete original text of Firdausī as it has been established in the Calcutta edition, plus several additions such as a biography of the poet, a list of the kings with their years of reign, the "Adventures of Jamshīd in Zābulistān" (ff.22-29), the "Invention of chess in Khusrau's times", the



"Adventures of Garshāsp, till the birth of Narīman" (ff.63-115), "Tahmīna asks for revenge of Suhrāb, killed by Rustam" (ff.195-99); other "Adventures of Garshāsp" (ff.664-72) (8).

The margin of f.60 bears 33 other distichs written by a different hand, dealing with the battle between Garshāsp and Shīrūy, and other smaller textual interpolations are spread throughout the book. In f.295 the "fire ordeal" of Siyāvush is repeated with other words and in a different context.

Pizzi noticed (9) that the death of Farīdūn is missing, together with the so-called Barzūnāma and the story of "Rustam and the Kāk ibn-Kuhzād". Piemontese has recently noticed other six lacunae at ff. 35, 43, 71, 308, 421, 670. To these we should add f. 363 and f. 400, both missing. The former almost certainly bore a miniature, since the treatment of f. 362 v. is the same as that of folios facing miniatures, whereas the lack of f. 400 might be the result of a mistake in the numbering of folios, the text being consistent between f. 399 and f. 401 (10). Eight other folios show the same peculiar treatment of those facing miniatures, and might be an indication of miniatures detached from the manuscript. An indirect confirmation might come from the fact that five out



of these eight folios are located in the part of the manuscript which does not have miniatures. Actually, according to Pizzi (11), the lack of miniatures in the historical part could be intentional, the only illustration there being that of Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhahhāk (f.665 v.), a legendary episode told by the wise Buzurjmihr in Sasanian times. However, a closer observation reveals that the second part of the "Adventures of Garshāsp" has been simply misplaced, probably when the manuscript was rebound after its arrival at the Medicean court.

Thus at least nine miniatures might be missing from the manuscript, which possibly contained originally about 35 illustrations, if not more.

## II.2 THE EPISODES FROM THE SHĀHNĀMA ILLUSTRATED IN THE PALAT. ORIENT. 5

Among the 26 miniatures illustrating the volume, one [Pl.11] is located in the Introduction, three [Pls.5-7] in the included Sāmānāma, one in the "Adventures of Garshāsp" [Pl.26] and the remaining twenty-one [Pls.2-4 and 7-25] are



actually connected with episodes of the Shāhnāma, from the classical Court of Gayūmars to the moving fight between Rustam and Isfandiyār.

From f.498 to f.807 we have no miniatures, with the sole exception of f.665 v. which refers to a much earlier period and is thus, as we have already seen, probably misplaced.

#### II.2.1 A brief account of the episodes illustrated in the manuscript and a general description of the miniatures portraying them

- 1) f. 5 r. - Kanarang storms the fortress of Rūm and captures the Emperor [Pl. 1]

Kanarang was an ancestor of Abū Mansūr ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq, the Samanid ruler of Tus under whose patronage the first "Book of Kings" was written in prose. The work started in 957 A.D. and was carried out by some Zoroastrians who were able to understand a Khudhāi-Nāmak (Royal Chronicle) written under the last Sasanian kings, then available and now lost (12). Unfortunately, the only part left of this first version of the Shāhnāma - certainly extensively used by Firdausī - is



the introduction, usually called the "Preface of Abū Maṣṣūr"  
(13).

The miniature has a rectangular shape with the left third occupied by the fortress, whose top floor and crenellations extend beyond the upper margin. Two large rectangular panels adjacent to the lower and upper margin contain four lines of handwriting. The scene is full of action and among the most crowded of the whole manuscript, showing a remarkable attempt to differentiate faces and postures. Kanarang's army occupies the right side of the miniature, almost perfectly enclosed by an imaginary diagonal line. Again diagonally arranged, although in the opposite direction, is the long ladder of the assailants, leaning against the wall of the fortress. On top of the ladder, the hero penetrates the building, where a group of soldiers led by their king are opposing with strong resistance. In the lower left area, three soldiers assail the door of the fortress with axes and what seems a very naive representation of some kind of artillery. The miniature has a very high horizon, and the pinkish color of the ground, well matched with the dark brown of the fortress, is echoed in the wall



painting in the top floor of the building. The overall setting is very successfully balanced, and the painter seems more interested in the aesthetic effect than in the realism of what he is portraying, as it is shown by the curved sword which the hero, ready to strike, holds in his left hand in a rather awkward position, in order to give it more prominence within the miniature.

2) f. 14 v. - The Court of Gayūmars [Pl. 2]

Gayūmars was the first ruler of the world, and used to live on top of a rocky mountain. He was a good king, and taught his subjects how to make clothes out of animal skins and how to feed themselves with the products of nature. Being such a just ruler, he was respected and obeyed even by wild beasts.

The miniature has a regular rectangular shape and bears, close to the upper and lower margin on the left, lines of text subdivided into four columns. The larger upper columns include an inserted golden panel reading "The beginning of the story". From this we may conclude that, as usual, the written part inside the miniatures is part of the main



narrative, rather than an explanation of the story (14). The drawing extends beyond the area enclosed by the written part, which is balanced on top by a tree, and on the bottom by a strange, almost violet rocky formation, virtually identical to another one in the middle of the scene, on which the mythical king is sitting. On both sides are portrayed people dressed in animal skins. One of them, kneeling, is talking with the ruler, and behind him another standing figure, a youth wearing a crown, is probably meant to represent Bayūmars' son, the noble Siyāmak. At the king's feet, in an intense green meadow full of flowers, flows a stream, around which are depicted a leopard, two lions, a gazelle and a fawn. Behind the king, other brown rocky formations create a background, while the outline of other mounds indicates the horizon, here again rather high. The color scheme is very simple here, mainly based on several hues of brown, with a little contrasting green for the meadow, pink for the mountains and gold for the sky. This almost monochromatic effect gives more prominence to the violet-blue of some of the rocks and to the leopard skins -whether of the animal or of the clothing. Although some of the beasts are smiling,



there seems to be no attempt to convey the happiness of the Golden Age in the portrayal of the human beings, which is here rather conventional. On the whole, this miniature is quite charming and again cleverly balanced. Unfortunately it has a bad triangular scrape in the upper left where the color is now missing.

3) f. 47 r. - Farīdūn striking Dhaḥḥāk [Pl. 3]

The Arab usurper Dhaḥḥāk, who has been thought to represent the Semitic domination of Babylon over Persia, was a cruel tyrant and provoked a revolt of his subjects led by the blacksmith Kāva. As foreseen in a nightmare by Dhaḥḥāk, the young Farīdūn, of the race of the Kayān, with the help of the blacksmith was able to capture the cruel king and drag him to the summit of Mount Damāvand, where he was left, chained alive in a narrow gorge.

The miniature has a quite irregular shape, but rather than extending beyond the rectangular margin, as in other cases, here the margin is continuous and follows the asymmetrical outline of the drawing. Although the left side is occupied by a lofty house, the main action takes place in the courtyard,



where some soldiers are fighting. In the foreground the young Farīdūn is striking the evil Dhaḥḥāk with an ox-head mace. A soldier is coming out from the building, while two others are fighting by a garden door, behind which is a beautiful meadow full of flowers and trees. The horizon is again very high and the upper written area leaves room for only a narrow strip of golden sky. Several women are overlooking the scene from the second and third floor of Dhaḥḥāk's palace, and the striking variety of colors of their dresses is echoed by the soldier's garments. One little detail is perhaps worth noticing, namely the way in which the two soldiers in the background are fighting through the door, one of them being behind it, in the garden. Despite some awkwardness in the rendering, this seems to be an unusual and quite effective device to emphasize the sense of action and drama. The miniature on the whole is again quite satisfactorily planned and balanced.

4) f. 59 v. - Minūchihr against Salm and Tūr [Pl. 4]

Once grown older, Farīdun divided his domain among his three sons. To the youngest, Īraj, who proved to be the bravest, Farīdūn gave the crown of the chosen land of Iran,



whereas Sālm inherited the land of Rūm and Ṭūr the eastern area of Turan. Deeply unsatisfied, Salm and Ṭūr managed to lure Īraj into a trap where he was killed by Ṭūr. Yet Īraj's grandson Minūchihr, entrusted by Farīdūn to the care of his paladin Sām, became a great warrior and took his revenge against the two evil brothers, killing both of them.

The miniature portrays two armies drawn up for the battle. On the right-hand side is Minūchihr, seated on his throne on an elephant, surrounded by his soldiers with banners and standards which extend beyond the margin. Two horsemen on the left, in the foreground, are probably meant to represent Sālm and Ṭūr, followed by their armies. The two opposing armies are separated by a sloping mound, behind which a further horizon is determined by the outline of other mountains. The lower strip of text is contained in a step on the left of the frame, while the upper one is immediately above the Turanian army, below the outline of the horizon. Ground and mountains are depicted in several hues of pink and pinkish ochre and typical Shīrāzī clumps of stones with flowers are spread all over.



b) f. 76 v. - Sām fights against the divs [Pl. 5]

The divs, monstrous creatures who were often instruments of Ahriman, the Evil Spirit, are cyclically fought by the Shāhnāma heroes. This time it is the brave paladin Sām, grandfather of the famous Rustam, who kills a spectacular variety of them. The action takes place in a rocky landscape, crossed diagonally by a fine stream and by a very elongated tree which virtually continues its ascending movement, although turning sharply in the opposite direction. While the solitary hero is cutting into pieces the monstrous bodies of eight demons who are attacking him with rather primitive weapons, another man in the upper right corner is watching the scene from behind the rocks. In this miniature we have again the upper strip of text detached from the upper margin, whereas the other is attached to the lower one. The shape is rectangular, with no attempt to break the frame, except for an interesting detail: the right hand foot of a wounded demon is in fact depicted on top of the multicolored frame, giving the impression that the monstrous creature is falling outside the miniature. The horizon is again very high, determined by the outline of three rounded hills. The bright colors of the



divs' bodies show up against the rather subdued tints of the background: a light ochre for the rocks and a pink for the mountains behind them. The saddle-cloth of Sām's horse has been cleverly painted in turquoise, and so assumes a particular prominence. A few stylized heads are depicted in the rocks, and the whole scene is full of vegetation, namely flowers and several kinds of trees. The golden sky is full of clouds, rendered in the long fashionable Chinese style. With its well chosen color scheme and the quite cleverly balanced overall setting, this miniature has a lively rythm, which makes it one of the more sophisticated of the whole manuscript.

6) f. 90 v. - Sām fights against Parīdukht [Pl. 6]

The young paladin Sām is again the hero of this miniature, portraying the last act of the fight between him and the daughter of the Faghfur of China, Parīdukht. Sām is taking off her helmet, discovering that the male attired horseman is actually a beautiful girl. Behind them two armies, divided by a river, are ready to fight. The upper strip of text, again detached from the margin, partly covers rocks and standards.



The ground is full of vegetation and rocky formations with hidden heads.

7) f. 109 r. - Sām confronting the Faghfur of China [Pl. 7]

This miniature, as well as the two previous ones, illustrates an episode of the Sām-nāma, a later addition to the Shāhnāma which has been inserted here. The two armies are confronted, simply divided by a huge rocky formation. The Faghfur sits on his throne, on top of an elephant, while Sām is mounted on horseback. There is here an attempt at some kind of race and age diversification, although the different racial types appear in both armies. A prominent feature is again the turquoise saddle-cloth of Sām's horse, which shows up against the ochre of the rocks and the predominance of reds, spread all over among garments, flowers and standards. The upper written part is detached from the margin and above it we have banners, mountains, and even a soldier beside a tree. As always, the pinkish mountainous outline indicates the very high horizon.

8) f. 136 r. - Zāl asks king Minūchihr for permission to



marry his beloved Rūdāba [Pl. 8]

Sām's only child, Zāl, was born with a peculiar feature: completely white hair and eyebrows. For this reason his father exposed him in the mountains, where he was saved by the Sīmurgh, a mythical bird like the Phoenix. Knowing that his son was still alive, the aged Sām repented and took him back. A new crisis arose when the young Zāl fell in love with the beautiful Rūdāba, daughter of Mihrāb, a descendant of Dhaḥḥāk and for this reason a possible enemy of Minūchihr. The love between Zāl and Rūdāba was at the beginning a very troubled one, but the astrologers predicted from their union the birth of a powerful warrior (Rustam) who would be of great help to the Iranian throne, and therefore Minūchihr finally gave his consent to their union.

The miniature is rectangular with a continuous margin. The action takes place in a kind of iwān with a flat ceiling, open to a courtyard. Minūchihr sits on his throne inside the iwān, while other courtiers are seated on the huge carpet set on the courtyard floor, or are standing on the left side of the miniature. Behind them is visible part of a beautiful garden with trees and flowers. The two strips of text,



subdivided into four columns of different height, have been introduced inside the architectural setting. The high horizon is indicated by the green meadow which extends outside the courtyard, and several white "Chinese" clouds are spread in a golden sky. The white-bearded Zāl is standing in front of the king, with whom he seems to speak. The architecture of the building is depicted in great detail, with several kinds of tiling for interior and exterior dadoes, and various patterns for the wall paintings. The huge carpets laid on the floor, although of different colors, bear the same pattern of very thin scrolls with flowers. Trays with fruits or golden bottles are spread all over and gold is also extensively used to depict the minute patterns of garment fabrics. Although the faces can be related mainly to either an old bearded man or a beardless, round-faced youth, there is a certain attempt to differentiate postures and gestures that makes the overall effect more lively.

9) f. 155 v. - Rustam killing Qulūn [Pl. 9]

Rustam fought against Qulūn, a Turanian paladin of Afrāsiyāb, while he was escorting the heir to the throne,



Kai Qubād, whom he had found in the Alburz mountains. Qulūn  
"Used his spear with great dexterity and address / But Rustam  
with his javelin soon transfixed / The Tartar knight - who in  
the eyes of all / Looked like a spitted chicken - down he  
sunk / And all his soldiers fled in wild dismay" (15).

The rectangular miniature is pervaded by a great sense of  
action, mainly conveyed by the very energetic position of the  
young Rustam, still beardless, who raises with the top of his  
long diagonally thrusting spear the body of the unfortunate  
Qulūn, who is ineffectually waving a curved scimitar. Qulūn's  
black horse is jumping almost outside the miniature, while  
soldiers belonging to the two armies are watching from both  
sides of a sloping hill. A group of rocks in the lower right  
corner partially hides a casual watcher, balanced by another  
soldier on the left one. The upper text strip is detached  
from the margin and above it are portrayed the Turanian  
standards, a tree and a row of rounded mountains. Stylized  
plants and flowers are spread throughout.

10) f. 175 r. - The flight of Kai Kā'ūs [Pl. 10]

Kai Qubād's elder son, Kai Kā'ūs, caused great trouble to



the Iranian court because of his over-confidence and irresponsibility. After having been saved twice by Rostam, he was again tempted by a demon, who convinced him to try to fly to Heaven to speak with angels, "the only adequate company for the greatest king of the world". The device suggested to Kai Kā'ūs was to tie some eagles to the throne, and suspend pieces of fresh meat on its upper part. In order to reach the food, the birds would have to fly up, and in doing so, they would lift the throne on which Kai Kā'ūs was sitting. As might be expected, the device worked only at the beginning, and ended in disaster.

The miniature has an irregular shape, quite well chosen for the subject. The basically rectangular format is enlarged on the left side both in the lower part, by a little step, and in the upper one, where a triangular appendix is added. An angel peeps down from this pointed extension. Kai Kā'ūs is already flying on his bird-machine, while the foreground is entirely occupied by courtiers watching the scene in astonishment. The horizon, here for the first and only time very low, is shown by the sharp outline of a group of rocks, behind which are portrayed some other spectators and a dark-



skinned demon, almost hidden by a large chādar (plane tree). Both strips of text are set against the margins, the lower consisting of only one line. The dominant color is here the light blue of the sky, beautifully contrasted by the shaded gray of the birds. This miniature seems again quite cleverly planned, making the best use of a shape which was quite common in the provincial ateliers of Shiraz at the end of the XVIth century.

11) f. 192 v. - Rustam killing his son Suhrāb [Pl. 11]

This is one of the most pathetic episodes of the Shāhnāma, and the apogee of the power of Destiny. After only one night of marriage with the sweet Tahmīna, the restless Rustam went back to his adventurous life. At the birth of Suhrāb, Tahmīna, afraid she might loose her child, lied to Rustam, and declared to the messengers that his offspring was a girl. Once grown up, the powerful Suhrāb asked about his father, and decided to fight against the Iranian Shāh to let Rustam sit in his place on the throne. The trecherous Afrāsiyāb offered his help to Suhrāb, and they both prepared for war. Unaware of this course of events, the unhappy father



was sent against the "enemy" by the Iranian king, and despite several attempts made by Suhrāb to be recognized and to know the real identity of the champion he was challenging, father and son fought until the latter was mortally wounded. Only at this point did Rustam discover the truth, by then too late.

The miniature is rigidly rectangular with the two strips of text attached to the margins. Although not strictly symmetrical, the overall setting is balanced, with a very slow ascending rhythm, determined by the position of Rustam's and Suhrāb's horses and by the diagonal setting of the dying youth. On both sides of the central mound appear the Iranian and Turanian armies, whose standards extend slightly outside the frame. Rustam is leaning towards Suhrāb in an apparently affectionate gesture, but a more attentive glance reveals that he is actually portrayed in the very act of striking the young boy dead with his dagger. We might wonder if the painter copied here another composition in which Rustam had already recognized the talisman which he had given to Tahmīna, and hence the real identity of the brave warrior he had just killed. Several rocky formations with a very sharp



outline seem to stress dramatically the sad story which has been portrayed.

12) f. 213 r. - Kai Kā'ūs sends his son Siyāvush to fight against Afrāsiyāb [Pl. 12]

Brought up as a son by the paladin Rustam, the valiant and handsome Siyāvush returned to his father's court and Kai Kā'ūs' wife, Sudābā, fell in love with him. Crossed by the reluctance of the youth, the vindictive woman accused him of having ravished her. The famous "fire ordeal" - a subject extensively illustrated in Shāhnāmā manuscripts - ascertained that Siyāvush was innocent, yet after a while Sudābā again caused trouble between father and son. Thus Kai Kā'ūs decided to send Siyāvush in a campaign against the Turanians, led by Afrāsiyāb.

The miniature has an unusual shape which might be described as a main rectangle containing two strips of text, and a narrow parallelogram on the left step led upwards at the bottom. The parallelogram contains a small courtyard where the young Siyāvush stands with an ox-head mace on his shoulder. The rectangular setting is occupied by the king's



audience hall. Kai Kā'ūs is on his throne surrounded by his counsellors, all sitting on a huge floral carpet. Some of the counsellors are in the foreground, showing their backs, but a cleverly located figure has been depicted in a quite energetic posture crossing the edge of the carpet, half way into the interior. This device breaks the otherwise rigid scheme, introducing some action in the scene. The color scheme is dominated by the light violet of the wall painting, the turquoise of the tiled dado and the pink of the huge carpet, on which the bright tints of the garments, whose basic color is red, show up with a strong contrast. On the background of the courtyard a blossoming tree provides the inevitable link with nature. It might be interesting to notice that this subject is not mentioned in the Preliminary Index (16); the choice of the episode seems thus quite original.

13) f. 226 r. - The wedding of Siyāvush and Farangīs [Pl. 13]

The stubborn and hostile behaviour of Kai Kā'ūs forced Siyāvush to ask Afrāsiyāb, with whom he had made peace, permission to live in Turan. To reinforce this link, the



Iranian hero married the beautiful daughter of his host, the loyal Farangīs. Yet some time later, believing rumors that Siyāvush was plotting against him, Afrāsiyāb had the youth killed. This gave place to a series of Iranian campaigns led by Rustam, who wished to avenge the death of Siyāvush.

The miniature represents the wedding of the two youths, and is the only one portraying an interior scene. A narrow, tall tower is attached to the rectangle where the main action is going on, and some women appear inside its door and window. Siyāvush and Farangīs are standing near a huge sofa, surrounded by several courtiers, mainly women. Candlesticks supporting very tall candles stand on the flowered carpet. Although skillfully executed, this miniature lacks the little touches of finesse present in the previous ones, and seems more conventional (17).

14) f. 243 v. - Rustam kills Pīlsam [Pl. 14]

As soon as he knew of the death of Siyāvush, Rustam set off with his troops to the court of the Iranian king, and after having killed the wicked Sudābā, he marched against Afrāsiyāb. In the battle which followed, the young Pīlsam



challenged the powerful Rustam to single combat , but the latter "urging on his gallant steed, / Fixed his javelin in the girdle band / Of his ambitious foe, and quick unhorsed him; / Then dragged him on towards Afrāsiyāb, / And scoffing, cast him at the despot's feet" (18).

The miniature portrays Rustam while he has just raised the unhappy Pīlsam on top of his spear, unhorsing him. The two fighters are set almost vertically in the middle of the scene and act as a kind of axis around which the miniature is almost symmetrically composed, with the two armies appearing behind the central mound where the action takes place. In the foreground some rounded rocks are depicted in mauve, while a second row of mountains defines the high horizon. Here again we have a rather complex shape with a pointed corner on the upper right and a step in the lower margin, something done only for the sake of variety.

15) f. 268 v. - Bīzhan brings to his father Gīv the head of Balāshān, killed in battle [Pl. 15]

The main character of this minor episode of the eternal struggle between Iran and Turan is the young Bīzhan, son of



the paladin Gīv, the hero who found and brought Siyāvush's son Khusrau back to the throne of Iran. The illustration of this episode is not found in the Preliminary Index, Bīzhan usually being portrayed in connection with his troubled love story with Afrāsiyāb's youngest daughter Manīzha.

The miniature has a rigidly symmetrical setting, the axes being determined by the top of the mound separating the two armies and by the two stylized trees which appear above and below the two horsemen who have been interpreted as Bīzhan and his father Gīv. Other minor characters in the background watch the scene beside a group of rounded rocks. The two strips of text are attached to the upper and lower margin, and the frame has a stepped extension slanting upwards on the right. The scene lacks both action and drama, and appears quite conventional.

16) f. 282 v. Iran against Turan [Pl. 16]

Another episode of the eternal struggle between Iran and Turan, which has been identified as Pashang challenging Kai Khusrau. The miniature is in poor condition, the colors being smudged in several points on the left hand side. It was



in any case the least convincing of the whole manuscript, with its rigidly symmetrical setting which makes it quite stiff and plain. The overall landscape is virtually a copy of the previous one, with the same two trees in the middle, set directly below the top of the central mountain in order to emphasize the axis. Two almost identical armies appear behind the sloping sides of the hill, while four horsemen occupy the central area of the miniature. The two strips of text are attached to the frame, which is interrupted only in the upper right corner by a bright banner. The very high horizon is outlined by a second row of mountains, whose lower part coincides with the top of the one below, once again underlining the central symmetry.

17) f. 299 v. - Rustam carries the head of a Turanian warrior

[Pl. 17]

The iconography of this miniature is still uncertain, Rustam's victim having been interpreted either as Kāmūs or as Ashkabūs. Yet according to the text, none of these was beheaded by the Persian hero, the former having been lassoed and handed over to Kai Khusrau, the latter having been killed



by an arrow.

The miniature is dominated by the mauve tint of the hill, which forms the only background of the action and at the same time provides the quite low outline of the horizon. The lower strip of text is contained in a step of the frame, while the upper one is attached to the margin. Rustam, portrayed erect in a majestic posture which makes a strong contrast with the awkward position of the inert beheaded body of his victim, holds in his left hand a bleeding head. On both sides a group of soldiers is watching the scene, and we can recognize a certain degree of differentiation among their faces and postures. The upper right corner is raised with a projecting triangle occupied by a blue cloudy sky and by the Iranian banners, projecting beyond the border. The painter seems here to be torn between the dynamic rendering of the drama, seen in the diagonally up-side-down setting of the dead body, the sharp outline of the rocks and the anthropomorphic hill menacingly turned towards the defeated army, and a more static portrayal of the triumphant Rustam. Another feature which might be worth noticing is the alignment of the four heads: of Rakhsh (Rustam's horse), the Turanian victim,



Rustam and the leopard head of his helmet, with the top of the background hill. This diagonal crosses another passing through the body of the Turanian warrior and reaching the apex of the triangular projection.

18) f. 326 v. - Rustam wrestling with Pūlādvand [Pl. 18]

Another episode of the same war sees Rustam engaged in a different kind of combat. The brave Turanian warrior Pūlādvand proposed to try his power in wrestling. The challenge was accepted and by agreement both the armies retired from the battlefield, leaving the space of a farsang (Persian measure of distance equivalent to 9.54 Kms.) between the two contenders, while no-one was allowed to afford assistance to either of them. Rustam immediately grasped the Turanian, throwing him on the ground. Puladvand pretended to be dead and as soon as Rustam had gone, flew "like an arrow" to his own army.

The miniature is rectangular with a lower step occupied by a strip of text. The overall setting follows a central symmetry, the axis being provided by the top of the central mountain, the two trees springing from it, and the figures of



the two warriors. The text is not followed faithfully, since besides the people watching the scene from behind the hill, other figures surround the two contenders. The overall result is not completely successful, and lacks the sense of action and drama present in some of the other miniatures of the volume. We might notice, however, a little touch of finesse in the two attached trees which seem to echo the wrestling of the two contenders.

19) f. 339 v. - Rustam brings Bīzhan back to Iran [Pl. 19]

The pathetic love story of Bīzhan and Manīzha ended with the former being imprisoned by the cruel Afrāsiyāb in a deep pit covered by a demon disguised as an enormous rock. Rustam managed to discover the place where Bīzhan was imprisoned and to lift the rock, freeing him. Both were received with the greatest honors by the Iranian king and his court.

The miniature has a slightly stepped rectangular shape with a large text of five lines attached to the upper margin. The rectangular extension on the right is occupied by a small building on whose top musicians play trumpets and drums. Below the building, the king advances on a white



horse, followed by a courtier holding a banner on a very long stick. A young man, elegantly dressed in blue (possibly Bizhan), rides in the foreground, but is turned towards three men without hats and with their arms behind their backs, undoubtedly portraying prisoners. Behind the young man a group of warriors led by Rustam advances on horseback. There is a certain expression of joy in their faces, and their different postures convey some sense of movement. Like most of the last miniatures, the ground is rather bare, and only stones surrounded by leaves are scattered around. Another noteworthy feature of this miniature is the light blue, almost turquoise color of the ground, which has here taken the place of the usual mauve one of battle scenes. Although probably painted by the less sophisticated artist of the manuscript, as the rounded heads and the landscape treatment seem to suggest, this miniature has a certain delicacy and conveys well the joyful emotions of the welcome.

20) f. 378 v. - A messenger of Afrāsiyāb asks the Iranians in vain for peace [Pl. 20]

The Iranians decided to revenge Siyāvush's death and the



battles went on until Afrāsiyāb sent his son Shīda to ask for peace or for single combat between him and Kai Khusrau. The Iranians took this as a sign of weakness and refused to make peace. Shīda was defeated in combat and slain by Kai Khusrau, but afterwards was buried with the greatest honors.

The miniature has the same overall setting of the previous battle scenes, with a central line topped by a tree and flanked by two other mounds. Four horsemen are portrayed in the foreground in a rather stiff position, while the two armies observe the scene from behind both sides of the central hill. The miniature has a slant-cut in the lower right corner, and the upper margin is interrupted by the profile of two banners and the foliage of a tree. The two strips of text are attached to the frame. Above the lower one some rounded rocks are depicted in an intense and rather dark mauve.

21) f. 420 v. - Gushtāsp killing a dragon on Mount Saqīlā

[Pl. 21]

King Lahrāsp succeeded Kai Khusrau in the reign of Iran.



His son Gushtāsp, although well suited for sovereignty, did not enjoy his father's favor, and filled with resentment left the country and went to the land of Rūm. There by chance he married the Daişar's daughter, who was allowed to choose her husband, but since he was only an unknown traveller, he was banished from the Court with his wife. Unhappy with the result of the first marriage, the Daişar subsequently did not allow his second and third daughter to choose their husbands, and to the noblemen who asked for them in marriage he answered that he would give his consent on condition that they slay a great wolf and a terrifying dragon. Gushtāsp secretly helped them, performing successfully the two deeds in their place, and the two grateful noblemen were married to their beloveds. Later on the king of Rūm discovered the prowess and the lineage of Gushtāsp, and seated the Iranian Prince beside himself on his throne.

The miniature has a regular rectangular shape, rigidly contained inside the margin, which is interrupted only by the tail of the dragon. A central hill, springing symmetrically from the middle of the two sides of the margin, frames the white setting of the scene, on which the black body of the



fearful dragon and the figure of the young Gushtasp, cutting its throat with his sword, stand out. A curious man, rather awkwardly depicted frontally, flanked by two symmetrical trees, appears behind the top of the central hill, whose two sloping sides are filled with soldiers belonging to two armies, with an absolute inconsistency with the story. The high horizon is formed by another row of pink hills set behind the soldiers, and two other casual watchers are placed on the upper right corner. The two strips of text are set immediately against the frame, the lower one being surmounted by a series of rounded rocks, shaded with several hues of a mauve pink.

22) f. 437 v. - Isfandiyār against Gurgsār (?) [Pl. 22]

The exact iconography of this miniature is not clear, since the portrayal of the story differs from the words of Firdausī. Gurgsār, a Turanian prisoner who guided Gushtāsp's son, Isfandiyār, through his seven courses, was in fact killed by the Iranian prince with a stroke of his sword, rather than by an arrow (19).

The miniature repeats the general setting of most of the



latter ones: a central hill with a tree on the top and two armies appearing from both sides. A strip of rocks lies at the bottom with other two small trees set symmetrically on either side. The two horsemen are also portrayed following a central symmetrical axis, and the overall scene lacks both movement and drama. The frame, in the shape of a stepped rectangle, is interrupted only by a banner on the upper right corner.

23) f. 449 v. - Isfandiyār killing the Turanian king Arjāsp

[Pl. 23]

Gushtāsp kept on promising the crown of Iran to his valiant son, yet the fulfillment was always postponed until further accomplishments. The battle portrayed in this miniature is the final act of Isfandiyār's seven courses: the conquest of the Brazen Fort and the slaying of Arjāsp. Actually, showing again many inconsistencies with the text, the scene represented is that of a battle, and none of the fighters seems to be attired as a king. Even the young Isfandiyār, recognizable in the blue garbed youth striking a powerful blow with his ox-head mace, is not portrayed



correctly, since he should be mounted on a black horse, his famous Bīhzad. In addition, according to Firdausī, Arjāsp was killed in his own bedroom. The landscape of this miniature does not show any significant changes, the central hill topped by a stylized tree and flanked by some soldiers again being its main features. Yet the scene is more action-filled, although no effort whatsoever is made to differentiate the facial types, mainly restricted to a beardless round-headed one wearing a helmet, depicted in a three-quarter view, and another bearded, bold one, depicted in profile. The ground is in a dark mauve, without flowers, and a gray rock with a menacing grotesque in profile appears above the lower strip of text, which is attached to the frame like the upper one. Two banners interrupt the upper margin.

24) f. 483 v. - The trial of strength between Isfandiyār and Rustam [Pl. 24]

Even after Isfandiyār had defeated Arjāsp and all the Turanians, Gushtāsp refuses to give up his throne and asks his son for a last deed: to force Rustam to pay tribute to him, or bring him in chains from Sīstān. Despite his



reluctance, Isfandiyār obeys his father, but Rustam welcomes him gently and invites him to his house to feast together.

Isfandiyār refuses, and proposes that Rustam should be his guest instead. Rustam accepts but during the night, both intoxicated by wine, the two valiant warriors start quarrelling and insulting each other. They also have a trial of strength, and leave each other with the promise to fight to death on the following morning.

The miniature is rectangular, with both strips of text attached to the margin. It contains a composite setting of three tents stayed with ropes. In front of them is a huge carpet on which Isfandiyār and Rustam sit surrounded by courtiers, both seated and standing. In the foreground there is a meadow full of flowers, divided by a water stream. On the left a groom leads Rustam's horse, Rakhsh, while on the right two soldiers converse. In front of the two opponents, portrayed during their trial of strength, a red table-cloth is set with bottles of wine and a tray containing a huge roasted carcass. The heads of several soldiers and two horses (one of them, black, might be intended as Isfandiyar's steed, Bihzād) appear from behind the tents.



The setting is depicted with great accuracy, and shows a great variety of patterns in textiles, both of garments and tents. Despite a few inconsistencies, such as the position of Rustam on Isfandiyār's left, where he had refused to sit, and the fact that they are not both seated on a golden throne, the representation follows closely enough the relevant verses of the epic. It is quite lively and well balanced, with the ropes of the tents giving a sense of depth to the overall setting.

25) f. 498 v. - Rustam killing Isfandiyār [Pl. 25]

The first day of combat saw Rustam badly wounded by the younger Isfandiyār, who was invulnerable thanks to a charm given to him by the prophet Zardust. The elderly Zāl asked the help of the Sīmurgh, who healed Rustam's wounds and told him the secret way to kill Isfandiyār: a two-pointed arrow obtained from a growth of a particular tree, and which he must shoot right in his eyes. It is in this way that the tragic story of the hero Isfandiyār comes to an end.

The miniature shows on the left side the victorious Rustam, who has just shot the fatal arrow at Isfandiyār. But



although the latter is portrayed falling from his horse, the arrow is not in his eyes, but in his chest. The rigidly symmetrical setting, with the two armies flanking the sides of the central hill and a second low hill in the foreground, topped by a small tree aligned with the upper one, makes the whole scene quite conventional, and the miniature lacks completely any dramatic qualities.

26) f. 665 v. - Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhahhāk

[Pl. 26]

The story comes from the book on the Adventures of Garshāsp here partly inserted by mistake. Garshāsp was Rustam's great-great-grand father, who accomplished several deeds, such as the killing of the "dog-heads" and the capture of a demon. Here he is portrayed in a less violent activity, showing his ability at polo in front of the king Dhahhāk.

The miniature is rectangular, but in its upper right corner the frame is broken to display an elevated pavilion, where the royal band plays drums and trumpets. Below it is a large door, in which spectators stand. Dhahhāk observes the match seated on his throne on the left, while a servant gives



... shade with an umbrella. On the polo ground several  
horsemen are engaged in the play, and a princely attired  
youth is hitting the ball. The high horizon is delineated  
by a background wall containing the upper strip of text,  
above which a garden with cypresses and other trees in  
blossom is portrayed against a golden sky. The overall effect  
is quite lively and shows a certain attempt to convey  
different expressions, as in the face of the evil Dhaḥḥāk,  
here again portrayed with the two snakes on his shoulders.

#### 1.2.2 The relationship between the text and the miniatures

In the following analysis of the 26 miniatures it will  
emerge that the illustration of the manuscript is the work of  
two different painters, of unequal skill (20). In fact the  
paintings, although at first sight very similar to each other  
- not surprisingly since they are part of the highly  
standardized production of the same atelier - on closer  
observation show several differences, all of them consistent



with a division in two separate groups. Among these differences we can mention first of all the treatment of rocks and hill outline, followed by the rendering of faces and horses. We might then underline the preference of one painter for a highly symmetrical setting, against the dynamically balanced one favored by the other, and finally the habit of depicting the upper text strip some three centimetres below the upper frame, typical only of the better painter. The way the two artists deal with the illustration of the chosen episodes gives further confirmation of the inferiority of one of them, both because his work looks so conventional and because of his lack of adequate knowledge of the stories he was illustrating.

The more skilled artist - who will be called from now on Painter A - seems on the whole more acquainted with the episodes he depicts, and shows a tendency towards crowded compositions full of details. The only discrepancies with the text are found in the miniatures of Farīdūn striking Dhaḥḥāk [Pl. 3] and in the trial of strength between Rustam and Isfandiyār [Pl. 24]. In the first case the "mistake" is in the overall setting, since the action is depicted as taking



place in the courtyard on the arrival of Farīdūn. According to the text, however, Farīdūn conquered the palace while the usurper Dhaḥḥāk was away. Coming back and seeing the catastrophe which had occurred, the latter disguised himself and threw a rope to the upper part of his palace to gain access directly from the window of the harem, enraged with jealousy because Farīdūn was there with his favorite Shahrināz, sister of the previous king, Jamshīd. Dhaḥḥāk drew his sword and jumped in, but Farīdūn struck him immediately with his ox-head mace and captured him.

We have to admit, however, that the scene portrayed by Painter A well conveys the impression of the battle between Dhaḥḥāk's partisans and the Iranian rebels led by Farīdūn and Kāva, which had taken place in the king's absence. The presence of the women watching the scene from the balcony on the first floor and of the crowned princess among them, shows that Painter A was at least aware of the main points of the story. We might even suggest that in this case the artist depicted events taking place simultaneously which were sequential in the text, in the way which Bahrām Gūr is usually shown simultaneously shooting arrows at the gazelles



and trampling Āzāda with his camel (21).

The second deviation from the text of Painter A is the above-mentioned position of Rustam to the left of Isfandiyār where, on the contrary, he refused to sit, considering this an offense. Yet this is just a small detail, which does not prevent the miniature from being quite successfully planned, with great attention to details, such as the presence of Isfandiyār's elder son Bahman and of the two famous horses: Rustam's Rakhsh and Isfandiyār's Bihzād.

Painter B on the contrary seems far less acquainted with the episodes he portrays, the clearest example being the fatal arrow which kills Isfandiyār, hitting him in his chest instead of being two-pointed and hitting him in his eyes. A similar ignorance of the story is shown in the illustration of several other episodes, some of which have been already pointed out. The almost identical conventional setting of a central hill flanked on both sides by two armies watching the scene in amazement has been repeated again and again by Painter B, regardless of the details which should distinguish each episode. It is not surprising then, that the solitary deed of Gushtāsp killing a dragon on behalf of someone else



Pl. 213 is depicted in this conventional setting, or that in the wrestling contest of Pūlādvand with Rustam [Pl. 18], the two warriors are surrounded by people watching and helping each side, although this was forbidden by agreement of the two contenders. The same unawareness of the epic in detail seems to be responsible as well for mistakes such as the color of Isfandiyār's horse Bihzād, which is never portrayed in black. Finally, the miniature illustrating the killing of Rjāsp [Pl. 23] shows a variation in the setting similar to that already mentioned of Farīdūn killing Dhaḥḥāk, as the evil Turanian king was killed alone in his bedroom by Isfandiyār. In this case, however, it is unlikely that this is a deliberate choice of the artist. Even had he decided to depict the murder of the king and the simultaneous battle between the last Turanian soldiers and Isfandiyār's troops, the action should have taken place in the interior of the Brazen Fort. Even if this were considered too difficult to portray, a small indication of a building on top of a mountain in the background might have been enough, whereas Painter B has again used the same conventional battlefield with a central hill flanked by armies, and two symmetrically



ounded hills behind them. We might therefore conclude that the unidentified subjects are just mistaken illustrations of the episodes told in the adjacent pages.

### II.3 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL NARRATIVE SCHEME

It is interesting to compare our miniatures with the same episodes which were illustrated in the Persian tradition of the XIVth and XVth century on the one hand, and in that of the Royal Safavid and provincial Shīrāzī ateliers of the XVIth century on the other. To avoid repetition, as most of the miniatures are little differentiated battle scenes, we will analyze three examples in detail: the Court of Gayūmars, Gushtāsp slaying a dragon and the flight of Kai Kā'ūs.

#### a) The Court of Gayūmars [Pl. 2]

Although none of the scenes illustrated in the Shāhnāma were consistently illustrated in all manuscripts, some of the episodes have been chosen much more frequently. The Court of



Gayūmars is definitely one of the favorite subjects, especially in the sixteenth century, probably because it offered a good occasion for playing with rocks and animals, and at the same time with the almost monochromatic effect of garments made out of animal skins. One of the earliest examples of this illustration [Pl. 27a] comes from a detached folio now in one of the famous albums of the Topkapi Serai, attributed to Tabriz about 1350-70 (22). The king sits on a recessed rock shaped like a throne, and is surrounded by several courtiers seated in various positions and carrying rather primitive sticks. At Gayūmars' feet a small stream flows, and several ferocious beasts such as leopards and cheetahs lie tamely on both sides in a subdued feline posture. Various plants fill in the scene, yet the main motif is that of the variety of patterns of the animal skin garments worn by the king and his subjects. Since none wears a crown, it is impossible to identify Gayūmars' son Siyāmak. A slightly later Shīrāzī manuscript [Pl. 27b] copied about 1430 for Ibrāhīm Sultān b. Shāh Rukh and now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (23), gives a different version of the story, since only the king is completely dressed with animal skin



arments, while the others wear roughly cut and knotted clothes. Gayūmars is seated on a curling rock, covered with a tiger skin and shaded by two huge trees. There is no flowing water at his feet but a lion sleeping peacefully again conveys the idea of a Golden Age.

Certainly the most gorgeous interpretation of this subject is that of Sultān Muḥammad [Pl. 28a,b] in the magnificent copy of the *Shāhnāma* produced for the young Shāh Ṭahmāsp around the first quarter of the XVIth century (24). On top of a rocky mountain sits Gayūmars, surrounded by a bright golden sky. On a spur below his feet, on the right hand side, sits his son Siyāmak, engaged with him in tender conversation. On another mountain crag on the left stands a third crowned personage, a young beardless man who might portray either the angel Surūsh (25) or, more likely, Gayūmars' grandson Hūshang, who was to revenge the death of his father Siyāmak, doomed to be killed in a battle with the Black Div. Beside Hūshang flows a beautiful waterfall, and the resulting pool is surrounded by the verdant meadow formed by tens of different kinds of plants and leaves. More than thirty figures, each one with different facial features, are



displayed in a semicircle around the pool, all surrounded by rocks. Tame animals are spread in the foreground and near the central pool. The two rows of figures, all dressed with white or pale beige spotted animal skins, help to mediate between the bright green and almost round centre and the chromatic exuberance of the margins. The vivid polychromy which in Persian painting is usually typical of garments, is transferred here to the amazing variety of hues depicted in the sharp rocks, shaded in myriad tones of blue, violet, mauve, yellow, orange and turquoise-green. Everywhere the rocks are swarming with hidden faces and grotesques, a favorite theme in Persian painting, here manifest to the limit and at the same time particularly appropriate, since it conveys perfectly the impression of a primitive world still populated by untamed spirits.

Two different trends appear in the Shīrāzī tradition of the XVIth century. Manuscripts around 1540 (26), show a clear tendency towards emphasizing the anthropomorphic element of the rocks in order to achieve a greater or lesser degree of ambiguity [Pls. 29a,b], whereas the following period witnesses a revival of early Safavid solutions. The miniature



displayed in a semicircle around the pool, all surrounded by rocks. Tame animals are spread in the foreground and near the central pool. The two rows of figures, all dressed with white or pale beige spotted animal skins, help to mediate between the bright green and almost round centre and the chromatic exuberance of the margins. The vivid polychromy which in Persian painting is usually typical of garments, is transferred here to the amazing variety of hues depicted in the sharp rocks, shaded in myriad tones of blue, violet, mauve, yellow, orange and turquoise-green. Everywhere the rocks are swarming with hidden faces and grotesques, a favorite theme in Persian painting, here manifest to the limit and at the same time particularly appropriate, since it conveys perfectly the impression of a primitive world still populated by untamed spirits.

Two different trends appear in the Shīrāzī tradition of the XVth century. Manuscripts around 1540 (26), show a clear tendency towards emphasizing the anthropomorphic element of the rocks in order to achieve a greater or lesser degree of ambiguity [Pls. 29a,b], whereas the following period witnesses a revival of early Safavid solutions. The miniature



Pl. 30a] depicted in a manuscript finished in 1560 (27) for example, owes much to Sultān Muḥammad's version, whose semicircular row of subjects and central waterfall with pool are mirrored here, although in a much simplified way. Yet the most common interpretation of the theme by Shīrāzī painters of the late XVIth century is a very simple one [Pl. 30b], showing mainly the king and another crowned figure, a stream with a few peaceful animals in the foreground, and figures dressed with leopard and tiger-skins surrounding the ruler or watching him from behind the mountains (28). In this respect the illustration of our manuscript is consistent with the contemporary tradition and does not show any significant original element. The closest example, although a bit more crowded, which might be contrasted with Pl. 2 is probably a miniature [Pl. 31a] taken from a Shīrāzī manuscript almost contemporary to ours (29), which duplicates the background of almost violet rocks behind the king.

b) Gushtāsp killing a dragon [Pl. 21]

Among the most famous early illustrations of this episode



we can mention that contained in the *Shāhnāma* of Muḥammad  
Ghāzī, son of Shāh Rukh, who died in 1445 (30). This famous  
miniature [Pl. 31b] shows only a bare landscape with a few  
stems and withered plants. Gushtāsp stands on a sharp rock  
which projects outside the margin on the right hand side. A  
long and thin dragon with a twisted body very  
calligraphically depicted already has embedded a sword in its  
mouth, while with a second sword the hero cuts off its head.  
A singular impression of solitude is created by the pink  
wall of corrugated rock rearing its jagged ridges and two  
dark trees against the bright blue of the sky. The fantastic  
dragon seems native to such a scene and the adventure of the  
valiant seems all the more tremendous from the desolation of  
the surroundings" (31). This early version seems the most  
consistent with the story told by Firdausī: the dragon had  
previously been fatally wounded with a sword thrust deeply  
into its throat, and then finished off with a second one; no  
human being witnessed the deed, which had to be attributed to  
the nobleman of Rūm who desired to marry the sister of  
Gushtāsp's wife.

Another slightly later miniature [Pl. 32a] belonging to a



Shāhnāma painted in 885/1480 in a rather provincial style, probably again Shīrāzī (32), shows our solitary hero striking with his long, curved sword the head of a dragon appearing from the left margin of the painting. In this case Gushtāsp is still walking on a grassy field full of stylized flowers, whereas the dragon rests on a rocky spur. The little detail of the two swords is already lost. The dichotomy between a flowering meadow and a desolate rocky spur is retained in a later Shīrāzī miniature [Pl. 32b], dated 949/1542 (33). This time the dragon, again on the left hand side, has been portrayed in full, effectively twisted around anthropomorphic rocks. Under the astonished eyes of four horsemen, Gushtāsp kills the monster with his sword, after having blinded it with a double-pointed arrow. A similar inconsistency with the original story takes place as well in the version attributed to Mīrzā 'Alī [Pl. 33a], executed for the Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp (34). Here too, the black body of the dragon, half concealed by the rocks, has several arrows stuck in its neck. Our hero, still galloping on a grassy, flowered ground, sharply separated by the bare and desolate landscape where the dragon lives, confronts the horrible beast with the help



of only a short dagger, and his prowess is witnessed by three soldiers who watch the scene from above the horizon.

Thus we can safely conclude that the illustration of this episode had lost its close relationship to the text at an early stage, giving place to the standard treatment of the theme of a "hero killing a dragon" as it had been already formalized in the major episodes concerning Rustam, Isfandiyār, Iskandar and Bahrām Gūr. Even admitting the presence of some amazed casual onlookers, however, - a favorite detail in Persian painting - we can observe that the miniature of our manuscript [Pl. 21] contains not only two people peeping out above the higher horizon, but even two armies behind both sides of the central hill. This gives the impression of a very standardized production, in which a lesser painter could have prepared undifferentiated conventional settings in which the central hill acted as a stage for the episode chosen each time for the illustration.

Another little detail is worth discussing: the rendering of Gushtāsp's horse. At first sight its position gives the impression of a very subtle portrayal: the animal seems in fact to be retreating, scared by the terrifying glare of the



dragon. However, this is equivalent to a conventional rendering of a galloping horse, which was part of our painter's repertoire. Clear evidence of this is given in f. 449 [Pl. 23], where the central black horse is virtually identical to Bushtāsp's one, suggesting the use of pounced models.

c) The flight of Kai Kā'ūs [Pl. 10]

The Preliminary Index records a miniature with this subject in the Schulz Collection in Leipzig dated c.1330, and a rather rough sketch [Pl. 33b] in the Diez Album (35) clearly refers to the same incident. However, the illustration of this episode seems to enjoy greater favour as we move toward the end of the fifteenth century. A miniature [Pl. 34a] now in the Institute of Oriental Studies of Leningrad (36), dated about the middle of the century, still shows a rather primitive treatment of the subject, although it provides two new details: the flying machine is in fact equipped with four lances, from each of which a leg of lamb is hanging, and a few heads seem to allude to the people who are watching the scene. At the beginning of the sixteenth century an



interesting model is set by the painting [Pl. 34b] included in the Shāhnāma of Shāh Jahmāsp (37). The flying machine is here much more developed, with an elaborate arched platform and a rich awning acting as a roof. In the foreground, several people are watching and pointing at the machine in astonishment, and the twisting of the birds bodies would suggest that they are already raising the shah to the sky.

the horizon is here too high, so that, although exquisitely painted, the miniature fails to convey the impression of the flight, and the machine seems rather to be still resting on the ground. A Shīrāzī miniature [Pl. 35a] dated 949/1542, from the above-mentioned Shāhnāma kept in the John Rylands Library (38), shows exactly the same setting, even though the overall rendering looks quite provincial. However, this miniature shows some originality in the detail of the two young courtiers accompanying the king and, in some respects, in the comparatively large scale of the birds. The bow in the hands of Kai Kā'ūs, virtually absent in the early miniatures, had become a necessary detail with the beginning of the sixteenth century. Firdausī's text actually refers to it in the verse "with bow and arrow he contended for the



Heavens".

Moving toward the second half of the sixteenth century, the horizon starts to become lower, and the base of the flying throne is no longer painted against the ground. A rather unique case, in this respect, is the abstract rendering of a miniature [Pl. 35b] taken from a manuscript belonging to the Kraus Collection (39), where there is no indication of the ground at all. More common instead is a very low horizon with some people watching in bewilderment the shah seated in his throne, the latter painted in the upper half of the miniature and already flying in the sky. A new detail, whose iconography is still uncertain, occurs sometimes in these miniatures: the figure of an angel holding a fish, towards which the king aims his bow and arrow (40). This scene is depicted for instance in a mid-XVIth century miniature [Pl. 36a] from the Leningrad State Public Library (41), in our version of the episode in the *Palat. Orient.* 5 [Pl. 10], and in a detached miniature [Pl. 36b] belonging as well to the Kraus Collection (42). The latter is very close in style and iconography to a miniature of a *Shāhnāma* dated 1012/1604 and attributed by Stchoukine to the school of



Shiraz (43).

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER II

Even without repeating the analysis already given for the miniature of the Palat. Orient. 5, we might here stress once again the ingenuity of the overall setting, the clever use of the asymmetrical shape and, finally, the richness of the iconography, which adds also the rare, if not unique, detail of the demon who had tempted the shāh. The latter assumes here a particular value, in that it seems to provide further evidence of Painter A's preference for "synthetic" iconographic solutions.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- (1). Cfr. PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce..", pp. 189-90 and F. GABRIELI, Introduction to Eiridusi, Il libro dei Re, Torino 1969, pp.5-25.
- (2). PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce..", p. 233.
- (3). PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce..", p. 234.
- (4). PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce..", pp.191-6.
- (5). Ibidem.
- (6). On the work of Pizzi see GABRIELI, Il libro dei re., pp. 20-3.
- (7). Prof. Piemontese has recently studied the text of the manuscript for the forthcoming Index already mentioned. He has been of great help to me since I do not read Persian and I have been allowed to see the manuscript only once.
- (8). See PIZZI, "Di un codice Persiano..", pp. 81-5.
- (9). Ibidem.
- (10). Information kindly given to me by Prof. Piemontese.
- (11). PIZZI, "Di un codice persiano..", p. 85.
- (12). PIEMONTESE, Storia della Letteratura Persiana, Milano 1969, p. 17. See also E.G. BROWNE, A Literary History of Persia, London, 1908, p.107.
- (13). On this preface see V. MINORSKY, "The older Preface to the 'Shah-Nama'", Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi della Vida, Ed. Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma, 1956, II, pp. 159-79.
- (14). This chapter heading is already present in the Shahnama



dated 1217 found in Florence by Prof. Piemontese; see  
PIEMONTESE, "Nuova luce...", p.107.

- (15). J.A. ATKINSON, The Shah Nameh of Eiridusi, London & New York, 1832, p.85.
- (16). J. NORRGREN, Preliminary Index of Shah-Nameh Illustrations, with an introduction of Oleg Grabar; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Centre for New Eastern and North African Studies, 1969.
- (17). It could be compared with all the standard illustrations to the Haft Paikar in the Khamse of Nizāmī belonging to the same period.
- (18). ATKINSON, The Shah Nameh..., p. 166.
- (19). ATKINSON, The Shah Nameh..., p. 283.
- (20). For the attribution of each miniature see the Appendix, pp. 157-8.
- (21). For a discussion of this topic see ETTINGHAUSEN, "Bahram Gur's hunting feats or the problem of identification", Iran XVII (1979), pp.25-31.
- (22). Hazine 2153, f. 55 v.; see E. GRUBE, "Persian Painting in the fourteenth century: a research report", Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli 1978, p. 32.
- (23). Dsuley Add. 176, f. 20 r.; see BINYON, WILKINSON & GRAY, Persian Miniature Painting, New York, 1971, pp. 67-8 and ROBINSON, ...Bodleian Library, pp. 18 and 20.
- (24). See WELCH, A King's Book..., p. 88-91. Seventy-four miniatures of this manuscript are now in New York in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- (25). See WELCH, A King's Book..., p. 88.
- (26). E.g. New York, Kraus Collection, N. 114, dated 1539,



see E.J. GRUBE, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th century from the Collection of Hans P. Kraus*, New York, 1972, p. 140; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl Pers. 932, f.18 v., dated 1542, see B.W. ROBINSON, *Persian Painting in the John Rylands Library*, London, 1980, n. 576, p. 163.

- (27). London, India Office Library, Pers. Ms. 133, f.16 v.; see I. STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavides de 1502 à 1587*, Paris, 1959, no. 121 pp. 109-10.
- (28). See e.g. STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, no. 128 p. 113.
- (29). Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 382, f.21 r., see L.T. GIUZAL'IAN & M.M. DIAKONOV, *Iranskie miniatury v rukopisiakh Shakh-Name Leningradskikh sobrani*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, pp. 29-30.
- (30). The manuscript is now in the Royal Asiatic Society collection, ms. 239; see WILKINSON & BINYON, *The Shahnameh of Firdusi*, pp. XIX and 57-8.
- (31). BINYON, *The Shahnameh...*, p. XIX.
- (32). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Coll. N.158, f.295 v.; see A.J. ARBERRY, E. BLOCHET, M. MINOVI, J.V.S. WILKINSON, B.W. ROBINSON, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, Dublin, 1959-62, vol. II, no. 158, pp. 11-3 (E.B. and M.M.).
- (33). Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl Pers 932, f. 308 r.; see ROBINSON, *...John Rylands Library*, N. 594, p. 170.
- (34). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp*, f.402 r.; see S.C. WELCH, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, London, 1976, p. 51.
- (35). See M.S. IPŞIROĞLU, *Saray-Alben*, Wiesbaden, 1964,



p. 106.

- (36). Ms. S 822, f. 78 r.; see GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, Iranские миниатюры..., p. 49.
- (37). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Shāhnāma of Shāh Tahmāsp, f. 134 r.; see S.C. WELCH & M.B. DICKSON, The Houghton Shahnameh, Cambridge (Mass.)-London, 1981, vol. II, page facing pl. 95.
- (38). Ryl Pers. 932, f. 96 v.; see ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library, N. 583, p. 170.
- (39). Coll. N. 131, f. 14 v. (Shāhnāma of Firdausī dated c. 1550-60); see GRUBE, Islamic Paintings..., pp. 155-6.
- (40). See GRUBE, Islamic Paintings..., p. 168, (1): "I have not been able to find comments to this detail anywhere. Prof. Meredith-Owens, who was kind enough to check on the matter for me, has suggested that the illustrators of the Shah-nama apparently meant to visualize in this manner the fact that Kay Ka'us, who had been tempted into flying to heaven by the devil, was actually fighting heaven and its spirits- the angels." This explanation does not sound very convincing, however, since it does not account for the presence of the fish. We should notice that in the miniature of our manuscript we have also another puzzling detail: the knife in the angel's left hand. For another angel holding a knife see "Bilqis Queen of Sheba", from a Kulliyāt of Sā'dī, dated 1566, belonging to the British Library Collection, ms. Add. 24944 (TITLEY, Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India, London, 1983, p. 98, pl. 14).
- (41). Ms. PNS 331, f. 185 r.; see GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, Iranские миниатюры..., pp. 59-60.
- (42). Coll. N. 149; see GRUBE, Islamic Paintings..., p. 168.
- (43). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 490, f. 62 r.; see I. STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures des manuscrits



de Shāh 'Abbās Ier à la fin des Safavī, Paris, 1964,  
pl. XIXb and p. 140.



## CHAPTER III      STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE MINIATURES

### III.1      STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

All the 26 miniatures are consistent with the Shīrāzī format, as defined by Grace Guest (1), i.e. a rectangle containing two strips of text at the top and bottom, plus an outer tall rectangle with at times one or two corners cut off or projecting (2). However, the existence of two invisible axes "within the inner space, placed at the length of the text area measured inward from the outside edge of the outer area, and the width of the outer area measured inward from its inside edge" (3) is true here for only two miniatures out of 26, namely the striking of Dhahḥāk [Pl. 3] and Zāl at the Court of Minūchihr [Pl. 8]. In both cases the width of the outer area is almost exactly half that of the written part, thus the axial intersection corresponds to the middle of the garden door in the former and to the median line between the two doors and windows behind the enthroned Minūchihr in the latter. In this case, therefore, there would



There is no need to postulate the existence of such a complex interior structure, the above mentioned axes clearly corresponding to those of the text areas. In fact Guest seems to suggest that towards the end of the century the canon was not so strictly followed, and a division in thirds became very common. However, as we have seen, the existence of a central axis of symmetry cannot be denied in the miniatures executed by Painter B, whose work is easy to identify mainly because of this feature. Another kind of structural analysis has been recently suggested by Adle (4), but although interesting, it does not seem fully convincing, and I would say that although partly out of date, the general remarks on composition given by Stchoukine (5) about 25 years ago still maintain their value. After having analyzed the miniatures of the manuscript and checked their measurements, I would prefer to postulate an aesthetic intuition, rather than a mathematical scheme, as a basis for the different choices. Thus at times a diagonal, a centrally symmetrical, or an elliptical focus might be favored to illustrate a specific episode, the location of the details being due mainly to an instinctive sense of narration and balance, and to individual



aesthetic sensitivity. One need not exclude some influence of geometry, but one can question analysis that, although fascinating, results in superimposing a scheme which probably differs from the original intention of the artist.

### III.2 MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

#### III.2.1 General features

##### a) Shape

Variety seems to be the aim of the two painters, as far as the shape is concerned. Only nine out of 26 miniatures are in fact simply rectangular, and a further variation takes place inside this group, consisting of five [Pls. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9] with the upper text area detached from the frame, two [Pls. 11, 21] with a simple upper text area attached to the margin, and two others [Pls. 14, 24] with large upper cartouches bearing the title of the new episode of the narrative. Two miniatures [Pls. 3, 13] portray in the outer area a building



with an irregular extension at the top which is contained inside the frame, while two others [Pls. 1, 26] have added to the basic rectangular shape an upper extension in which the top floor of a building is depicted quite freely, extending from the frame. Six other miniatures [Pls. 4, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23] are mainly rectangular, but the lower text area occupies a step of the same height as the text itself. Among these six, only one [Pl. 4] has the upper text area detached from the frame and can be ascribed to Painter A on stylistic grounds, while the others would seem rather the work of Painter B. Two [Pls. 15, 20] of the illustrations which were most likely executed by Painter B again have the same shape, but with the lower corner of the outer area cut off, while in a third [Pl. 25] it is the upper corner which has been cut. Two other miniatures [Pls. 15, 20] retain the lower step and have in the upper corner a triangular extension; one [Pl. 12] has a step in the lower frame with the corner cut off and a triangular extension in the upper one, and another [Pl. 10] combines the same extension in the upper corner with a step to the opposite direction in the lower one. Almost all these shapes are quite common among manuscripts attributed to



Shirāzī ateliers of the second half of the XVth century (6), the most original probably being the last two described above.

#### b) Color scheme

With the only exception of the miniature portraying the Court of Gayūmars, where an almost monochromatic effect seems to have been chosen deliberately, the painters of the Palat. Orient. 5 favor very bright pure colors set against contrasting backgrounds. An intense mauve is almost always present in the paintings, in the ground or the rocks, or sometimes in a carpet or in a wall painting.

The use of shading is more typical of Painter B, although Painter A uses it in the gray trunk of the huge chagan and in the human faces. On the whole the former is less interested in experimenting with new combinations, and his palette is more reduced. A typical example is the miniature illustrating Isfandiyār killing Arjāsp [Pl. 23], where the overall effect relies mainly on a bright red and a light blue, with a few touches of yellow and other colors. Besides the several hues



of red, blue, turquoise, yellow, ochre, green and mauve, both Painter A and B make an extensive use of gold and silver for textile patterns and battle equipment.

Following a long established tradition in Persian miniature painting, colors are applied according to an interior order where the different tints are echoed throughout the paintings, ending in a final balance which is nevertheless the result of a dynamic tension. A typical example is Pl.17, where the ochre of the rocks in the foreground is balanced by the small standard and by some dresses of the warriors of both armies, while the red and the blue with a golden pattern of the other two standards on the upper right are perfectly mirrored in the overcoat and trousers of the dead Turanian champion. The other red banner on the upper left is echoed instead in the bright saddle-cloth of Rustam's horse. Finally the light blue of the sky is present only as a little touch in the dresses of the group of warriors on the right-hand side where, due to the pointed extension, a greater portion of the sky has been portrayed. A more consistent spot of this color has been painted instead on the left-hand side, almost at the same height of the one



of the right. Rustam's light blue trousers complete the balance, since they are depicted in a much lower position, but in visual connection with the top of the mountain where, because of the strip of text, there is no place for the sky.

#### c) Light

Virtually all the scenes seem to take place in the daylight. As usual in Persian painting, there is no indication of a source of light, either directly by portrayal of the sun, or indirectly by means of shadows.

### III.2.2 The exterior

#### a) General setting of the landscape

As we have already stressed, there are several differences in the treatment of landscape by the two painters. While the lesser one employs it only as a kind of repetitive stage where the different deeds are performed, the other tries to



use it quite dramatically to enhance the action. This difference can be easily understood by contrasting Pl. 23 with Pl. 5. Although one can admit a certain sense of movement in the circular composition of the battle in the first miniature, the landscape, however, virtually untouched by the energetic vortex, seems rather to evoke rigor mortis. By contrast in Pl. 5 the landscape clearly participates in the action with the sharp outline of the rocks asymmetrically located on the upper right and the tree dramatically set at right angles, aligned with two opposite diagonals.

Out of eighteen exterior scenes in the manuscript, eleven [Pls. 4, 9, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25] show a central rounded hill and a row of other mountains behind it, which form a very high horizon. With only two exceptions [Pls. 4, 9] where the central hill is not perfectly symmetrical, they are all attributable to Painter B. In three other miniatures [Pls. 6, 11, 17] probably executed by Painter A, the central hill is quite asymmetrical and itself forms the horizon, which in this case reaches to almost half the height of the miniatures. The other four cannot be reduced to a common pattern.



b) Rocks, vegetation, horizon

It is clearly difficult to single out the work of an artist from the production of ateliers where "repetition" had no connotation of inferiority and where the originality was often lacking. However, all the drawings executed by Painter have one quite distinctive feature: the rendering of rocks. They have always a sharp, stepped outline and are subdivided into several parallel layers. Since the base is often smaller than the upper part, they sometimes look almost like fists. The apparent shading is obtained not by using watercolors, but with many very thin parallel lines painted on the main color with the tip of the brush. Quite often a few human or grotesque profiles are hidden inside the rocks, and animal heads appear within the stones. The outline of the hills recalls the treatment of rocks and shows the same parallel areas of "shaded" color.

Several manuscripts ascribed to the school of Shiraz from 1560 up to the end of the century show a very similar, although not identical, rendering of rocks, the main difference being a more rounded overall outline.



Rocks are never important in miniatures executed by Painter B, who depicts them sporadically, and only as a small strip in the foreground. Their shape is more rounded and the shading, as well as that in the hills outline, is obtained by means of watercolors.

Although shaded, in the work of both painters rocks are rigidly monochromatic, with colors ranging from naturalistic brown and ochre to a more expressionistic mauve and blue-violet. This last color is used only by Painter A for the throne of Gayūmars and other rocks in the foreground in the same miniature [Pl. 2], and for a prominent rocky formation in the illustration of Rustam killing Suhrāb [Pl. 11].

This introduces the topic of the connotations which rocks had in Persian painting. First of all we can easily recognize the basic presumption that wild or primitive places are essentially rocky (7). Thus it is not surprising to find that rocks are extensively depicted in illustrations to episodes such as the Court of Gayūmars [Pl. 2] and Sām against the Divs [Pl. 5] or Gushtāsp killing a dragon [Pl. 21], rocks being considered for the same reason the ideal



natural habitat of these creatures. By contrast, no rocks appear in the landscape when the miniature contains a building (8). However, from the illustrations of the Palat. Orient. 5, as well as from Persian painting in general, it seems clear that rocks played also the supplementary role, perhaps unconsciously, of contributing to emphasize the drama of particular conflicts, as well as echoing, like vegetation, the action which was taking place. Without going so far as to postulate a conscious use of rocks to connote alienation, or at least anything which happens against the will of the protagonist, we notice that of all the battle scenes, those between Rustam and his son Suhrāb [Pl. 11] and Sām and the Faghfur of China, the father of his beloved Parīdukht [Pl. 6], show the most prominent and dramatically developed rocks. Once again, this is perfectly in keeping with the previous Persian tradition, the combat between Rustam and Suhrāb being usually portrayed in a markedly rocky landscape.

We have already shown the active use of landscape to create an overall balance by Painter A. We can add here some observations on the way the very setting of rocks echoes or stresses the action in miniatures executed by this artist.



In some cases - e.g. the Court of Gayūmars [Pl. 2], the fight between Sām and the male-attired Parīdukht [Pl. 6], Rustam killing Suhrāb [Pl. 11] and the flight of Kai Kā'ūs [Pl. 10] - the parallel layers of the rocks seem to point towards the main focus of the miniature. In the illustration of Rustam killing Qulūn [Pl. 9], the group of rocks has been located instead in the lower right corner, aligned with the diagonal setting of Rustam and his victim, already underlined by the hero's spear. Finally in the illustration of Rustam carrying the head of a Turanian warrior [Pl. 17], the textures of the two rocks seem to stress the event: the one on the right is almost vertical, echoing the erect posture of the winner, the one on the left is set diagonally, with the parallel layers in the same direction of the body of Rustam's victim. In the same miniature a tree springs from the top of each rock, and their rendering is again consistent with the main action: the cypress on the right is perfectly straight, the plant on the left is dramatically curved.

Vegetation in the work of Painter A consists mainly of the kinds of stylized trees typical of Shiraz miniatures, plus the rather rare chanar in both spring and autumn foliage,



virtually absent from the production of Shīrāzī ateliers in the first half of the century (9). The cypress-like stylized trees are usually outlined in yellow, as are the borders of meadows. Conventional units of stones surrounded by flowers, again typical of the so-called "Shiraz style" (10) are spread all over the ground in the work of this artist, while Painter usually prefers a bare ground and a few dark-green stylized trees set in symmetrical positions.

The horizon is usually very high, with the obvious exception of the illustration to the flight of Kai Kā'ūs EP1. 10], where it is set at almost one third of the height. As a rule it is delineated by a row of rounded mountains, and in a few cases by a green meadow.

#### c) Sky and clouds

Sky is usually depicted either in gold or in a light but intense blue. Painter A likes to fill it with white or grey and white whirling clouds with a long tail, a detail which penetrated into Persian art from China almost three centuries earlier in the Mongol period, and which since then became



domesticated and virtually a signe qua non in Persian minor arts. Stchoukine's observation on the heaviness of Shīrāzī clouds (11) is confirmed in the Laurenziana manuscript only by the rare, pure white clouds depicted by Painter B, whereas these of the other artist, both transparent and opaque, are quite light and evoke a gentle breeze.

#### d) Water

Water does not play a major role in the Laurenziana manuscript, since it appears in only six miniatures. In three of them [Pls. 3, 8, 24] it is just a small stream flowing in the meadow, while in the other three cases [Pls. 2, 5, 6] it is larger and acquires a greater importance in the overall balance of the miniature. Water is usually painted with a silver tint, which has turned into black because of oxidation. Water-whirls and spiral designs are painted over it with very thin white lines. Streams running in a rocky landscape are surrounded by a small strip of green meadow and by stones flanked by multicolored flowers.



#### e) Buildings and tents

Seven miniatures contain architectural elements and in one tents are the main focus. Buildings show a variety of different patterns both on the exterior and on the interior tiling. Outside, a black dado is usually applied on the ochre texture of regular brickwork, while tiles are extensively used to emphasize doorways and window frames, and are even applied on crenellations. In the case of flat-roofed iwans opening to a courtyard, the representation is usually completely flat (12), and shows in the background two symmetrical doors and windows. Behind the knotted curtains of the doors the landscape of the background usually appears. A "classical" element quite in keeping with the Persian tradition of the XVIth century is that of a semi-open door leading to the garden from the courtyard, although here it has been sometimes used in a quite original context (13).

With the sole exception of Dhaḥḥāk's palace, the exterior views of buildings show a second side diagonally set in a way that, despite its awkwardness, conveys a certain sense of volume and perspective.



Both the long rectangular black tiles of the dadoes and the various square and star patterns of the interior can be easily found in other manuscripts attributed to the Shiraz school of 1560-85. Among them are the Yūsuf and Zulaikhā of Nizāmī [Pl. 37a] now in the British Museum (14), a Khamsa of Nizāmī [Pl. 37b, 38a] kept in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (15) a Kulliyāt of Amir Khusrau Dihlavi [Pls. 38b, 39a] belonging to the Leningrad State Public Library (16), and two other copies of the Shāhnāma [Pls. 39b, 40a,b] kept in the same library (17).

Parallels can be easily found as well for the huge tents dominating the illustration of the trial of strength between Rustam and Isfandiyār [Pl. 24]. Tents stayed with ropes are often portrayed in Persian miniatures, especially during the Safavid period (18). The most refined achievements in this field are those attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, one of the best painters of Tabriz royal atelier [Pls. 41a,b]. They illustrate the story of Lailā and Majnūn, and were probably executed for the famous Khamsa of Nizāmī of Shāh Tahmāsp, dating between 1539 and 1543 (19). However, a similar rendering appears a few years later also at Shiraz, for



example in the Khamsa of the Freer Gallery of Washington [Pl. 2a,b], dated 1548 (20), and in the Zafarnāma of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī [Pl. 43a], completed in 1552 and now in the British Museum (21). A rendering very close to that of the Laurenziana Shāhnāma can be found as well in the Khamsa of Manchester already mentioned (22), [Pl. 43b] and in the above-mentioned Kulliyāt of Amir Khusrau Dihlavī [Pl. 44a] attributed to the 1570s-80s, belonging to the Leningrad State Public Library (23). Both the two last miniatures show the same detail of an interior chamber closed by a wooden door which appears as well in our painting. The only puzzling feature of this miniature is the red circle on top of the tents. A ring of a contrasting color is quite common in the portrayal of circular trellis tents. In our tents, however, which are supposed to be awnings, this is an inappropriate detail, and presumably arises from a misunderstanding.

#### f) Animals

A major role is obviously played by horses, portrayed in a few basic positions, repeated throughout the manuscript with



slight changes such as the position of the neck or the knot of the tail. The painters do not make any effort to conceal the repetition, sometimes using the same outline in a single miniature twice or even more often. However, each artist seems to use his own model, since the general rendering of positions are slightly different. Horses are painted both in naturalistic colors such as brown, white, black and grey, and in fancy tints such as blue, turquoise and even mauve. Rustam's champion, Rakhsh, is always portrayed by Painter A with a light brown spotted skin. Rakhsh has been rendered in a slightly different way in the illustration of Rustam bringing back Bīzhan, rescued from the pit [Pl. 19], and this is probably another good reason to attribute the miniature to Painter B.

Elephants and camels too sometimes take part in the battle arrays depicted by Painter A. The only miniature with other kinds of animals is the Court of Gayūmars, where two rather crudely rendered lions, a cat-like leopard and two gracious fawns are depicted at the king's feet. Finally, we should mention the interesting rendering of the body of the eagles carrying Kai Kā'ūs' flying machine: the dense shading



obtained again with very thin parallel lines conveys a strong sense of volume, which seems to allude to the muscular power of the birds.

### III.2.3 The interior

#### a) The rendering of an enclosed space

As we have seen, exterior scenes are almost exclusively portrayed in the Palat. Orient. 5. The only exceptions are the marriage of Siyāvush and Farangīs [Pl. 13], which is a purely interior scene, and two representations of the Court - Zāl asking Minūchihr for permission to marry Rūdāba [Pl. 8] and Siyāvush sent against Afrāsiyāb [Pl. 12] - where the outer area of the miniature contains part of a courtyard and the garden. All these three miniatures show the same basic principles: purely frontal views, no side walls (only present, as we have seen, in the exterior of buildings), no ceilings, a large carpet indicating the floor and a highly decorated back wall covered with a turquoise dado and pierced



by two symmetrical doors surmounted by two aligned windows. This was the standard rendering of enclosed spaces in Persian painting in the major schools both of Herat and Tabriz, and in the provincial one of Shiraz. Sporadically, side walls were depicted diagonally as well, but in general there was no attempt to obtain a sense of depth.

#### b) Wall decoration

Besides the multicolored geometric patterns of the dadoes, walls show a painted decoration. The background is generally in the same pink or light mauve of the carpet, whose floral motif is sometimes repeated. A delicate pattern of floriated and foliated scrolls is usually depicted in blue, and in one case in white. Two symmetrical, sinuously curved plants are portrayed in the back wall of Minūchihr's audience hall. They look almost like a willow, a favorite plant in Persian landscapes which seems to appear around 1560 as a wall-painting motif of Shīrāzī manuscripts, although it was already present, mixed with other designs, in the Tabriz



miniatures of the early XVith century.

#### c) Rugs

All the rugs portrayed in the above mentioned interior scenes and in the trial of strength between Rustam and Isfandiyār [Pl. 24] show the same pattern with floriated spiral scrolls. The field is usually pink with an ochre border. In Minūchihr's audience hall, where two different carpets are set close to each other, one has a turquoise field. A small rug is depicted in front of Isfandiyār's tent. This has the same pattern of scrolls and very minute flowers, but the color scheme is different, the motifs being in white against a dark brown background. The carpets are always perfectly rectangular, with no attempts to convey any sense of perspective. Their pattern and rendering mirror that of other Shīrāzī manuscripts of the second half of the XVith century, in that they cover the floor completely (24).

#### III.2.4 Human figures



a) General rendering, postures and gestures

Human figures are usually rather elongated, especially in the works of Painter A. He often shows a certain attempt to differentiate faces, although not facial expressions, and makes some use of red shading on the cheeks, obtaining a less flat rendering of the heads. Some people have black, grey or reddish-brown beards and mustaches. A few children are portrayed in episodes which leave space for genre scenes, and they look exactly like unbearded adults, but are much smaller. Postures and gestures are never exactly repeated in the same miniature, while some people are often depicted intent in private conversation, apparently distracted from the main action - a device intended to create or increase the sense of movement and variety.

Figures are slightly less elongated in the miniatures executed by Painter B. Their heads are usually rounded and postures and gestures tend to be repeated.

Both artists prefer the three-quarters view, but some profiles are present as well as onlookers depicted in front



view, in an often awkward rendering (25).

Sometimes within the armies or among the amazed witnesses of a spectacular event, we can clearly distinguish some black-skinned people, and Dhahhāk is also quite dark in both the miniatures portraying him.

#### b) Clothing

Three main kinds of clothing are used for males: a long coat with short sleeves worn either open on a long tunic of a contrasting color, or closed up to the waist, with the lower corners raised and fastened to the belt, showing underneath large trousers or a short tunic barely reaching the knees. The belt is either black, with round bosses painted in gold, or white and simply knotted. The latter is preferred for women, servants and children and so the former might be connected with battle equipment. Women also wear over a contrasting tunic a long, short-sleeved coat usually closed only around the waist, and their hair is covered with a white kerchief. Both male and female overcoats have a peculiar zig-zag pattern painted in gold on the edge of the



short sleeve.

Male headgear varies greatly, ranging from helmets and crowns for soldiers and kings (26), to huge white turbans and small colored or leopard-skin conical hats. An old fashioned black and white hat appears as well among the onlookers, but no trace of the Safavid turban with a red stick can be found in the whole manuscript.

Clothes are depicted in many different tints, usually sharply contrasting, with a very thick and opaque layer of color. Some curved lines are traced on it in a darker tone of the same tint, to portray folds and convey some sense of volume. The result is generally successful, although the golden pattern of the cloth is usually depicted without taking folds into account (27). These patterns consist of geometric motifs, flowers and birds, and are often found in miniatures produced in the royal ateliers of Tabriz and Qazvin, as well as in all the other manuscripts of the contemporary Shiraz school, already mentioned. Rustam is always portrayed in his typical tiger-skin coat with a feathered leopard head above the helmet as headgear (28).



### c) Battle equipment

All the soldiers wear a conical, knobbed helmet covering the ears. A very small colored flag is usually attached to the knob, and the most important heroes also have a white feather in front of it. Sometimes the helmet is extended in mail to cover the shoulders. In all the battle scenes the fighters wear also iron arm-guards and knee-pieces, portrayed with great accuracy. Shields have fancy tints and contribute - together with saddle-clothes, bow-scabbards and quivers - to the overall color scheme and balance of the miniature. These patterns include the same motifs used on clothing, together with some very minute scrolls with lotus blossoms rendered with great delicacy. Special care is devoted by Painter A to the portrayal of muzzle guards for horses in the battle scenes.

A major role is played by long and slightly curved swords among the weapons, often with very elaborate hand-guards and scabbards; spears and bows are also used sporadically. The only dagger present is that of Rustam killing Suhrāb, and the painter portrays it with great accuracy together with its



scabbard. The army is usually accompanied by trumpeters and drummers.

Banners and standards are also extensively portrayed, and they often extend beyond the margins, following a tradition already established in the first achievements of the Mongol period (29). They are painted with the same colors and patterns of general clothing, on very tall sticks ending with a golden finial. All arms, helmets and guard pieces are painted in silver - which has oxidized to black - with minute details in gold. Trumpets, both straight and curved types, are always golden with very delicate black outlines.

### III.2.5. Fantastic creatures

#### a) Divs

Divs appear twice among the Laurenziana manuscript folios. In one case, the flight of Kai Kā'ūs [Pl. 10], the solitary demon almost hidden behind the rocks and the tree has a human look, and is portrayed boldly, with a very dark skin and a



naked chest. Much more terrifying are the divs fought by Sām [Pl. 5]: bigger than the Persian hero and menacingly holding very primitive weapons, they are quite consistent with the contemporary and earlier tradition of the best Persian ateliers. Their colored, spotted bodies are almost completely naked, with a very short gown open in front (30). Their heads and horns are highly differentiated, the only common feature being a golden flamed spot above the eyes, which seems to come indirectly from the demons portrayed in the famous albums of the Topkapı Serai (31), probably introduced to Shiraz via Tabriz. Other features linking them to the Siyah Qalam demons are the metal bracelets and ankle-bands, the short gown and, in some respects, the rendering of the body. Comparative material, in addition to the famous "Hūshang slays the Black Div" [Pl. 44b] attributed to Sultān Muḥammad (32), are miniatures of the Qazvin school of a few years earlier, such as "Garshāsp fighting against the dog-heads" [Pl. 45a] from the Qacshāspnāma of Asadī dated 1573, now in the British Library (33), and "Tahmuras fights the demons" [Pl. 45b] from the Shāhnāma of Shāh Ismā'īl II, tentatively dated 1576-77 (34).



## b) Dragons

The only dragon is the unfortunate victim of Gushtāsp's sword. It has a massive black body underlined by golden crests in connection with the four paws. The mauve mouth is open and the tongue protrudes together with golden flames. The twisted neck introduces a certain sense of muscular power. This rendering of a dragon is perfectly in keeping with other miniatures [Pl. 46a] of the contemporary Shiraz school on the one hand (35) and with the more general tradition of textiles and rugs of the Safavid period on the other (36).



### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

- (1). G.D. GUEST, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century*, Washington D.C., 1949, p. 25.
- (2). Although the width of four tenths of the written area is not followed here, Painter B preferring a ratio of one fifth and Painter A varying from one third to three tenths.
- (3). GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*, p. 25.
- (4). C. ADLE, "Recherche sur le module et le tracé correcteur dans la miniature orientale", *Le monde iranien et l'Islam* 3 (1975), pp. 81-105.
- (5). STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, pp. 167-85.
- (6). See the plates of STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures...de 1502 à 1587*; GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*; ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library; M.M. ASHRAFI, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII miniatures*, Dushambe, Tajik S.S.R., 1974.
- (7). On this topic see B. BREND, "Rocks in Persian Miniature Painting", *Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 7 (1979), pp. 111-37.
- (8). Brend ("Rocks...", p. 116) rightly stresses the fact that on the contrary rocks are usually portrayed in illustrations to "Anushirvan and the owls", where the building is abandoned.
- (9). GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*, p. 32; on the plane-tree in Persian miniatures see also STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, p. 145.
- (10). See GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*, fig. 10.
- (11). STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, p. 142.
- (12). On this subject see V. STRIKA, "La prospettiva



spianata nella miniatura persiana", Mesopotamia 7 (1972), pp. 239-58.

- (13). The most common figure depicted behind the door in other Safavid painting is that of a gardener intent in his work.
- (14). Or. 4122; this manuscript has been dated around 1540 (see STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, p.111) but this date has been recently put forward to c. 1580 by Titley (see N. TITLEY, Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts, London 1977, p. 71).
- (15). Ryl. Pers. 856; Robinson dated it to c. 1575 (see ROBINSON, John Rylands Library, Nos. 636-51, pp. 203-4).
- (16). PNS 67, dated 70s-80s, 16th century (see ASHRAFI, Persian Tajik Poetry..., pp. 83-7)
- (17). Dorn 334, dated 1585 (see ASHRAFI, Persian Tajik Poetry ..., pp. 83-7) and PNS 352, about the same period (see GUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, Iranskie miniatury..., p. 69).
- (18). On the use of tents in Persia see D.N. WILBER, "The Timurid Court: Life in Gardens and Tents", Iran XVII (1979), pp. 127-33.
- (19). See S.C. WELCH, Royal..., p. 88-9 and E.J. GRUBE, The World of Islam, London 1966, pl. 80. The folio is in the collection of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.
- (20). See GUEST, Shiraz Painting..., pls. 8 and 12 and pp. 40-3.
- (21). See STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, p. 107.
- (22). ROBINSON, John Rylands Library, N. 651, p.204.
- (23). ASHRAFI, Persian Tajik Poetry..., p.84.



- (24). Traditionally part of the floor in the foreground was left uncovered, although the brick pattern was rather ambiguous and could be interpreted as a dado; see K. ADHAL, A Khamsa of Nezami of 1439: origin of the miniatures - a presentation and analysis, Stockholm, 1981, p. 53.
- (25). This detail is present as well in works of the royal atelier, see e.g. the "battle between Narīman and the Khāqān" [Pl. 55] painted by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn for the Garshāspnāma of the British Museum Library.
- (26). However, Zāl and Gushtāsp also have a crown.
- (27). In this respect there are no significant differences between the rendering of our Painter A and that of the more accomplished artists of the royal ateliers.
- (28). On Rustam's headgear see B.W. ROBINSON, "Origin of three Shahnameh miniatures", Ars Orientalis I, p. 111.
- (29). A typical example are the miniatures of the Jāmiʿ al-Jawārikh of Rashīd al-Dīn; see e.g. ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., pl. 23.
- (30). The ostentation of sexual attributes seems a common convention in the portrayal of divs.
- (31). See M.S. İPŞİROĞLU, Siyah Qalem, Graz, 1976, pls. 40-44.
- (32). See S.C. WELCH, Royal..., pp. 40, 42.
- (33). Dr. 12985, f.45 v.; see ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., p. 59.
- (34). This detached page is now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Cat. N. 256.1; see ARBERRY et al., Catalogue..., Vol. III, p. 32 and ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., pl. 28.
- (35). See e.g. GUEST, Shiraz Painting..., pl. 48 B.



(36). For clear examples see E. GANS-RUEDIN, *The Splendor of Persian Carpets*, New York, 1978, pls. pp.114-5 and M.S. DIMAND & J. MAILEY, *Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1973, pls. 72 and 93.



## CHAPTER IV      THE PRODUCTION CENTRE OF THE MINIATURES

### IV.1    THE PROVINCIAL STYLE OF SHIRAZ IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Shiraz was a centre of book-painting production at least from the fourteenth century, although the outcome of its ateliers has almost always been labelled as provincial. We do not have very much information about painting activity in this city during the sixteenth century (1), and the attribution of a consistent group of manuscripts to Shirazi ateliers of this period was suggested by Quest (2) only in 1949. Since then, the style of the so-called "Shiraz-school" has been analyzed by scholars such as Stchoukine (3), Robinson (4), Titley (5) and others, and they all seem to agree on a general evaluation: a fair overall quality with sometimes great accuracy in depicting the more minute details, but on the whole an impression of flatness and repetition, derived from the strictly two-dimensional setting and from the repetition of standard figures, postures and



compositions. The commercial scale of production, and hence the need for speedy but competent execution, probably encouraged extensive use of pounced models. The format is easily recognizable, with a main area defined by the length of the two text strips, and an outer area following a certain range of geometrical patterns, but allowing only very small details such as banners, sword-tips, etc., to extend beyond the frame. Guest observes (6) that from 1565 onwards greater liberties were taken with the canon, the illustration being plotted with a slightly different proportion and the composition being often divided in thirds. In the same period the chahār makes its appearance, previously absent from Shīrāzī paintings. We might add as well that human figures tend to become more elongated in comparison with the first half of the century.

The relationship with the royal ateliers of Tabriz and, later, Qazvin is problematic. Although a feeble echo of the contemporary or earlier production of the best Persian miniature painters can be found in the work of some Shīrāzī artists (7), it is not yet clear how this influence arrived, since cases of artists migrating between the different



centres were extremely rare. The only two instances of Shīrāzī artists working in the metropolitan atelier identified by Robinson are in fact the painter of the "Battle between Kai Khusrau and Afrasiyāb" in the *Shāhnāma* of Ismāʿīl II (8), presumably painted in Qazvin in 1576-77, and a slightly later copy of the same epic, now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle (9).

#### IV.1.1 Other manuscripts possibly painted by the same artists of Palat. Orient. 5

As we have already pointed out in the previous chapter, it is an extremely difficult task to single out the work of a particular artist from the production of the Shiraz school. However, a few characteristic features have allowed us to identify the work of Painter A in contrast to the more conventional style of Painter B. It has been almost impossible to find examples definitely comparable to the latter (10), the exception being a battle scene [Pl. 46b] in a *Divān* of Hāfiz, now in the John Rylands Library of



Manchester (11), which repeats the typical setting with a central hill flanked by two armies and a standardized tree in the middle of the foreground. We could instead suggest that a copy of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī now in the Topkapi Serai collection (12) has been painted by Painter A of the Laurenziana *Shāhnāma*. The two plates reproduced here from Stchoukine [Pls. 47a,b] show first of all the same format of the page, with the upper strip of text detached by the frame and an outer area of about one third of the page. Yet the main similarity among the two manuscripts concerns the rendering of the rocks and the outlines of hills, as they are shown in Pl. 47b. Other analogies worth mentioning are: the lighter outline of the meadow in Pl. 47a, the rendering of birds (13) and the portrayal of human figures, especially evident in the rendering of Iskandar. Another published miniature [Pl. 48a] illustrating a hunting scene (14) shares with the two manuscripts the same features and might actually be identified with the double page miniature at folios 380 v. and 381 r. of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī just mentioned, described by Stchoukine as a "Royal hunt".

A very close treatment of rocks is shown [Pl. 31a] in a



copy of the Shāhnāma of Firdausī belonging to the Leningrad State Public Library (15), but a slightly different rendering of human faces prevents the attribution to Painter A from being absolutely certain.

Finally it seems interesting to single out a group of manuscripts which, although definitely not painted by the artists of the Palat. Orient. 5, have several features in common with their work. These manuscripts bear dates ranging from 1561 to 1585, a span of a quarter of a century which might be perfectly compatible with a consistent activity inside the same atelier.

The identified manuscripts are:

- 1) Khamṣa of Niẓāmī, dated 968/1561, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1956, calligrapher Khayr Allāh ibn Ḥusain Gulabī Shustarī, (STCHOUKINE, Les peintures de 1502 à 1587, no. 127, pp. 111-3, pls. LII-LV) [Pls. 48b and 49a,b]
- 2) Khamṣa of Niẓāmī, dated by Robinson c. 1575 (16), Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ryl. Pers. 856 (ROBINSON



...John Rylands Library, Nos. 636-51, pp.203-20) [Pls.37b;  
38a; 43b; 50a,b; 51a,b]

3) Kulliyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, dated by Ashrafi 1570s-  
80s, Leningrad, Public Library, PNS 67, calligrapher  
Shāh Muḥammad al-Kātib, (ASHRAFI, Persian-Tajik Poetry...,  
pp. 83-7, pls. 65-68) [Pls. 38b; 39a; 44a; 52a]

4) Majālis al-Ushshāg of Ḥusain Bāiqarā, dated 988/1580,  
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1150  
(STCHOUKINE, Les peintures...de 1502 à 1587, no. 145,  
pp.118-9, pl. LXXXI) [Pl. 52b]

5) Majālis al-Ushshāg of Kāziringahī, dated c. 1575, Cairo,  
ex-Collection of S.E. Sherif Pasha, present whereabouts  
unknown, (G. WIET, Miniatures persanes, turques et  
indiennes - collection de Son Excellence Cherif Sabry  
Pasha, Cairo, 1943, Nos. 37-44, pp. 81-4, pls. XXI,  
XXII, XXIII, XXI) [Pls. 53a,b; 54a]

6) Khamsa of Niẓāmī, dated by Schoukine c.1560, Istanbul,



Topkapi Serai Library, manuscript A.3559/K.432,  
(STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures de la Khamseh...*, no. LI,  
pp.130-3, pl. LXXIa) [Pl.54b].

The most relevant common feature among these manuscripts is the treatment of rocks (17): they all show in fact the same "fist-like" rocky formation and a very irregular profile of hills and mountains. It is clear, in any case, that in the first five manuscripts we have just mentioned, the outline of rocks is definitely more rounded, and other - although slight - differences remain in the overall treatment of the human figures. For this reason we might perhaps suggest that inside the same Shiraz school, several ateliers were at work, each one using its own peculiar tradition for less significant details like rocks (18), building decoration, etc., and following at the same time the main common conventions as far as the general treatment was concerned. Hence we might conclude that Painter A, rather than being actually responsible for part of the miniatures of the six manuscripts, was simply working together with, or under the direction of, other artists who were using the same peculiar



conventions. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the situated was

#### IV.2 THE CONTEMPORARY QAZVIN STYLE

As we have previously seen in Vecchietti's report to Philip II of Spain, the position of Tabriz, was uncomfortably close to the Turkish frontier for a capital. For this reason in 1548 Shāh Ṭahmāsp removed his court to the more central Qazvin, with the aim of greater safety, without lessening of control of the frontiers (19). At the same time, however, he began to loose interest in painting and most of the leading artists of the royal atelier of Tabriz went to Mashhad to work under the patronage of Prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, a nephew of the Shāh.

The royal atelier was given new life by Ṭahmāsp's successor, Ismā'īl II, whose reign lasted less than two years. It is probably for him that another sumptuous copy of the Shāhnāma was prepared in the atelier of Qazvin. This manuscript came into the hands of the famous art dealer Demotte, and after having been exhibited complete in 1912 in



Paris at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the miniatures were sold one by one, and are now scattered among galleries and private collections all over the world. Many of the 49 miniatures so far identified (20) bear attributions to the leading court artists of the time, namely Siyāvush, Sadīqī, and Zain al-‘Ābidīn among others. The latter, a grand-son of the celebrated painter Sultān Muḥammad, had already worked together with Sadīqī on a *Garshāspnāma* of Asadī recently acquired by the British Museum, and dated 1573 "at Qazvin" (21). The new style of the royal atelier, whose main features can be summarized in a tendency towards a more sinuous line and a sensual aestheticism, appeared in its full extent in individual folios containing portraits of beautiful girls and young men, rendered in a quite idealized manner, while other portraits of older men and women are instead "naturalistic to the point of caricature" (22). Most of these detached paintings of the 1570s have been associated with the name of Muḥammadī, although others were also executed by Sadīqī and Siyāvush. We should stress, anyway, that the composition of illustrations to manuscripts departs from the aestheticism of the individual folios, and is more



dynamically planned, provided with a "latent energy" (23) which seems to be the opposite of the "beautiful postures" chosen by the artists of Tabriz, although the more "reticent" attitude of the Tabriz style remained in the works of Muḥammadi.

#### IV.2.1 Comparative analysis between Painter A's work and miniatures attributed to or signed by Zain al-Ābidīn, Sadīqī, etc.

It is possible to contrast some miniatures of Painter A with others executed by artists of the Qazvin school dealing with similar events. This helps us both to understand the main differences between them, and to underline possible influences and sources of inspiration.

We can start by contrasting the miniature portraying Sam against the divs [Pl. 5] to "Garshāsp fighting the dog heads" [Pl. 45a], painted by Sadīqī (24) for the Garshāspnāma already mentioned, and to "Tahmuras defeating the Demons" [Pl. 45b], a miniature executed for the Shāhnāma of Ismā'īl



II and attributed to Murād (25).

Both paintings of the Qazvin school are obviously more freely planned, and populated with smaller, more accurately depicted figures, which have quite differentiated faces. Murād's painting shows in the upper right a group of rocks with a fawn and some birds flying around two beautiful interlaced trees. Such an idyllic detail is clearly unconnected with the main action, and even in open contrast to it. It reflects a tendency which seems to be completely absent from the work of Painter A, and from the contemporary Shiraz style as a whole. However, the general treatment of Murād's demons is on the whole comparable to the one of demons fought by Sām, and moreover, the demon falling outside the frame in Siyāvush's miniature is mirrored by the black div depicted by Painter A.

Another miniature of the Qazvin school which can be contrasted with others executed by Painter A is that illustrating the "Battle between Narīman and the Khāqān" [Pl. 55a], executed by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn for the *Garshāspnāma* of 1573 (26). It is probably unnecessary to stress the more confident use of "battle postures", the general sense of



action and drama together with the greater sense of depth conveyed by this miniature, yet we should notice that the format of the page is virtually identical to that favored by Painter A, with the upper strip of text detached from the frame on one side. The treatment of the central plane tree, as well, recalls that of our painter, with almost no overlapping leaves. Although the faces painted by Zain al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Ābidīn seem more differentiated, the two armies in the background - and above all drummers, trumpeters and standard-bearers - look on the whole quite similar to those of ff. 109 v. and 155 v. of the Laurenziana *Shāhnāma*, [Pls. 7 and 9] and the same battle equipment for warriors and horses is as well mirrored all over the manuscript. Finally, the very high horizon and the light clouds are again duplicated in the work of Painter A, whose rocks at the same time look somehow like a crude copy of those of Zain al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Ābidīn. The awkwardly rendered frontal faces, present also in Zain al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Ābidīn's work, seem to be particularly favored in Shiraz paintings of the second half of the XVth century.



#### IV.3 SUMMARY

The two painters of our manuscript thus seem to belong to one of the ateliers which flourished in Shiraz at the end of the XVth century. Their work is in fact consistent with the general conventions common to manuscripts which have been unanimously attributed to the Shiraz school, and some of the miniatures look quite similar to a group of manuscripts which use the very same motifs in wall tiling, clothing, and in the treatment of rocks. The better painter, who definitely contributed illustrations to a copy of the Khamsa of Nizāmī now kept in the Topkapi Serai Library in Istanbul, was aware of the slightly earlier work of the school of Qazvin, and although his rendering is at times rather crude in comparison, his miniatures are cleverly organized and have a certain degree of originality. The other painter is much more conventional, and the overall impression given by his work is that of a lesser individuality.



#### NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- (1). See B.W. ROBINSON, "Painter-illuminators of sixteenth-century Shiraz", *Iran* XVII (1979), pp. 105-8.
- (2). GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*, pp. 23-32.
- (3). STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, passim.
- (4). See especially ROBINSON's contribution to ADLE, *Art et société...*, pp. 58-60, for the most up-to date analysis of the subject.
- (5). N. TITLEY, *Persian Miniature Painting...*, pp. 92-102.
- (6). Guest, *Shiraz Painting...*, p. 29.
- (7). See STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, pl. XLIV.
- (8). Robinson mentions an anonymous Shirazi; see B.W. ROBINSON, "Isma'il II's copy of the Shahnama", *Iran* XIV (1976), p. 7.
- (9). Ms. Holmes 150; see ROBINSON, *Persian Miniature Painting...*, pp. 62-63.
- (10). This is due also to the fact that of the published manuscripts, only the best miniatures have been reproduced, the more conventional scenes being only listed in catalogues; it is probably among these latter scenes that we might find traces of Painter B's activity.
- (11). Ryl Pers 945, f. 167a (ROBINSON, *...John Rylands Library*, N. 655, p. 221); the manuscript has been dated approximately to 1580. It might be interesting to point out that another miniature of the same manuscript (fig. 652, p. 222) bears a close resemblance to work of Painter A.



- (12). Ms. B.146/K.423; see STCHOUKINE, Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizâmî au Topkapi Sarayi Muzesi d'Istanbul, Paris, 1977, pp. 135-38. However, to confirm the association between the painter of this copy of the Khamse and Painter A of the Palat. Orient. 5 one should be able to see the other miniatures of the manuscript. In fact, beside all the similarities mentioned below, we should point out the difference in the vegetal pattern of the ground, which is more regular in the miniatures of the Istanbul manuscript.
- (13). To be contrasted with the flight of Kai Kā'ūs, Pl.10.
- (14). See E. KÜHNEL, Miniaturmalerei im Islamischen Orient, Berlin, 1923, p. 61. The author mentions only the provenance of the miniature (Bibliothek des Sultans, Kostantinopel) without the details necessary for the identification of the manuscript.
- (15). Ms. PNS 382; see GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, Iranske miniatyry..., pp. 29-30.
- (16). Stchoukine had previously dated it to c. 1585; see STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, p. 122.
- (17). Except the last manuscript, where the analogies relate rather to the treatment of human figure and to the architectural setting.
- (18). For a different convention for rocks in the contemporary Shiraz school of miniature painting see e.g. GUEST, Shiraz Painting..., pls. 47-8.
- (19). According to Vecchietti, Muḥammad Khudābanda went to Qazvin for this reason in 1586, see TUCCI, "Una relazione...", pp.154-5.
- (20). See ROBINSON, "Isma'il II's copy ..", pp. 1-8.
- (21). See ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., n. 48, p. 59, pls. 22-4.



- (22). ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., p. 57.
- (23). STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, p. 181.
- (24). See ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., p. 59; on the life and work of Sadīqī see A. WELCH, Artists..., pp. 100-149; STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, pp. 44-5; T. GANDJEI, "Notes on the life and work of Sadiqi: A Poet and a Painter of Safavid Times", Der Islam 52 (1975) n.1, pp. 112-18.
- (25). See ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., p. 62; on Murād see ROBINSON, "Isma'il II's copy...", p. 6, and A. WELCH, Artists..., p. 212.
- (26). See ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., p. 59; on Zain al-ʿĀbidīn cfr. STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587, p. 51; ROBINSON, "Isma'il II's copy...", p. 6; A. WELCH, Artists..., pp. 212-13.



## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSION

The study of this relatively little known copy of the Shāhnāma of Firdausī has not been restricted to problems of attribution. In this sense, in fact, the ground had already been prepared by the presence of the date of achievement in the colophon, and by the authoritative suggestion of a Shiraz provenance by B.W. Robinson. Relationship with other ateliers, like the contemporary Bukhara school (1) or a Persian painter working for the Ottoman Court in Istanbul (2) have yielded nothing worth taking into consideration. For this reason, the emphasis of the analysis has been on the historical milieu and the aesthetic identity of the manuscript; thus the history of the manuscript has been stressed, and has been flanked by Vecchietti's description of the economical and political situation in Persia, written a few years after the manuscript's completion. As we have seen, at that time Persian books were one of the main items of trade inside the Islamic world, and our manuscript probably reached Istanbul immediately after its completion.



We are not able to say what happened to the manuscript in the following fifty years, yet we can be sure that around 1635 it was still considered a precious item, worthy to be sent as a present to the Medicean Court of Florence by the Ottoman admiral Muṣṭafā Pasha.

Dealing with the analysis of the manuscript itself, we have tried to stress all the features which might enable us to throw some light on the organization of labour inside the Shirazi ateliers at the end of the sixteenth century. These features, consistent with what has been observed in other contemporary Shīrāzī manuscripts, might be summarized as follows:

- The page devoted to the illustration was left empty for the painter, who could freely decide where to locate the lines of the text.
- In spite of certain attempts to vary the choice of episodes to be illustrated with miniatures, little attention was paid to the correct portrayal of the event, and the most famous deeds performed by the various heroes - such as



fight against demons or dragons - assumed a standardized setting, losing their identifying characteristics.

- In the case of a specific commission, the client might have been allowed to express his wishes, whereas manuscripts intended to be sold outside the town, or for unknown purchasers, contained probably a different mixture of some rather elaborate miniatures together with others simpler and therefore cheaper at the same time.

- Experienced and accomplished artists were flanked by less sophisticated or younger ones, whose work was generally confined to the portrayal of minor episodes (3). The illustration of a manuscript was often the work of two different artists not only for the sake of variety and economy, but also -and probably above all- for the sake of a speedy execution. A direct confirmation of this comes from the fact that series of consecutive miniatures were assigned to different artists, who were thus able to work at the same time on different parts of the manuscript. At the end of the work the manuscript could still be easily



bound. Only in a few cases would the istent style be broken with the introduction of a painting clearly belonging to the other artist, and this usually would happen in the case of a particularly elaborate scene. In our manuscript, for instance, Painter A had been responsible for the first half of the miniatures [Pls. 1-13], plus ff. 299 v., 483 v. and 665 v. [Pls. 17, 24, 26]. As we have seen, Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhaḥḥāk [Pl. 26], although now f. 665 v., was originally in the first part of the manuscript. On the other hand it is not surprising that the complex episode of the trial of strength between Rustam and Isfandiyār [Pl. 24] was not assigned to the comparatively weaker Painter B. The only problematic miniature left is thus the one in f. 299 v., portraying the relatively minor episode of Rustam carrying the head of a Turanian warrior [Pl. 17]. Whoever the Turanian champion is, in fact, this does not seem so a crucial an event to justify the change of artist. A tentative suggestion might be that Painter A was allotted this illustration for the pure sake of variety, since some thirty pages previously Painter B had already portrayed a



similar theme, namely Bīhzan bringing to his father Gīv the head of Balāshān, killed in battle [Pl. 15]. It is probably for the same reason that the series of miniatures executed by Painter B starts with the illustration of Rustam killing Pīlsam [Pl. 14], i.e. with an episode quite close to that of Rustam killing Qulūn [Pl. 9], which had been assigned to Painter A. If our hypothesis is correct, we might add other two considerations:

- The painter was free to decide the way of portraying a given episode, but not to decide which episodes were to be illustrated. Somebody else, probably the director of the atelier, had this function.
- According to the aesthetical belief of the time, the impression of variety was conveyed not only by the portrayal of different episodes, but also by that of similar ones dealt with by different hands.



#### NOTES TO CHAPTER V

- (1). For an analysis of this school of painting see ROBINSON, "A Survey...", pp. 60-62.
- (2). Three manuscripts looked at above, possibly painted by the same artist, all had links with Istanbul. The Palat. Orient. 5, now in Florence, was sent to the Medicean Court by an Ottoman officer; the Khamṣa B. 146 / K 423 described by Stchoukine is in the Topkapi Serai collection, and the other manuscript containing the hunting scene which was published by Kühnel in 1923 without a specific number but with the location "Bibliothek des Sultans, Kostantinopel". To explain this link with Istanbul, and to account for the habit of portraying among the battle equipment the Mamluk-Ottoman kiliċ instead of the typical Safavid šamshir, I tentatively formulated the hypothesis of a Persian painter working at the Ottoman Court. However, at a further analysis, the miniature published by Kühnel turned out to belong to the same copy of the Khamṣa described by Stchoukine, weakening the conjecture.
- (3). In this respect it seems very strange that the major episode of Rustam killing Isfandiyār was assigned to Painter B.



APPENDIXLIST OF THE MINIATURES WITH THEIR ATTRIBUTION

- |               |             |  |
|---------------|-------------|--|
| 1) f. 5 r.    | Painter A   | Kanarang storms the fortress of Rūm and captures the Emperor           |
| 2) f. 14 v.   | Painter A   | The Court of Gayūmars  |
| 3) f. 47 r.   | Painter A   | Farīdūn striking Dhaḥḥāk   |
| 4) f. 59 v.   | Painter A   | Minūchihr against Sālm and Tūr   |
| 5) f. 76 v.   | Painter A   | Sām fights against the divs  |
| 6) f. 90 v.   | Painter A   | Sām fights against Parīdukht   |
| 7) f. 109 r.  | Painter A   | Sām confronting the Faghfur of China                                   |
| 8) f. 136 r.  | Painter A   | Zāl asks king Minūchihr for permission to marry Rūdāba                 |
| 9) f. 155 v.  | Painter A   | Rustam killing Qulūn   |
| 10) f. 175 r. | Painter A   | The flight of Kai Kā'ūs  |
| 11) f. 192 v. | Painter A   | Rustam killing his son Suhrāb  |
| 12) f. 213 r. | Painter A   | Kai Kā'ūs sends his son Siyāvush to fight against Afrāsiyāb            |
| 13) f. 226 r. | Painter A ? | The wedding of Siyāvush and Farangīs                                   |
| 14) f. 243 v. | Painter B   | Rustam kills Pīlsam  |
| 15) f. 268 v. | Painter B   | Bīzhan brings to his father Gīv the head of Balāshān, killed in battle |



- |               |             |  |
|---------------|-------------|--|
| 16) f. 282 v. | Painter B   | Iran against Turan   |
| 17) f. 299 v. | Painter A   | Rustam carries the head of a Turanian warrior                |
| 18) f. 326 v. | Painter B   | Rustam wrestling with Pūlādvand                              |
| 19) f. 339 v. | Painter B ? | Rustam brings Bīzhan back to Iran                            |
| 20) f. 378 v. | Painter B   | A messenger of Afrāsiyāb asks the Iranians in vain for peace |
| 21) f. 420 v. | Painter B   | Gushtāsp killing a dragon on mount Saqīlā                    |
| 22) f. 437 v. | Painter B   | Isfandiyār against Gurgsār                                   |
| 23) f. 449 v. | Painter B   | Isfandiyār killing the Turanian king Arjāsp                  |
| 24) f. 483 v. | Painter A   | The trial of strength between Isfandiyār and Rustam          |
| 25) f. 498 v. | Painter B   | Rustam killing Isfandiyār                                    |
| 26) f. 665 v. | Painter A   | Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhaḥḥāk                    |



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### a) BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

- R. ALMAGIA', "Giovan Battista e Girolamo viaggiatori in Oriente", Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti di scienze morali serie VIII, vol. XI (1956), pp. 313-45.
- " " "Giovan Battista Britti cosentino viaggiatore in Oriente", Archivio Storico per la Calabria e la Lucania, 26 (1957), pp. 75-103.
- P. AMAT di S. FILIPPO, Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiani, Roma, 1874.
- S.E. ASSEMANI, Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae, Codicum mss. orientalium catalogus, Firenze, 1742.
- A.M. BANDINI, Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Laurenziana, Firenze, 1772.
- " " Novelle letterarie, Firenze, 1772.
- " " La stamperia mediceo-orientale (Frammento di una memoria in parte inedita pubblicato da G. Palagi), Firenze, 1878.
- " " Lettera sui collettori dei codici orientali della Biblioteca Laurenziana, Firenze, 1772.
- G. BERCHET, La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia, Torino, 1885 (see esp. doc. LXXXIV, pp. 289-92).



A. BERTOLOTTI,

"La tipografia orientale e gli orientalisti a Roma nei secoli XVI e XVII", Rivista Europea NS IX (1878), pp. 217-68.

V. BURI,

"L'unione della Chiesa Copta con Roma sotto Clemente VIII", Orientalia Christiana XXIII n. 72 (1931), pp. 108-10 and 133-4.

"CATALOGO dei codici esposti nella esposizione orientale del Congresso degli Orientalisti di Firenze", Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali (1882), pp. 212-50.

CATALOGO della Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura, Palazzo Venezia-Roma, Firenze, 1953 (pp. 463-5 and pl. CIV on the Palat. Orient. 5).

G. DE HAMMER,

Lettere (nove) sui mss. orientali e particolarmente arabi che si trovano nelle diverse Biblioteche d'Italia, Firenze, 1829, pp. 24-27.

B. D'HERBELOT,

Bibliothèque Orientale, Paris, 1697 (other ed. La Haye, 1779), see esp. pp. 206 and 465.

G.A. FABRICIO,

Prodromus Historiae Literariae P. Lambrecius, Lipsiae et Frankfurt, 1710, part II, pp. 136-68

G. GABRIELI,

Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle Biblioteche e negli Archivi d'Italia, Firenze, 1930.

G. & F. GABRIELI,

"I manoscritti Persiani del Poema di Firdusi in Italia", Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia IX (1935) n. 3-4, pp. 261-73.



- F. LABBE', Bibliotheca Nova Mss. Librorum,  
Parisiis, 1653.
- F. LASINIO, "I codici orientali nelle biblioteche  
italiane", Il Bibliofilo I (1880),  
pp. 145-6.
- G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Ricerche sulla formazione del più  
antico fondo dei manoscritti  
orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana,  
Roma, 1939; see esp. pp. 202 and  
267.
- P. MARMOTTEN, "La typographie orientale des Medicis  
et Napoleon", Revue des Etudes  
Historiques, 1923, pp. 1-25.
- C. MAZZATINTI, Inventari dei manoscritti delle  
Biblioteche d'Italia, Firenze, 1890-  
1929.
- J. MORELLI, I codici manoscritti volgari della  
libreria naniiana, Venezia, 1776, pp.  
105-6 and 159-91.
- C.A. NALLINO, Celebrazioni e Commemorazioni, R.  
Accademia d'Italia N. 15 (with 3  
reproductions of miniatures taken by  
the Palat. Orient. 5)
- J. NICIUS, Pinacotheca Imaginum Illustrum  
doctrinis vel ingenii laude victorum,  
qui auctore superstite diem suum,  
obierunt, Coloniae, 1645, pp. 196-98.
- J.D. PEARSON, Oriental Manuscripts in Europe and  
North-America. A survey, Switzerland,  
1971, pp. 248-66 and 340-3.
- L. PERINI, "Ricostruzione della Biblioteca dei  
Granduchi di Toscana", Studi di



Storia Medievale e Moderna in Onore di Ernesto Sestan, Firenze, 1980, pp. 571-667.

A.M. PIEMONTESE,

"I fondi dei manoscritti arabi, persiani e turchi in Italia", Gli Arabi in Italia, Eds. G. Gabrieli and U. Scerrato, Milano, 1979, pp. 661-88.

" "

"Nuova luce su Firdusi: uno 'Shahnama' datato 614 H / 1217 A.D. a Firenze", Annali Università Orientale di Napoli 40 (1980) n.1, pp.1-38 (part I) and n. 2, pp. 189-242 (part II).

I. PIZZI,

"Di un codice persiano della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana", Atti del IV Congresso degli Orientalisti, 1881, vol.II, pp. 81-5.

" "

"Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana; codici persiani", Cataloghi dei codici orientali (arabi, persiani, turchi, etiopici, copti, siriaci, ebraici, misti) di alcune biblioteche d'Italia, stampati a spese del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (e compilati da vari orientalisti italiani) sotto la direzione di F. Lasinio, Firenze, 1878-97, Fasc. 3, pp. 301-20.

A. POSSEVINO,

Biblioteca Selecta, Venezia, 1603.

C. RENAN,

"Rapport sur les bibliothèques d'Italie" Archives des missions scientifiques I (1850), pp. 365-409.

E. RENAUDOT,

Historia patriarcharum Alexandrinorum



Paris, 1713.

Fr. RICHARD,

"Le manuscrits Persans rapportés par les Freres Vecchietti et conservés aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale", Studia Iranica (1980), pp. 291-300.

G.E. SALTINI,

"Della stamperia orientale medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi", Archivio Storico Italiano IV (1860), pp. 257-308.

F. SASSETTI,

Lettere edite e inedite..., Firenze, 1855.

T. SPIZELIO,

Amenitates Litterariae, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1730, vol.III, p.172 ff (catalogue of oriental codices in the Laurenziana Library).

A. TINTO,

"Per una storia della tipografia orientale a Roma nell'età della Controriforma", Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia XLI (1973), pp. 280-303.

A. TRAINI,

"I fondi manoscritti arabi in Italia", Gli studi sul Vicino Oriente in Italia dal 1921 al 1970. Il L'oriente islamico, Roma, 1971, pp. 221-76.

U. TUCCI,

"Una relazione di G.B. Vecchietti sulla Persia e sul regno di Hormuz. 1587", Oriente Moderno IV (1955), pp. 149-60.

G. VECCHIETTI,

manuscript containing the biography of G.B. Vecchietti, State Archive of Florence, Miscellanea Medicea, filza n.3.



## b) GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations used: Survey = A.U. POPE (Ed.), Survey of Persian Art, London and New York, 1938.

- M. ADEY, "Miniatures ascribed to Sultan Muhammed", Burlington Magazine XXV (1914), pp. 190-95.
- P. ACKERMAN, "Some Problems of Early Iconology", Survey, pp. 831-95.
- C. ADHAL, A Khamsa of Nezami of 1439: origin of the miniatures - a presentation and analysis, Stockholm, 1981.
- J. ADLE, "Recherche sur le module et le tracé correcteur dans la miniature orientale" Le monde iranien et l'Islam 3 (1975), pp. 81-105.
- A. ASA OGLU, "Preliminary notes on some Persian illuminated mss. in the Topkapu Sarayi Muzesi" (Part I), Ars Islamica 1 (1934), pp. 183-99.
- " Safawid Rugs and Textiles, New York, 1941.
- T.W. ARNOLD, Painting in Islam, Oxford, 1928.
- M.M. ASHRAFI, Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries miniatures from USSR collections, Dushambe, Tajik SSR, 1974.
- J. BAMBOROUGH, Treasures of Islam, London, 1976.
- D. BARRET, Persian Painting of the Fourteenth



Century, London, 1952.

H.T. BEHZAD,

"The preparation of the miniaturist's materials", Survey, vol VIII, pp. 1921-27.

L. BINYON,

"Qualities of Beauty in Persian Painting", Survey, vol. III, pp. 1911-17.

L. BINYON, B. GRAY,  
& J.V.S. WILKINSON,

Persian Miniature Painting, Including a Critical and Descriptive Catalogue of the Miniatures Exhibited at Burlington House, January-March 1931, London, 1933.

E. BINNEY 3rd,

The Arts of the Book. Islamic art. The Nazli M. Heeramanek Collection, Los Angeles, 1973.

E. BLOCHET,

Peintures des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1911.

" "

Enluminures des Manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1926.

" "

Collection Jean Pozzi: miniatures persanes et indo-persanes, Macon, 1930.

B. BREND,

"Rocks in Persian miniature painting", Colloquies on art & archaeology in Asia 9 (1979), ed. W. Watson, pp. 111-37.

A. BRIGGS,

"Timurid carpets", Ars Islamica VII (1940), pp. 20-54.

E.G. BROWNE,

A Literary History of Persia, London, 1908.

CATALOGUE of the International Exhibition of Persian Art, London, 1931.

The Chester Beatty Library: a Catalogue



- of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures, curated by A.J. Arberry, E. Blochet, M. Minovi, J.V.S. Wilkinson, B.W. Robinson, 3 vols., Dublin, 1959-62.
- M. DE ANGELIS & T.W. LENTZ, Architecture in Islamic Painting: permanent and impermanent worlds, Cambridge, Mass., 1982.
- M.S. DIMAND, Guide to the Exhibition of Islamic Miniature Painting, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1933.
- " " & J. MAILEY, Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1973.
- A. ETHER, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, 2 vols., Oxford, 1903-7.
- R. ETTINGHAUSEN, Highlights of Persian Art (edited by R. Ettinghausen and E. Yarshater), New York, 1981.
- " " Persian Miniatures in the Bernard Berenson Collection, Milan, 1961.
- " " "Bahram Gur's Hunting Feats or the Problem of Identification", Iran XVII (1979), pp. 25-31.
- M.V. FONTANA, "Un manoscritto safavide dello Shah Nama conservato alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli", Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli 40 (N.S. 30, 1980) pp. 39-48.
- O. GALERKINA, "Some characteristics of Persian miniature painting in the latter part of the 16th century", Oriental Art N.S. 21 (1975), pp. 231-41.
- T. SANDJEI, "Notes on the Life and Work of Sadiqi: a



Poet and Painter of Safavid Times", Der Islam 52 (1975) n. 1, pp. 112-18.

E. GANS-RUEDIN, The Splendor of Persian Carpets, New York, 1978.

L.T. GIUZAL'IAN & M.M. DIAKONOV, Iranskie miniatury v rukopisiakh shakh-name leningradskikh sobraniy (Persian Miniatures from Shah-name Manuscripts in Leningrad collections), Moscow-Leningrad, 1935.

H. GOETZ, "History of Persian costume", Survey, vol.III, pp. 2241-46.

B. GRAY, Persian Painting from miniatures of the XIII-XVI centuries, London, 1948.

" " Persian Painting, Lousanne, 1961.

" " Persian Painting, London, 1971.

" " The Arts of the Book in Central Asia, 14th-16th Centuries, London, 1979.

R. GROSSET, "La Perse safavide", Civilizations de l'Orient, Paris, 1929, vol. I, pp. 312-58.

E.J. GRUBE, Muslim Miniature Painting from the XIII to XIX Century from Collections in the United States and Canada, Venezia, 1962.

" " "The miniatures of Shiraz", Bull. of the Metropolitan Museum of Art 21 (1963), pp. 285-95.

" " The World of Islam, London, 1966.

" " The classical style in Islamic painting: the early school of Herat and its impact on Islamic painting of the later 15th.



the 16th and the 17th centuries. Some examples in American collections, Venezia, 1968.

E.J. GRUBE,

Miniature islamiche nella collezione del Topkapi Sarai di Istanbul, Padova, 1975.

" "

Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus, New York, 1972.

" "

Persian painting in the fourteenth century: a research report, Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli, 1978.

G.D. GUEST,

Shiraz Painting in the 16th Century, Washington, 1949.

HAMID SULEIMAN,

Miniatures to Poems of Ali Sher Navai, Tashkent, 1970.

C. HOUART,

Calligraphers et miniaturists de l'Orient musulman, Paris, 1908.

G. INAL,

"Realistic motifs in Safavid miniatures", Akten VII Int. Cong. Iran. Kunst Archaeol., (1976), 1979, pp. 438-48.

M.S. İPŞİROĞLU,

Sarai-Alben, Wiesbaden, 1964.

" "

Siyah Qalem, Graz, 1976.

A.A. IVANOV &  
D.F. AKIMUSHKIN,

Persidskie miniaturi XIV-XVII v., Moskow, 1962.

D. JAMES,

Islamic Masterpieces of the Chester Beatty Library, London, 1981.

V. KUBICKOVA,

Persian Miniatures, London, s.d. (post 1959)

E. KÜHNEL,

Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient,



Berlin, 1923.

" " "History of Miniature Painting and Drawing", Survey, vol. III, pp. 1872-84 and pls. 893-910 (on Safavid painting of the XVth century).

D. LANGE ROSENZWEIG, "Stalking the Persian dragon: Chinese prototypes for the miniature representations", Kunst des Orients 12 (1978-79), pp. 150-76.

A. P. LAURIE, "The pigments and the mediums", Survey, vol. II, pp. 1918-19.

W. LILLYS, Persian Miniatures. The Story of Rustam, Tokio, 1958.

E. & A. Mc NEAR, Indian and Persian Miniatures from the Collection of Everett and Ann Mc. Near. Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the University of Notre-Dame, 1967.

M. E. MAGUIRE, "The Shahnamah and the Persian miniaturist", Studies in art and literature of the Near East in Honour of R. Ettinghausen, 1974, pp. 133-6.

M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ, "Persian painters, illuminators and calligraphists etc., in the 16th century A.D.", Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal NS 28 (1932), pp. 239-49.

G. MARTEAU & H. VEVER, Miniatures persanes exposées au Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, 1913, 2 vols.

F. R. MARTIN, The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey, London, 1912.

" " & T. W. ARNOLD, The Nizami Manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 6810), Vienna, 1926.



- T.J. MARTIN, North America Collections of Islamic Manuscripts, Boston, 1977.
- A.S. MELIKIAN-CHIRVANI, "Les peintres calligraphes de l'Iran musulman", Connaissance des arts 314 (1978), pp. 45-9.
- G.M. MEREDITH-OWENS, Persian Illustrated Manuscripts, London, 1965.
- " " "Important Persian manuscript" (illustrated Garshasp-nameh), Oriental Art NS 12 (1966), p. 203.
- R. MILSTEIN, "Sufi elements in the late fifteenth century painting of Herat", Studies in memory of G. Wiet, Jerusalem, 1977, pp. 357-69.
- V. MINORSKY, Calligraphers and Painters. A treatise by QADI AHMED, son of Mir Munshi (circa A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606) translated from the Persian by V. Minorsky, Washington, 1959, Freer Gallery of Art, Occasional Papers vol. III, N. 2.
- S.H. NASR, "The world of imagination and the concept of space in the Persian miniature", Islamic Quarterly 13 (1969), pp. 129-34.
- M. NORDIO, "Elementi biblici e post-biblici nell'iconografia timuride", Problemi dell'eta timuride (Atti del terzo congresso internazionale di arte e civiltà Islamica, Venezia, 1979), Quaderni Venezia, N. 8, pp. 75-90.
- J. NORGREN, Preliminary Index of Shah-nameh Illustrations, with an introduction by Oleg Grabar. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1969.



- S. OKASHA, The Muslim Painter and the Divine, the persian impact on islamic religious painting, London, 1981.
- R. FINDER-WILSON, Persian Painting of the Fifteenth Century, London, 1958.
- " " (editor), Painting from Islamic Lands, London, 1969.
- C. RIEU, Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1879-95.
- B.W. ROBINSON, "Origin and Date of three Famous Shah-Namah Illustrations", Ars Orientalis I (1954), pp. 105-12.
- " " A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1958.
- " " Persian Drawings from the 14th through the 19th Century, Drawings of the Masters Series, New York, 1965
- " " Persian Miniature Painting from collections in the British Isles, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1967.
- " " "Two Manuscripts of the Shahnama in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, I: Holmes 150 (A/5), II: Holmes 151 (A/6)", Burlington Magazine 110 (1968), pp. 133-40.
- " " "Two Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Marquess of Bute", Oriental Art 15 (1971), pp. 333-36 and 18 (1972), pp. 50-6.



- B.W. ROBINSON, "Isma'il II's copy of the Shahnama", Iran XIV (1976) pp. 1-8.
- " " "Painter-Illuminators of Sixteenth Century Shiraz", Iran XVII (1979), pp. 105-8.
- " " "A Survey of Persian Painting (1350-1896)", Art et Societe dans le Monde Iranien, Ed. C. Adle, Inst. Franc. d'Iranologie de Teheran, Bibliotheque Iranienne N. 28, Paris, 1982, pp. 13-82.
- " " et al., The Keir Collection: Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book, London, 1976.
- M.J. ROGERS, "The genesis of Safavid religious painting", Memorial vol. Vth Internat. Cong. Iran. Art and Archaeology, 1972, vol. 2, pp. 167-88.
- " " Islamic Art and Design, 1500-1700, London, 1983.
- A. SAKISIAN, "Le paysage dans la Miniature Persane", Syria XIX (1938), pp. 279-86.
- F. SARRE & F.R. MARTIN, Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Muhammedanischen Kunst im Munchen 1910, Munich, 1912.
- P.W. SCHULZ, Die Persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei, Leipzig, 1914.
- M.S. SIMPSON, The Earliest 'Shahnama' Manuscript, New York, 1979.
- M.A. SIMSAR, Oriental mss. of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Freer Gallery of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, 1937.
- P.P. SOUCEK, "Comments on Persian painting", Iranian



studies 7 iii-iv (1974), pp. 72-87.

- I. STCHOUKINE, Les Peintures des Manuscrits Safavides de 1502 à 1587, Paris, 1959.
- " " Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah Abbas Ier à la fin des Safavis, Paris, 1964.
- " " Les peintures des manuscrits de la "Khamseh" de Nizâmî au Topkapi Sarayı Muzesi d'Istanbul, Paris, 1977.
- V. STRIKA, "La prospettiva 'spianata' nella miniatura persiana", Mesopotamia 7 (1972), pp. 239-58.
- " " "Momenti laici della civiltà islamica: pittura e miniatura", Annali Istituto Orientale di Napoli 36 (1976), pp. 175-88.
- M. SWIETOCHOWSKY, "Some aspects of the Persian miniature painter in relation to his text", Studies in art and literature of the Near East in honour of Richard Ettinghausen, Ed. P.J. Chelkowski, New York, 1974.
- N. TITLEY, "A manuscript of the Garshaspnameh", British Museum Quarterly 31 (1966), pp. 27-31.
- " " "Persian miniature painting: the repetition of compositions during the fifteenth century", Akten VII int. Cong. Iran. Kunst Archaeol. (1976), 1979, pp. 471-91.
- " " Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts, a catalogue and subject index of paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum,



- London, 1977.
- N. TITLEY, Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India, London, 1983.
- T. VECELLIO, Habiti antichi e moderni di tutto il mondo, Venice, 1598.  
(Titian's brother)
- A. WELCH, Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, 4 vols., Geneve, 1972-78.
- " " "Painting and Patronage under Shah Abbas", Iranian studies VII Nos 3-4 (1974), pp. 458-507.
- " " Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran, New Haven and London, 1976.
- S.C. WELCH, A King's Book of Kings: the Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, New York, 1972.
- " " Royal Persian Manuscripts, London, 1976
- " " Persian Paintings: five royal Safavid manuscripts of the sixteenth century, New York, 1976.
- " " Wonders of the Age, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979.
- " " & M.B. DICKSON, The Houghton Shahnameh, Cambridge (Mass.) -London, 1981.
- A. & S.C. WELCH, Art of the Islamic Book. The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Ithaca, 1982.
- G. WIET, Miniatures persanes, turques et indiennes, collection de son Excellence Cherif Sabry Pasha, Le Caire, 1943.



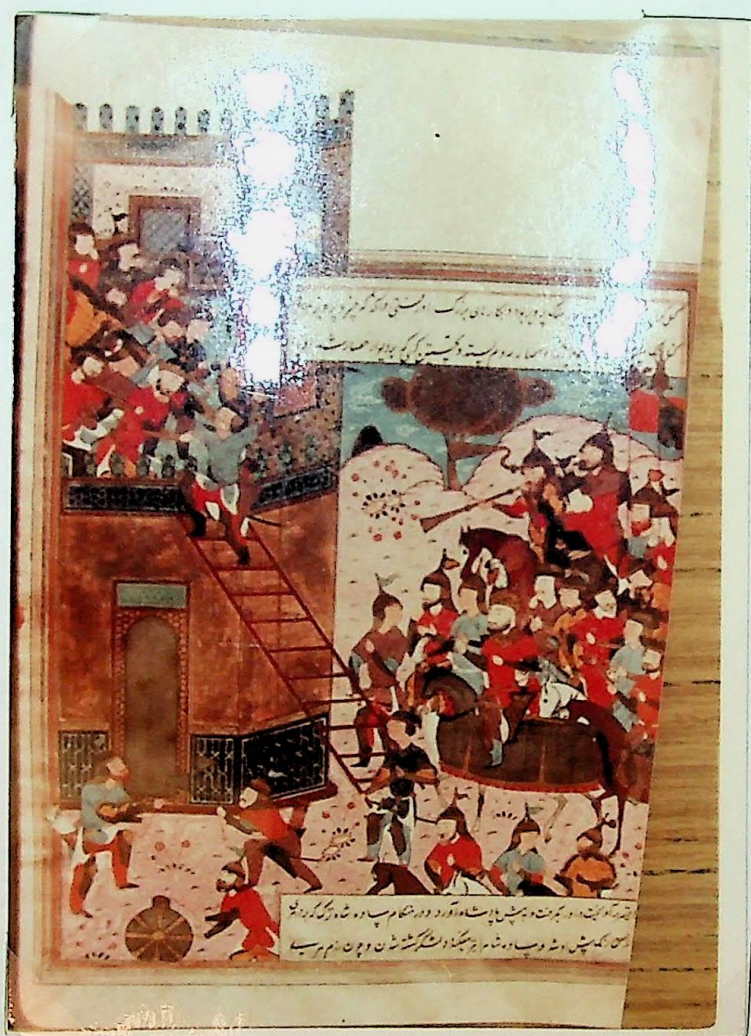
D.N. WILBER,

"The Timurid Court: Life in Gardens and  
Tents", Iran XVII (1979), pp. 127-33.

J.V.S. WILKINSON  
& L. BINYON,

The Shah-Nama of Eirdausi, London, 1931.





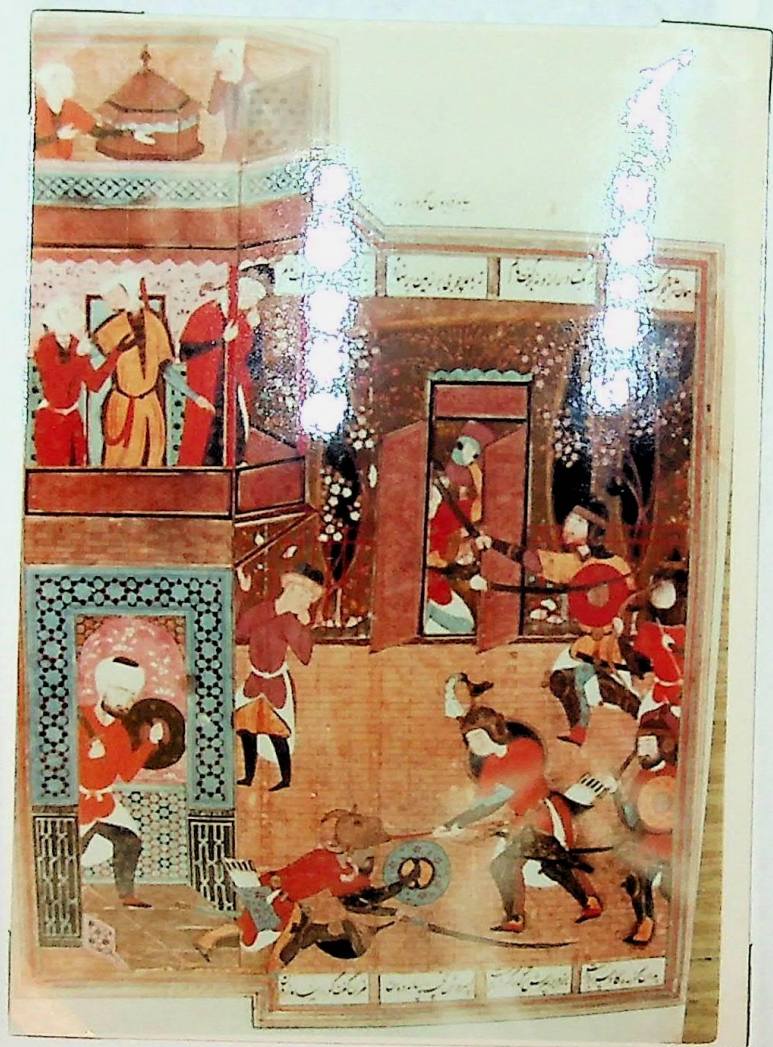
- 1 Kanararang storms the fortress of Rūm and captures the Emperor, Florence, Laurenziana Library, ms. Palat. Orient. 5 (from now on LLF, P.O.5), f.5 r.





2 The Court of Gayūmars, LLF, P.O.5, f.14 v.





3 Farīdūn striking Dhahhāk, LLF, P.O.5, f.47 r.





4 Minūchihr against Salm and Tūr, LLF, P.O.5, f.59 v.





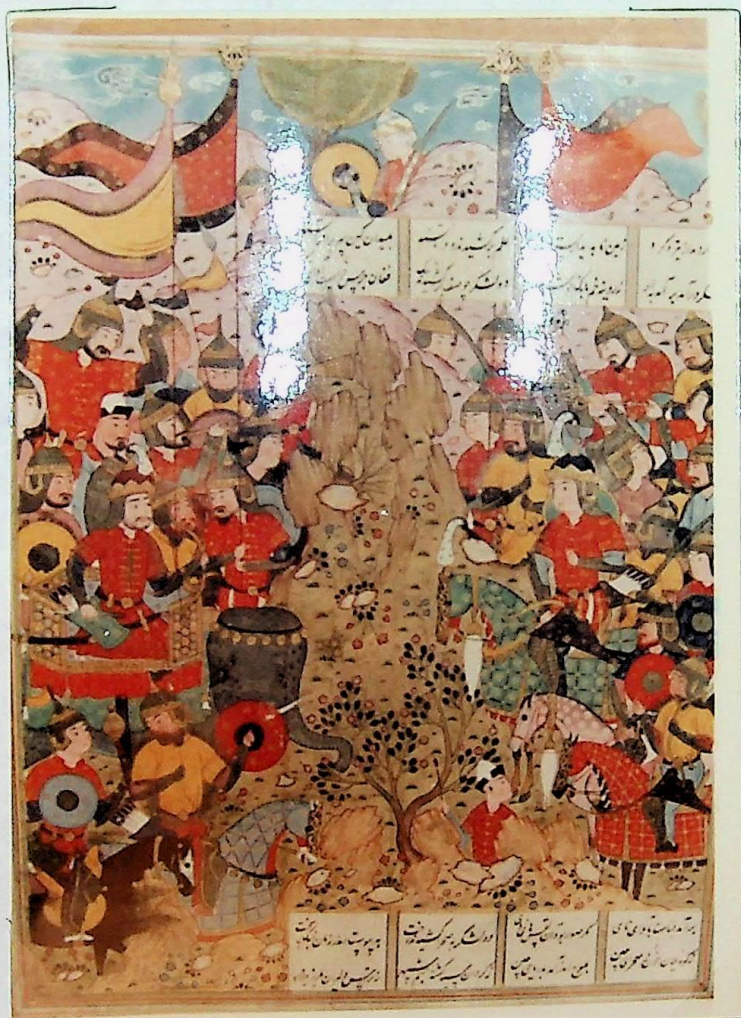
5 Sām fights against the divs, LLF, P.O.5, f.76 v.





6 Sām fights against Parīdukht, LLF, P.O.5, f.90 v.





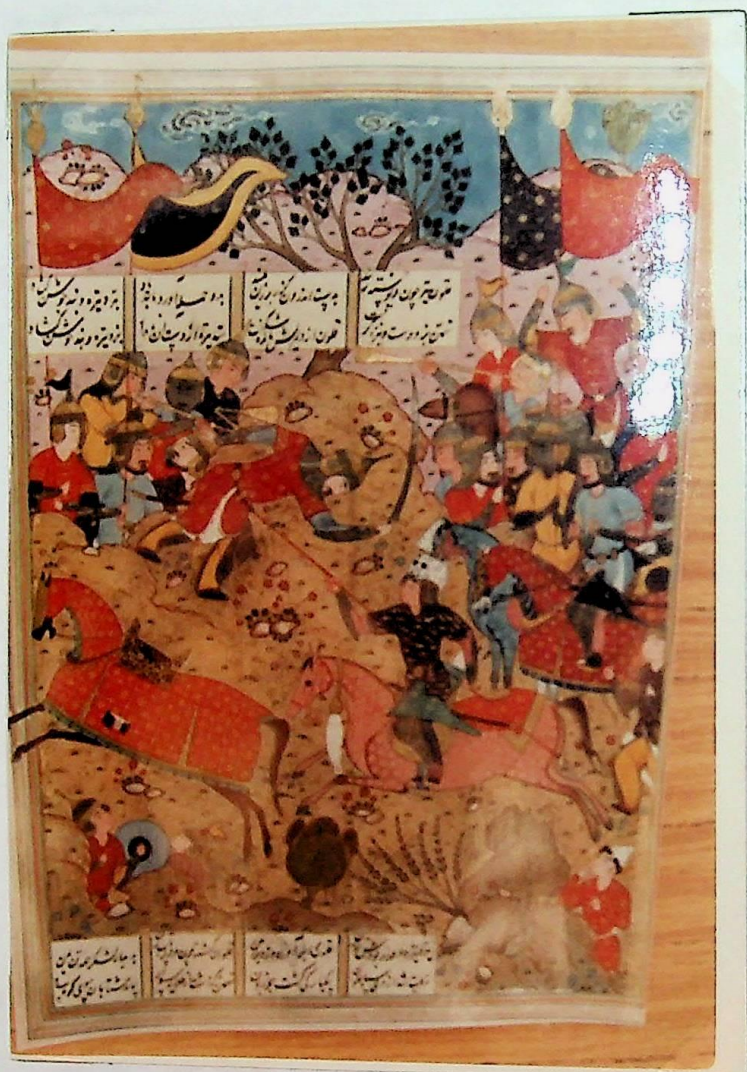
1. 7 Sām confronting the Faghfur of China, LLF, P.O.5,  
f.109 r.





Pl. 8 Zāl asks king Minūchihr for permission to marry his beloved Rūdāba, LLF, P.O.5, f.136 r.





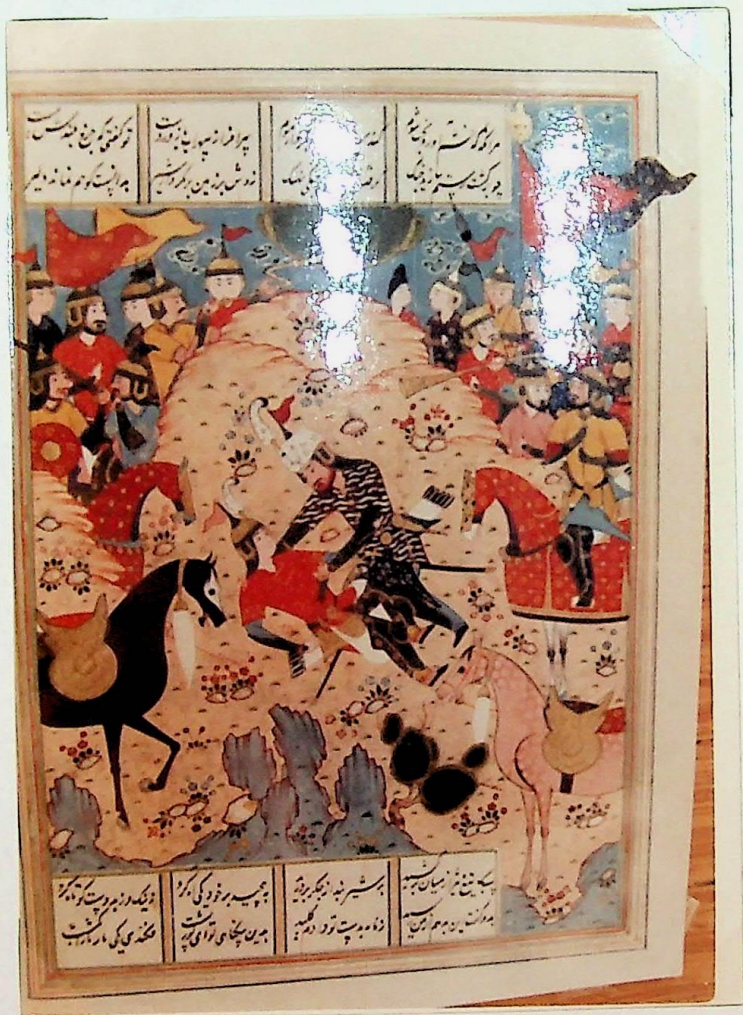
9 Rustam killing Qulūn, LLF, P.O.5, f.155 v.





10 The flight of Kai Kā'ūs, LLF, P.O.5, f. 175 r.





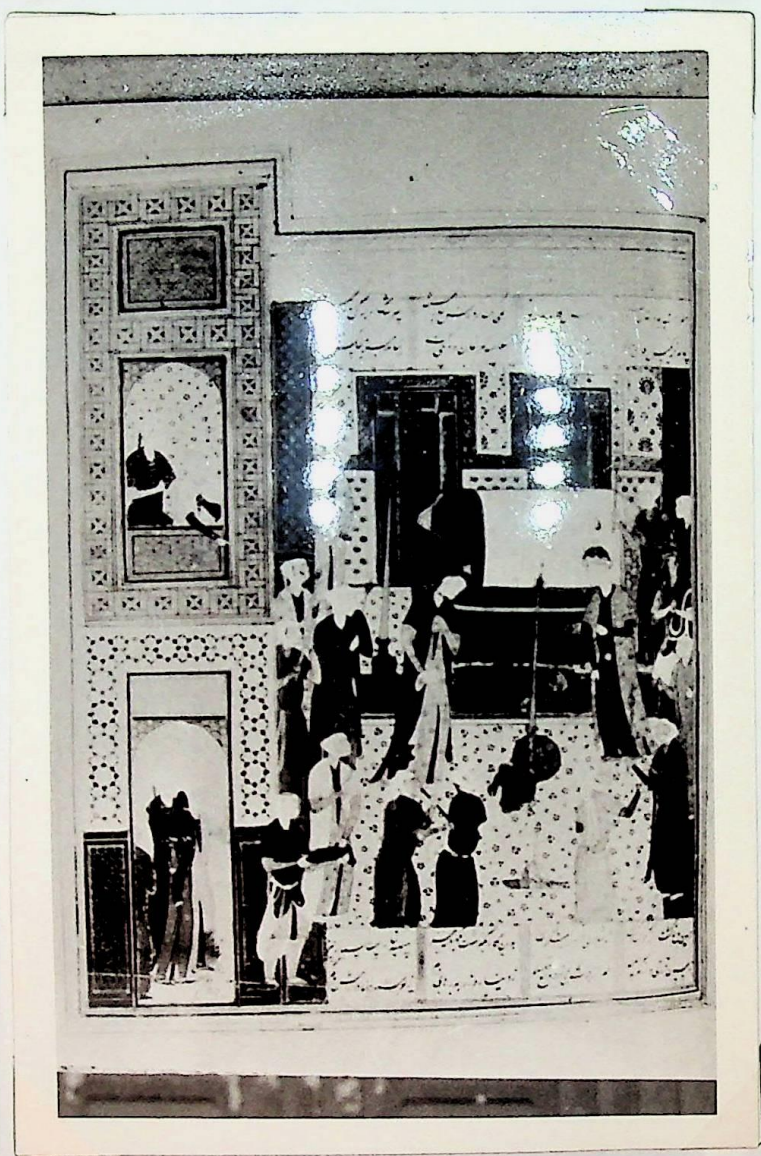
11 Rustam killing his son Suhrāb, LLF, P.O.5, f.192 v.





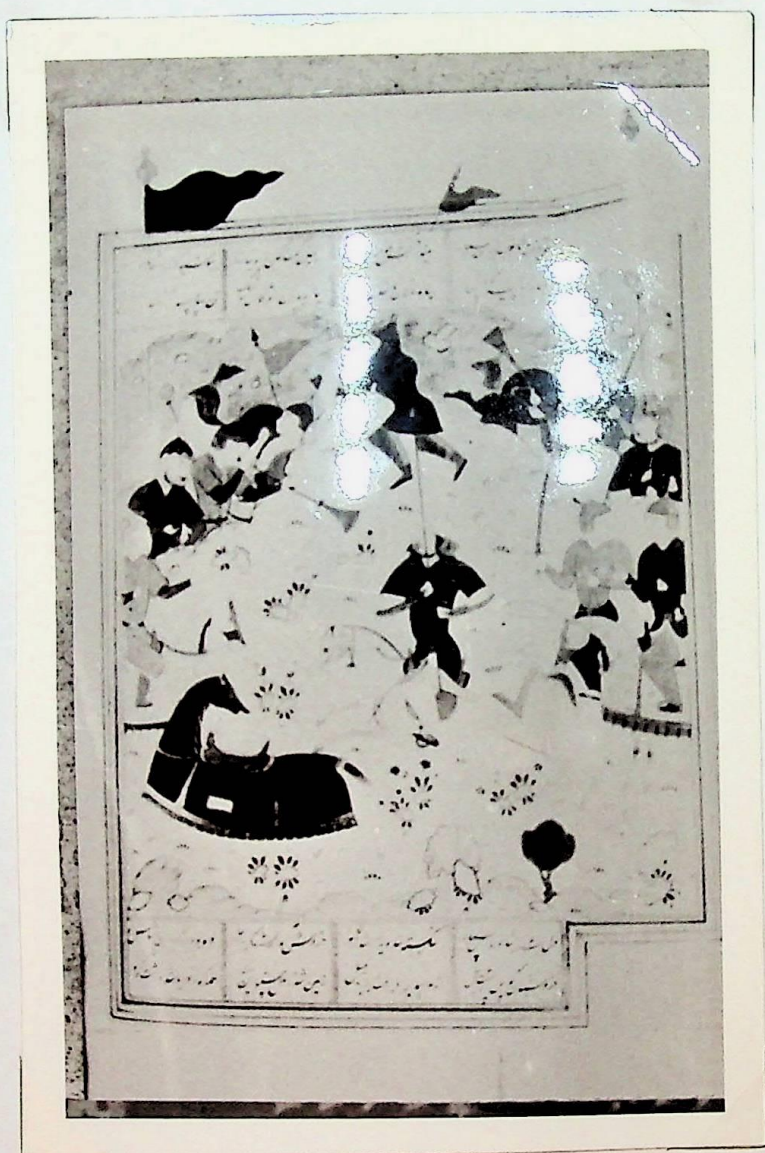
2 Kai Kā'ūs sends his son Siyāvush to fight against Afrāsiyāb, LLF, P.O.5, f.213 r.





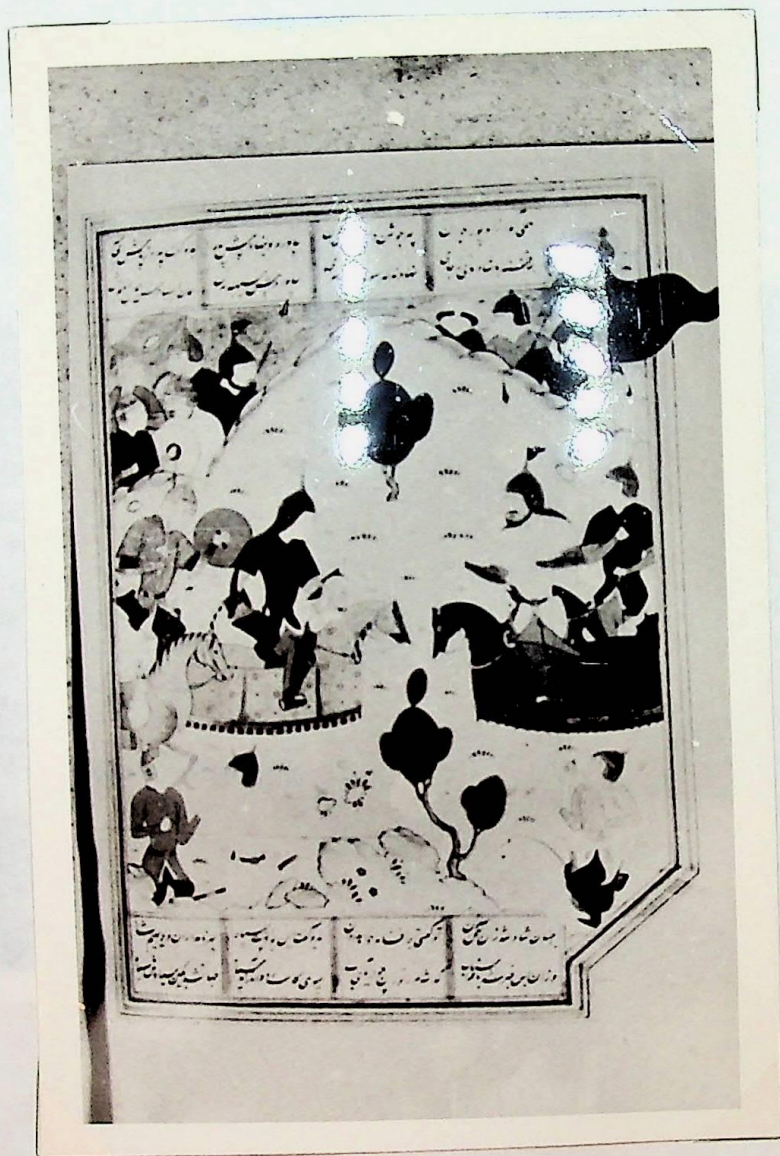
The wedding of Siyāvush and Farangīs, LLF, P.O.5,  
f.226 r.





Rustam kills Filsam, LLF, P.O.5, f.243 v.





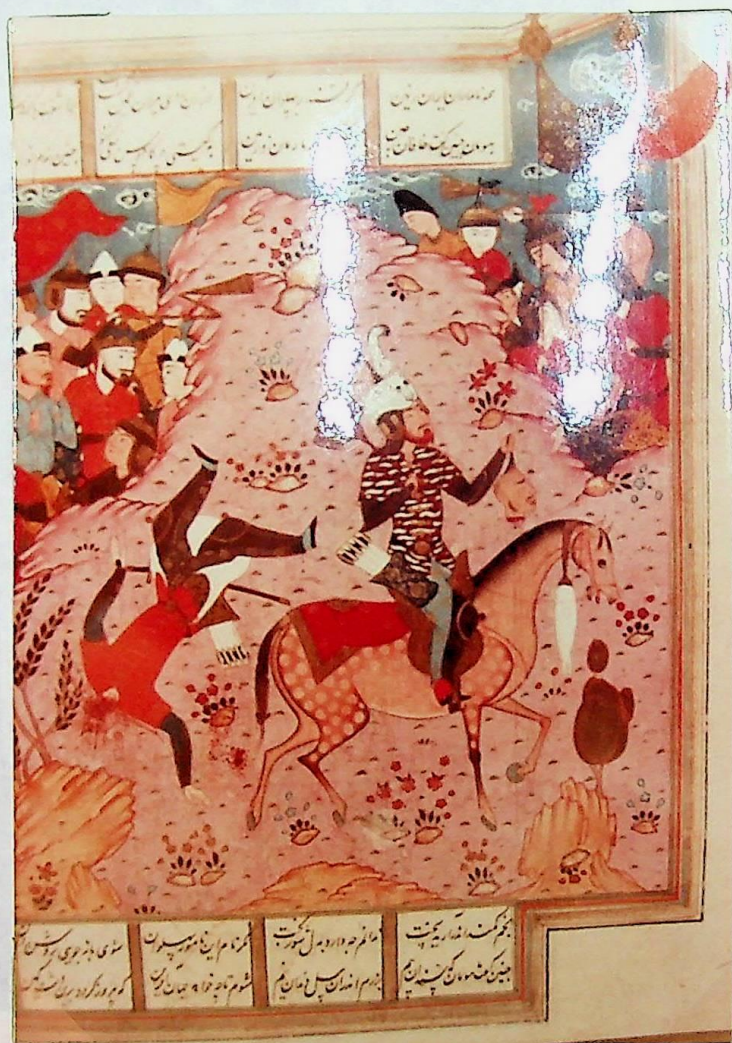
Bizhan brings to his father Giv the head of Balāshān  
killed in battle, LLF, P.O.5, f.268 v.





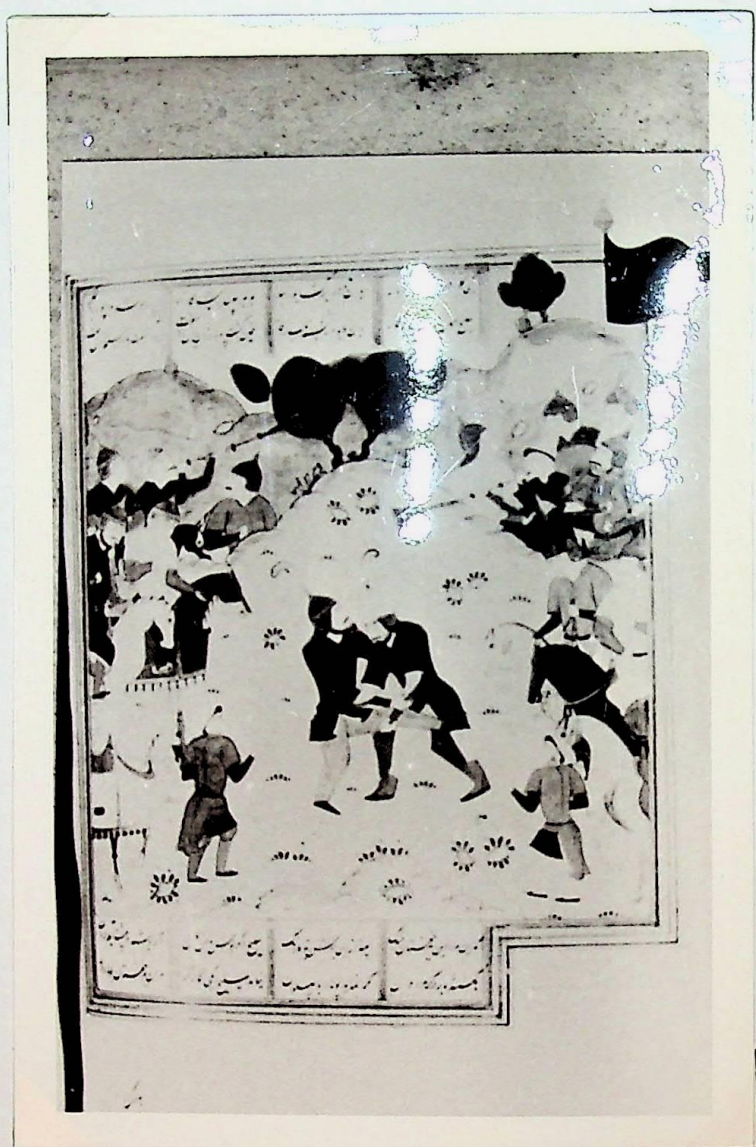
Pl.16 Iran against Turan, LLF, P.O.5, f.282 v.





1.17 Rostam carries the head of a Turanian warrior, LLF, P.O.5, f. 299 v.





18 Rustam wrestling with Pālādvand, LLF, P.O. 5, f. 326 v.





19 Rustam brings Bizhan back to Iran, LLF, P.O.5, f.339 v.



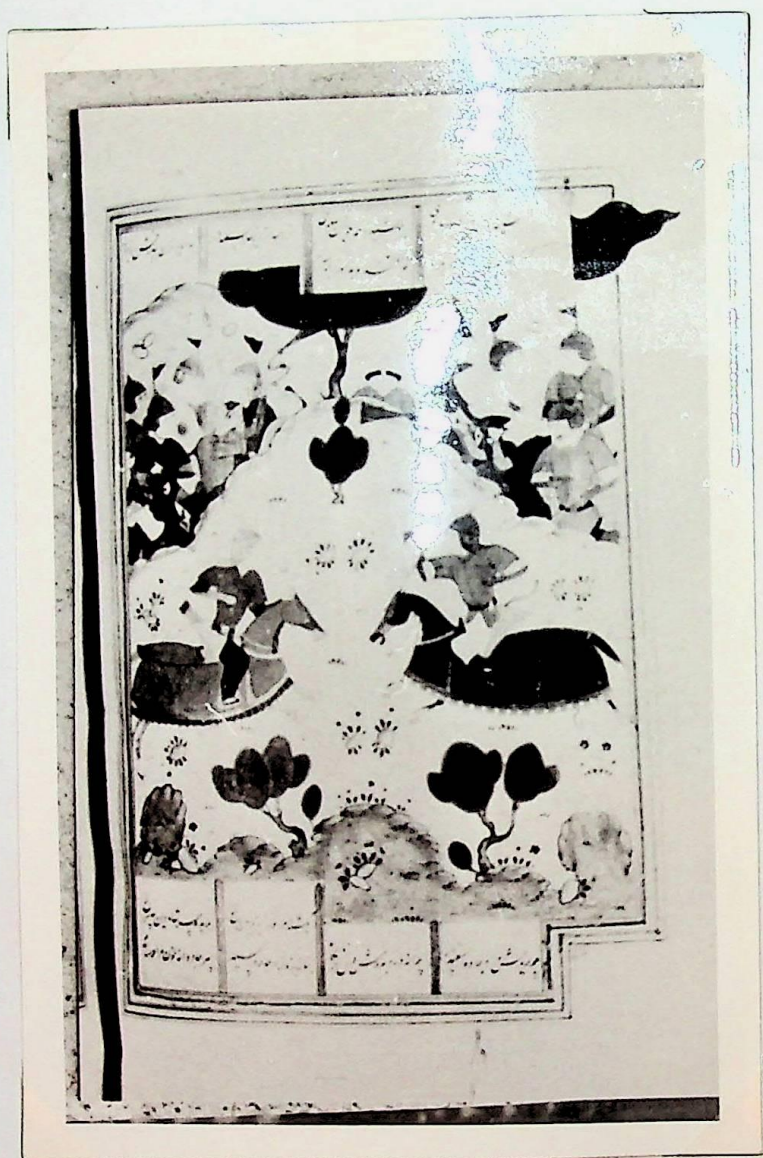






21 Gushtāsp killing a dragon on Mount Saqīlā, LLF,  
P.O.5, f.420 v.





22 Isfandiyār against Gurgsār, LLF, P.O.5, f.437 v.





13 Isfandiyār killing the Turanian king Arjāsp, LLF,  
P.O.5, f.449 v.





4

The trial of strength between Isfandiyār and Rostam  
LLF, P.O.5, f.483 v.









6 Garshāsp playing polo in front of Dhahhāk, LLF,  
P.O.5, f.665 v.





a)



b)

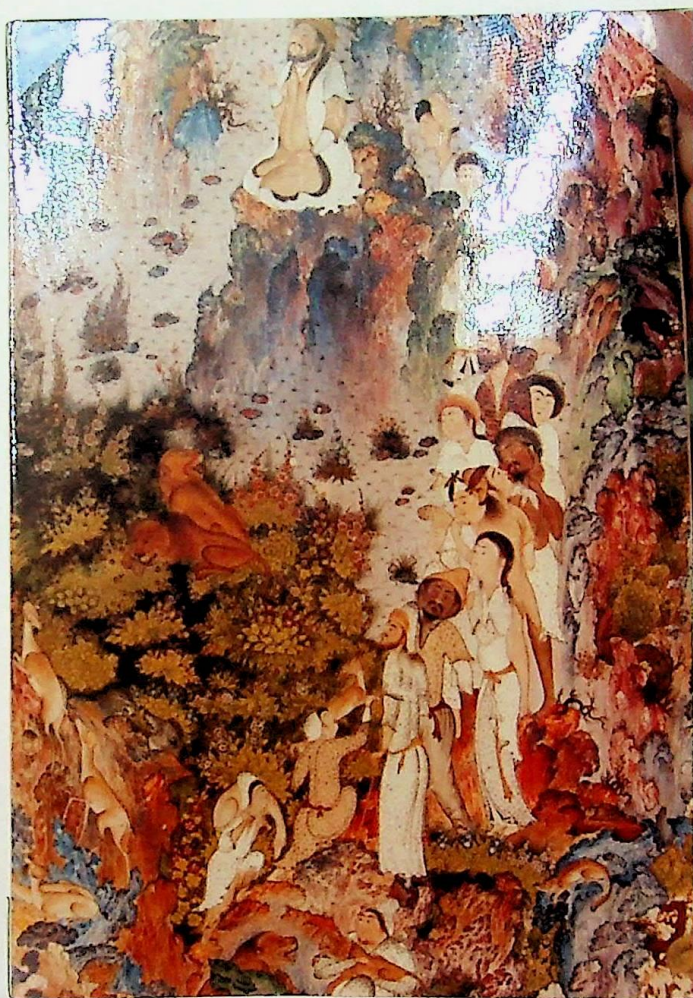
Pl. 27

- a) "The Court of Gayūmars", Tabriz, c. 1370; Istanbul Topkapi Serai, Hazine 2153, f.55 v. (after GRUBE, *Persian Painting...*, fig. 33)
- b) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shahname* of Firdausi, Shiraz, c. 1430; Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Ousley Add. 176, f.20 r. (after BINYON, WILKINSON & GRAY, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. A.46(c)).





a)



b)

- 1.28 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Tabriz, c. 1530, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Shāhnāma* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, f.20 v. (after WELCH, *A King's Book...*, p. 89)
- b) detail of the same miniature (after WELCH, *A King's Book...*, p. 91)





a)



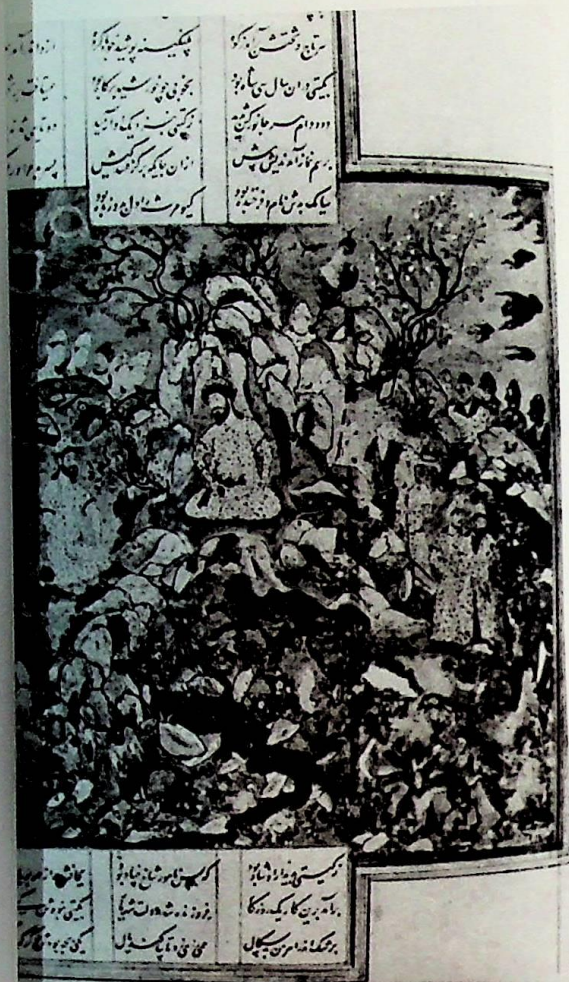
576 Gayūmars, the legendary first king, and his court. Shiraz, 1542

[165]

b)

- 29 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 946/1539; New York, Kraus Collection N.114 (ex-Kevorkian Collection), (after GRUBE, *Islamic Paintings...*, no. 114 p. 142)
- b) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl Pers 932, f.18 v. (after ROBINSON, ...*John Rylands Library*, fig. 576, p. 165)





a)

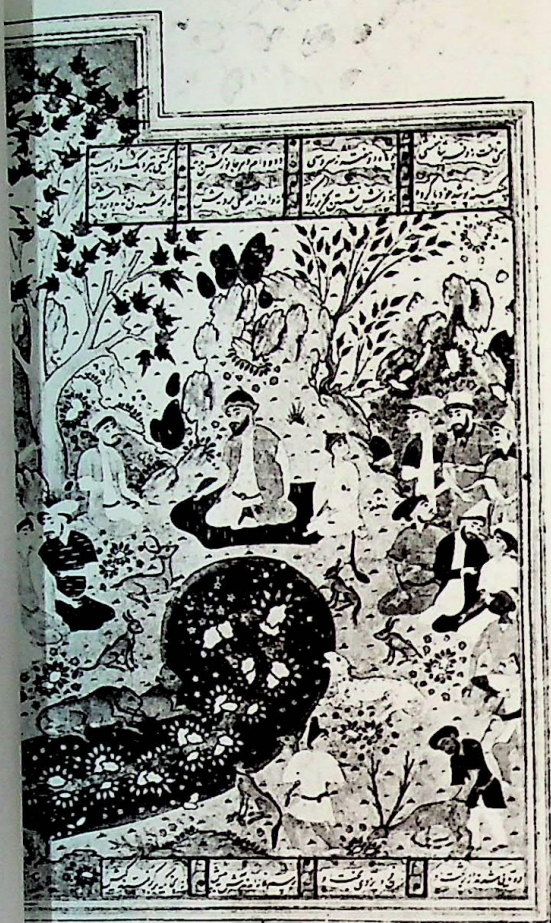


b)

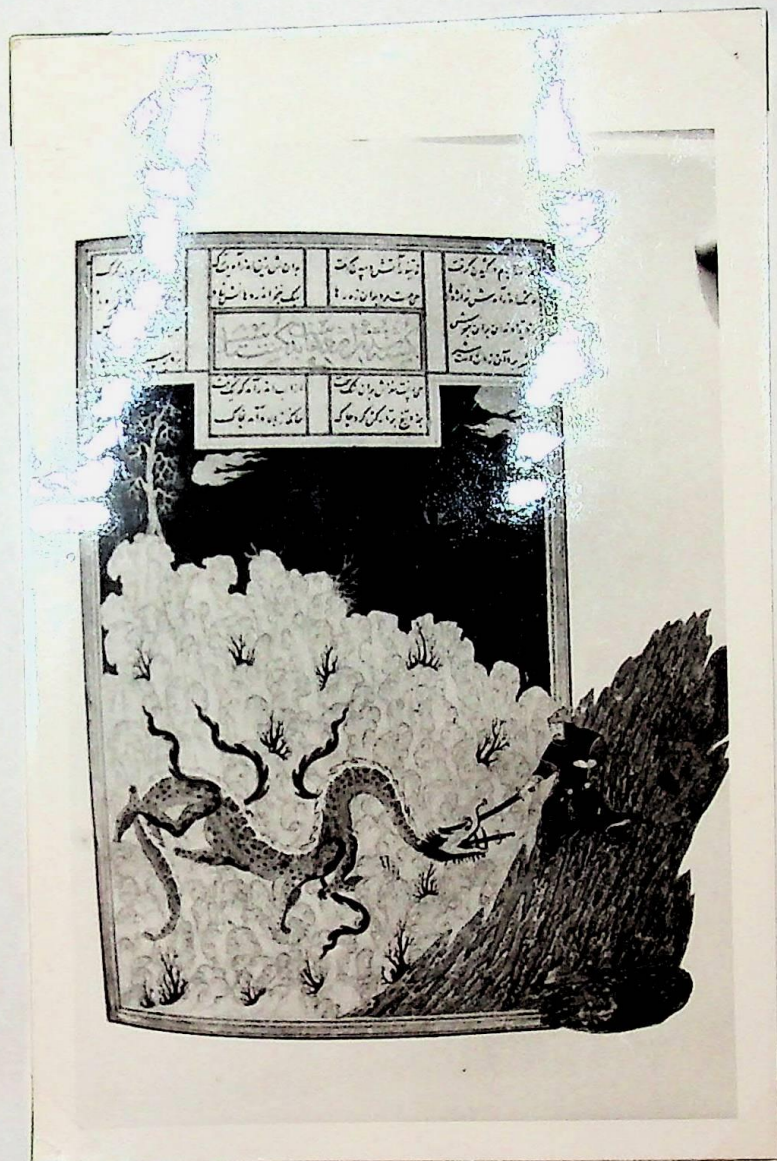
1.30

- a) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 967/1560; London, India Office Library, Pers. ms. 133, f.16 v. (after STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 a 1587*, pl. XLIV)
- b) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Iskandarnāma* of Ahmadī, Shiraz, 968/1561; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 635, f.185 v. (after STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 a 1587*, pl. LX)





a)



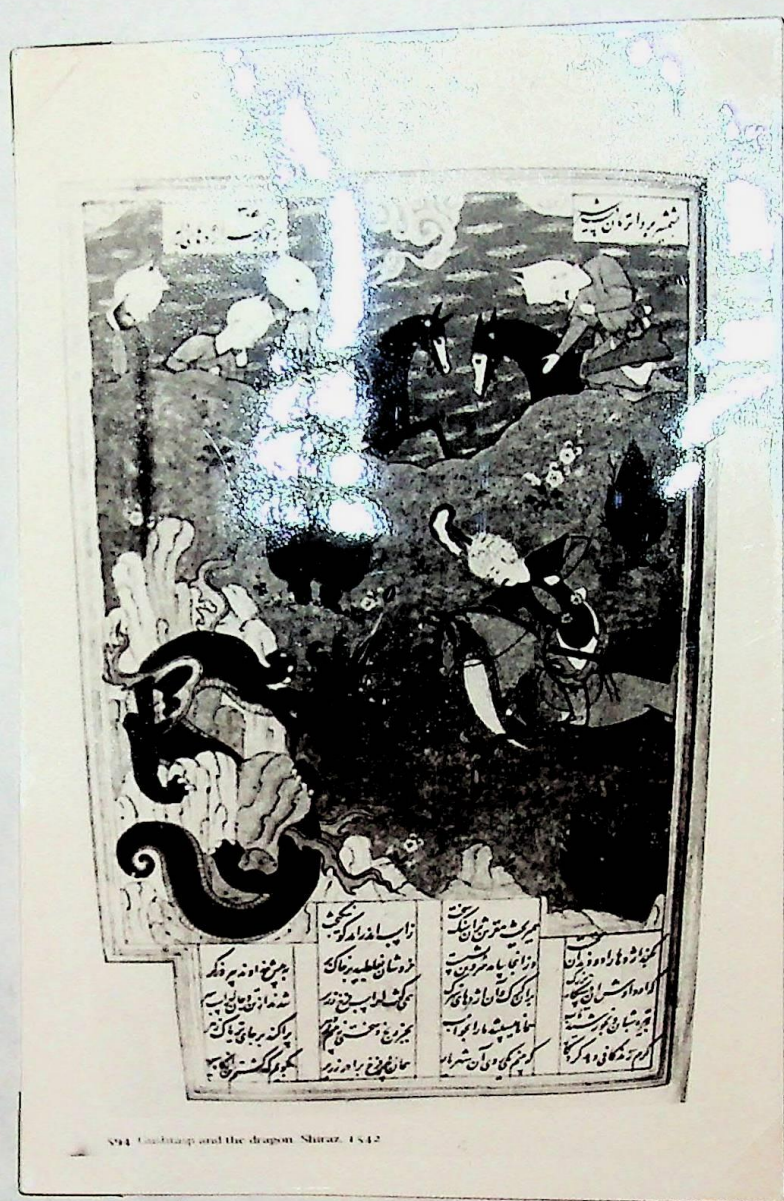
b)

- 31 a) "The Court of Gayūmars", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1570; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 382, f.21 r. (after GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, *Iranские miniatury...*, col. pl. 4)
- b) "Gushtāsp killing a dragon", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Herat, c. 1445; London, Royal Asiatic Society, ms. 239, f. 250 v. (*Shāhnāma* of Muḥammed Jūkī) (after WILKINSON & BINYON, *The Shahnameh...*, pl. XIV)





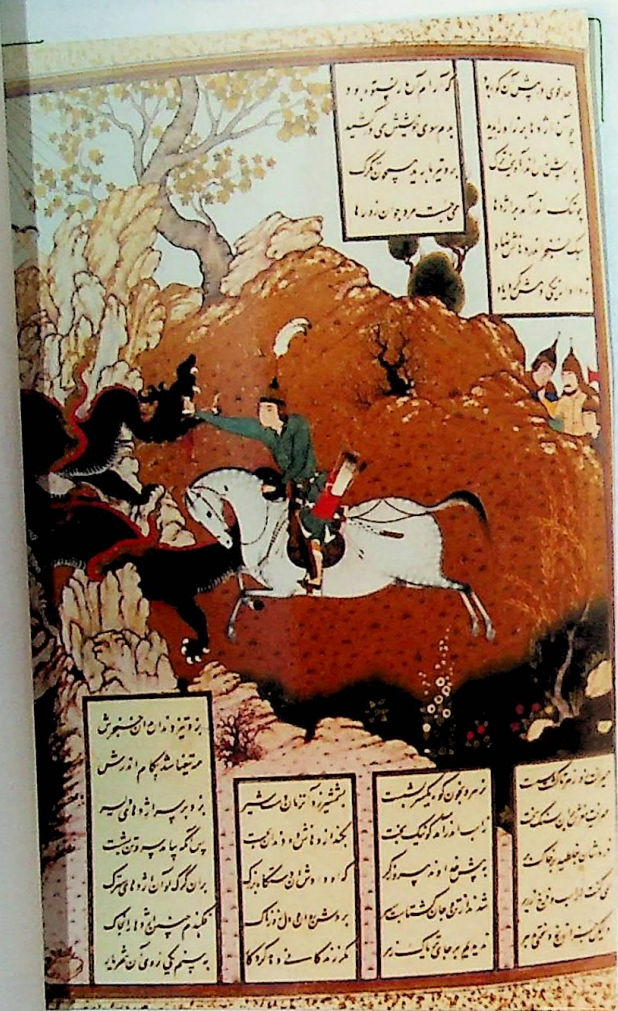
a)



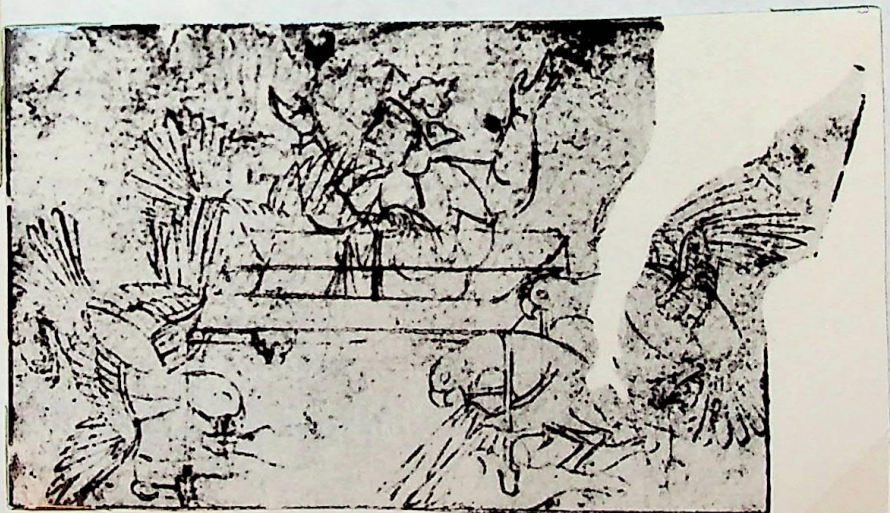
b)

- 1.32 a) "Gushtāsp slays a dragon", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz ?, 1480; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Coll. fig. 158, f.295 v. (after ARBERRY et al., *Catalogue...*, vol. II, pl. 7)
- b) "Gushtāsp and the dragon", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 932, f.308 r. (after ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library, fig. 594, p. 178)





a)



b)

- 33 a) "Gushtāsp slays the dragon on Mount Saqīlā", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Tabriz, c. 1527; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Shāhnāma* of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.402 r. (after WELCH, *Royal Persian Manuscripts*, pl. 9)
- b) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", Berlin, Staatliche Museum, sketch from the Diez Album, f.73 S.57 N.4 (after IPŞIROĞLU, *Saray-Alben*, pl. XLV, fig. 65)





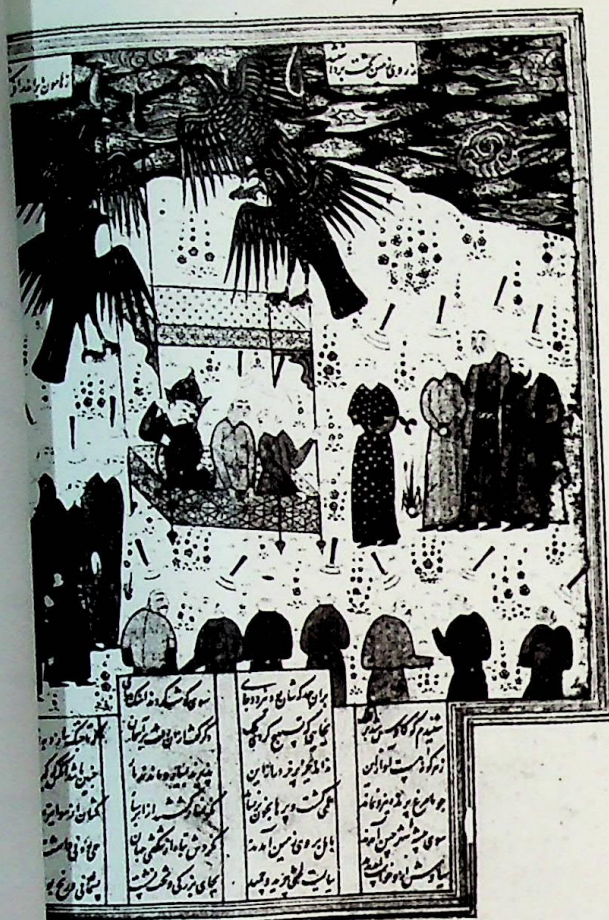
a)



b)

- 34 a) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, mid-XVth century; Leningrad, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences USSR, ms. S 822, f.78 r. (after GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, *Iranskie miniatury...*, pl. 16a)
- b) "The flight of Kai Kā'ūs", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī Tabriz, c.1530; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Shāhnāma* of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.134 r. (WELCH & DICKSON, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, vol II, pl. 95)





us in his flying-machine. Shiraz, 1542

a)

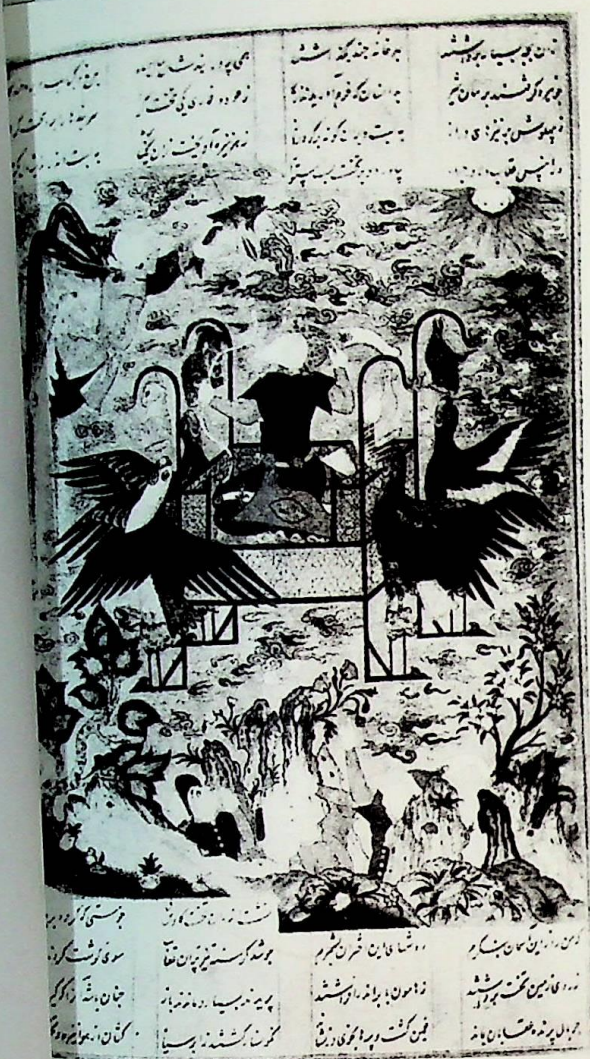


(Redu

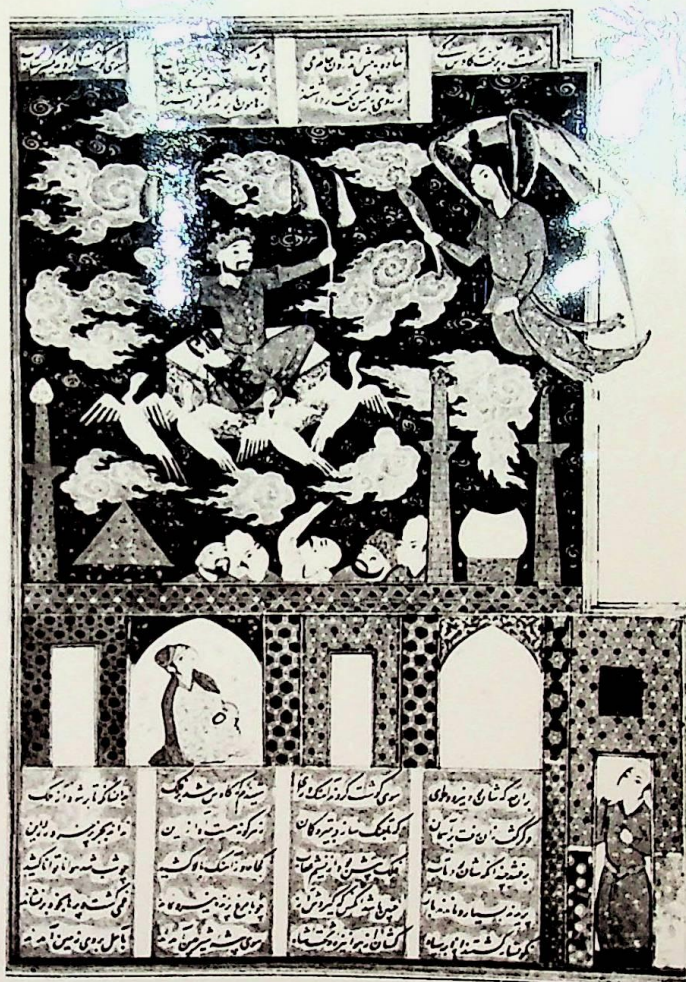
b)

- 35 a) "Kai Kāvus in his flying machine", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 949/1542; Manchester, John Rylands Library, Ryl Pers 932, f.96 v. (after ROBINSON, ... John Rylands Library, fig. 583, p.171)
- b) "Kai Kāvus in his flying machine", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1550-60; New York, H.P. Kraus Collection, N.131, f.14 v. (after GRUBE, *Islamic Paintings...*, fig. 131)





a)



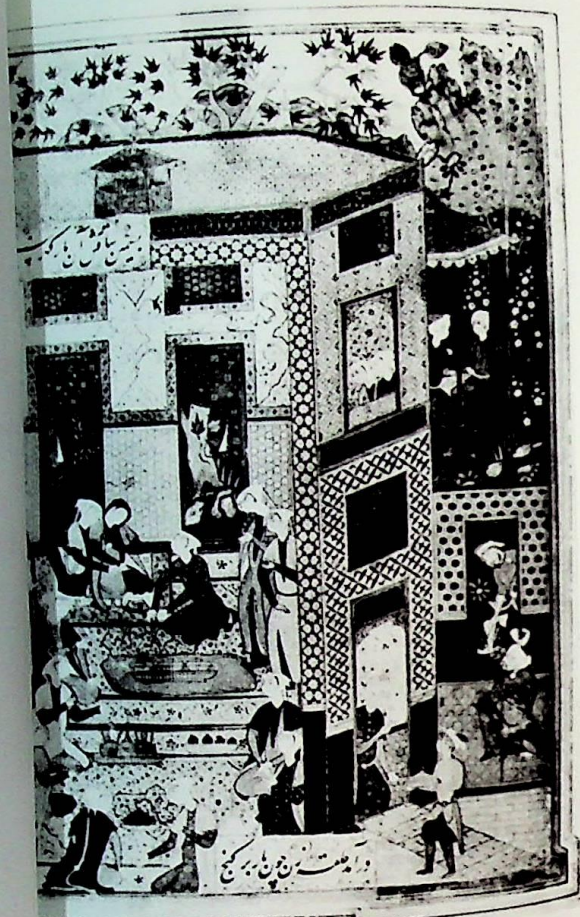
(Reduce)

b)

36 a) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1550; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 331, f.185 r. (after GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, *Iranian miniature...*, pl. 24)

b) "Kai Kā'ūs in his flying machine", detached folio from a *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, c.1600; New York, H.P. Kraus Collection, N.149 (after GRUBE, *Islamic Paintings...*, fig. 149)





a)

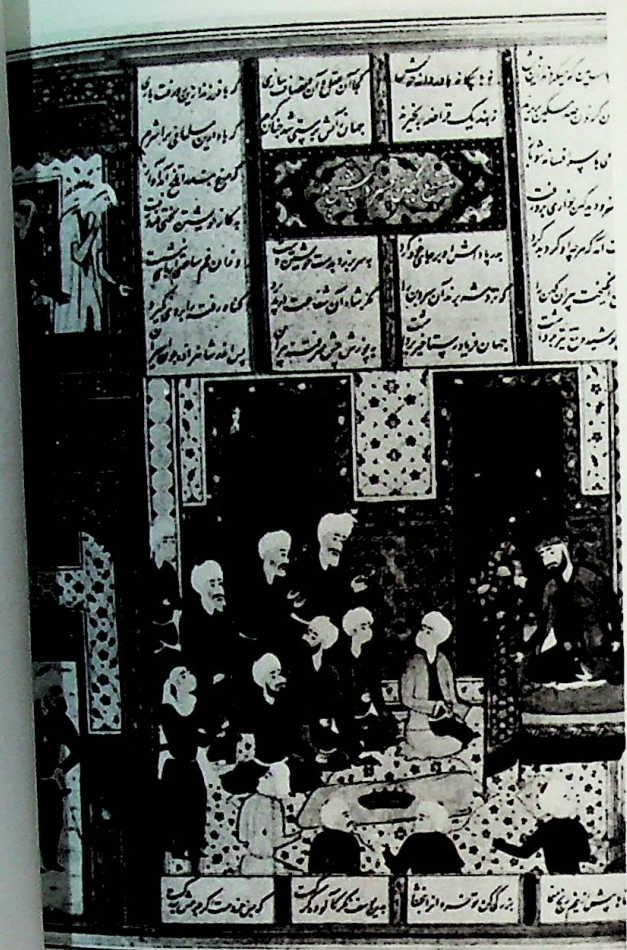


14 "Practice makes perfect", Shiraz, c. 1575

b)

- 37 a) "Zulaikhā overcome by her love for Yūsuf comforted by her nurse", *Yūsuf and Zulaikhā* of Jāmī, Shiraz, c. 1580; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 4122, f.38 v. (after STOCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures...de 1502 à 1587*, pl. L)
- b) "Practice makes perfect", *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Shiraz c. 1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 856, f.106 v. (after ROBINSON, *...John Rylands Library*, fig. 644, p. 214)





a)

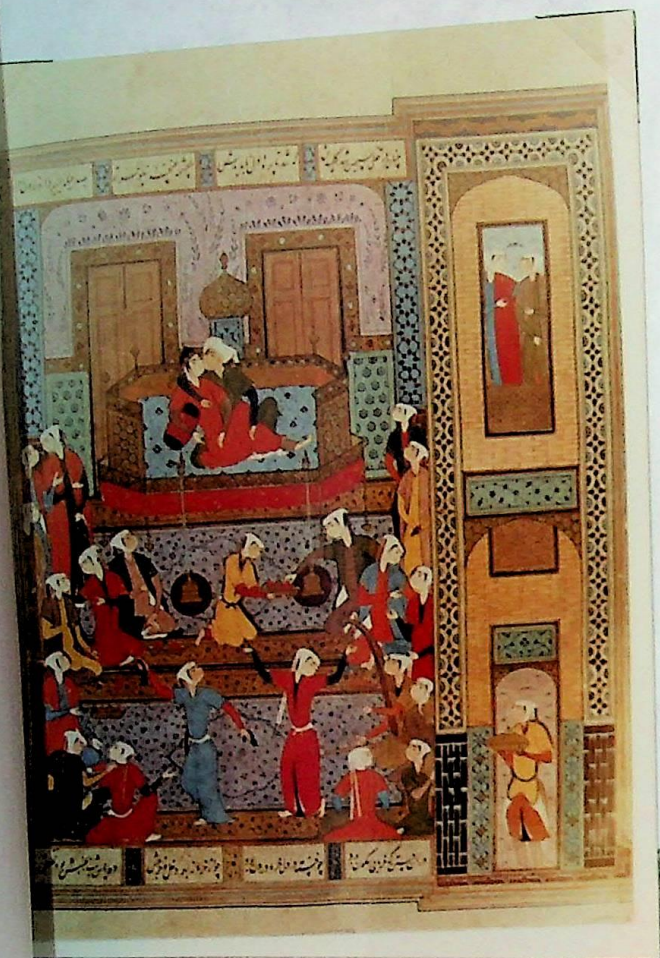


b)

38

- a) "Khusrau before his father Hurmuzd", same ms. as Pl.32b, f.17 v. (ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library, fig. 637, p. 207)
- b) "Bahrām Gūr in the Sandal pavillion", *Kulliyāt* of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz, c. 1570-80; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 67, f.169 r. (after ASHRAFI, *Persian-Tajik Poetry* ..., pl. 66)





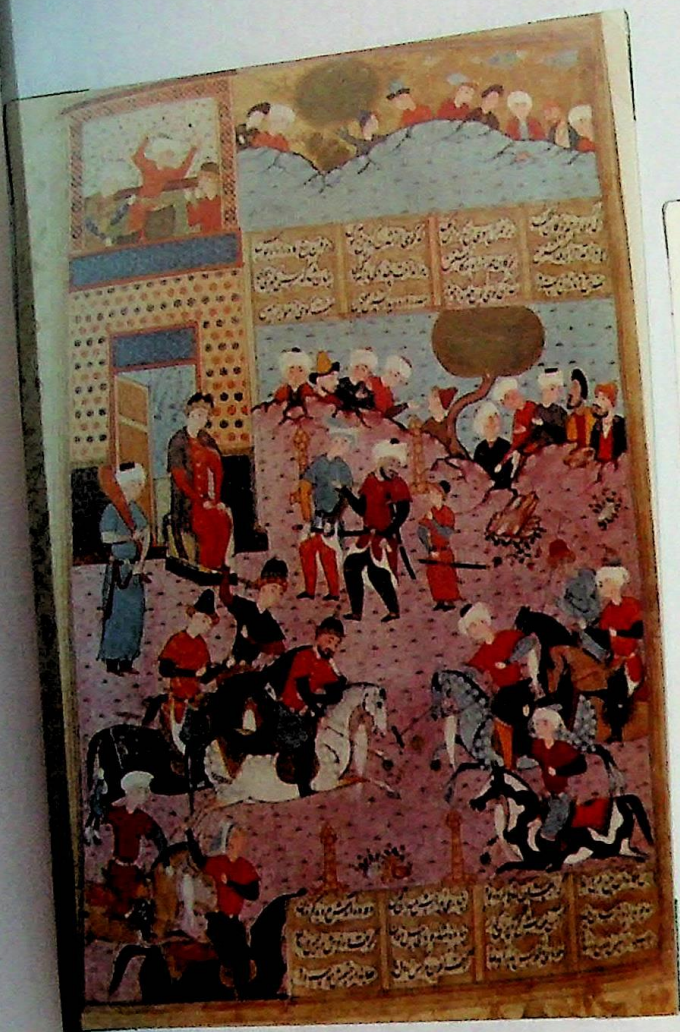
a)



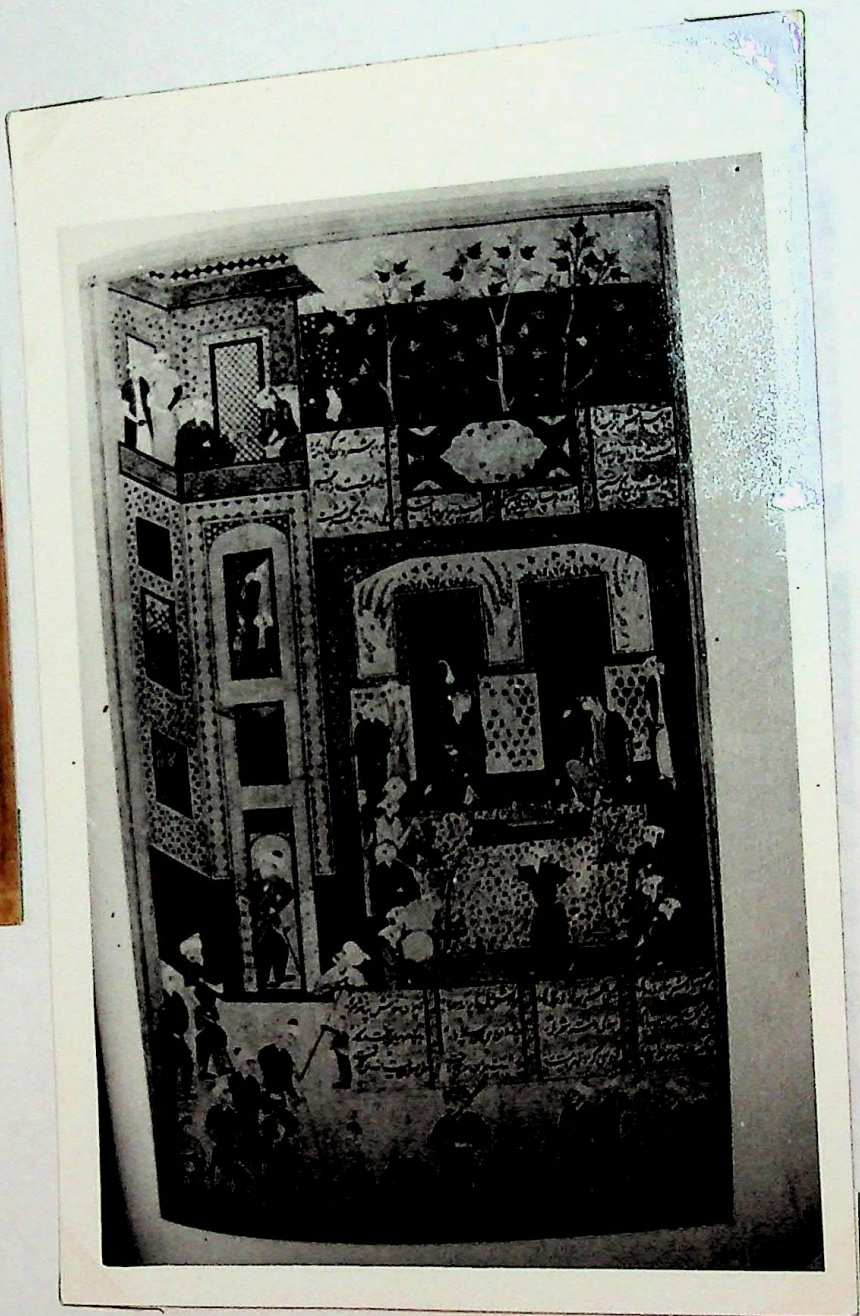
b)

- 39 a) "Khizr Khan and Duvalrānī in the palace", same ms. as Pl. 33b, f. 345 v. (after ASHRAFI, *Persian-Tajik Poetry...*, pl. 68)
- b) "Scene in a bath", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, 993/1585; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. DORN 334, f. 11 r. (after ASHRAFI, *Persian-Tajik Poetry...*, pl. 61)





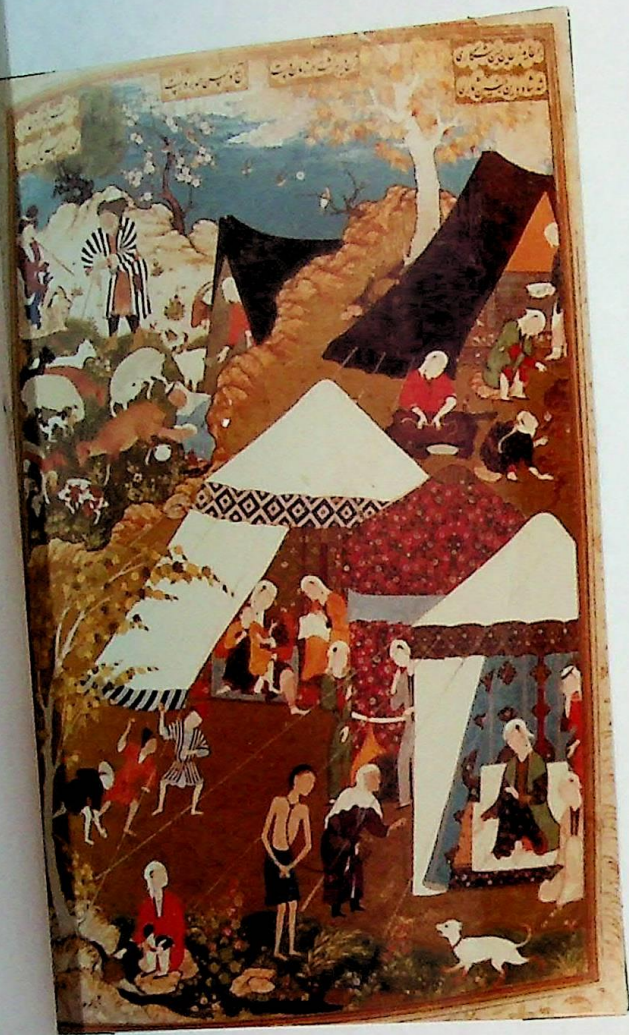
a)



b)

- 40 a) "Polo playing", same ms. as Pl.34 b, f.32 r.  
(after ASHRAFI, *Persian-Tajik Poetry...*, pl. 62)
- b) "Feasting scene", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Shiraz, c. 1585; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public Library, ms. PNS 352, f.152 r. (after GIUZAL'IAN & DIAKONOV, *Iranskie miniatury...*, pl. 31)





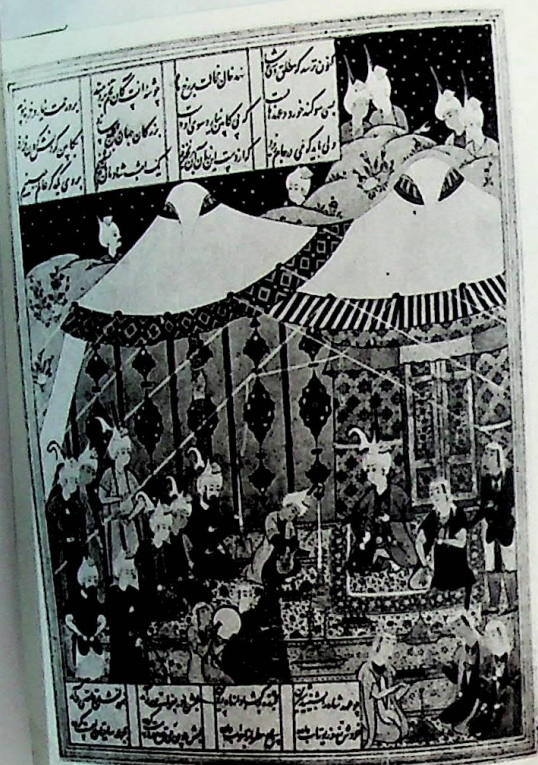
a)



b)

- 41 a) "Majnūn in chains brought by a beggar woman to Lailā's tent", *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Tabriz, 1539-43; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 2265, f.157 v. (miniature attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī) (after WELCH, *Royal...*, pl. 28)
- b) "Life in the camp", Tabriz, c. 1540; Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (miniature attributed to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī) (after GRUBE, *The World...*, pl. 80)





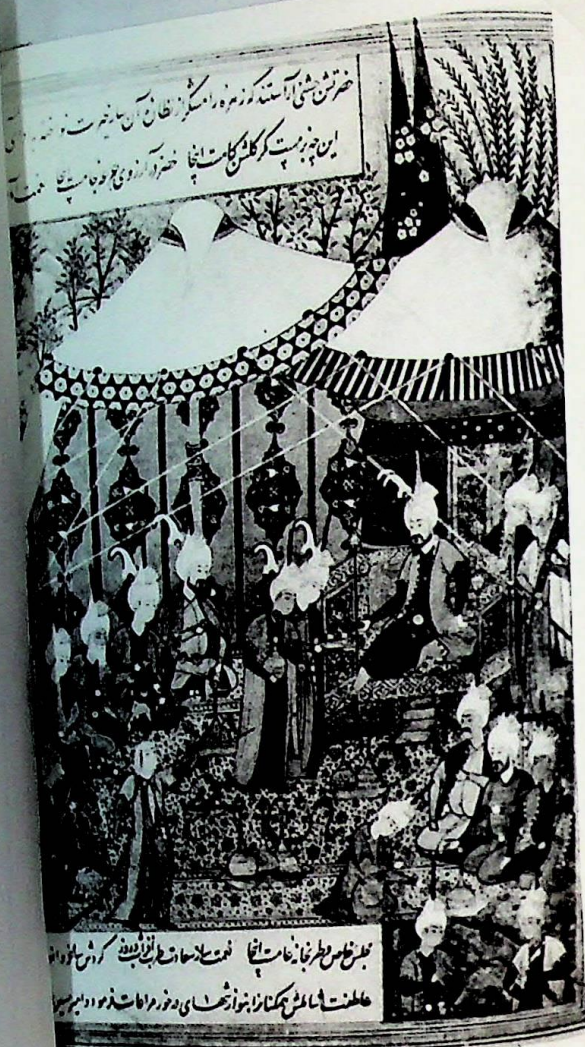
a)



b)

- 42 a) "Khusrau and Shirin holding a feast at night",  
*Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Shiraz, 1548; Washington, Freer  
 Gallery, FGA 08.266 (after GUEST, *Shiraz*  
*Painting...*, pl. 8)
- b) "Last meeting of Lailā and Majnūn", same ms. as  
 Pl. 37a, FGA 08.270 (after GUEST, *Shiraz*  
*Painting...*, pl. 12)





a)

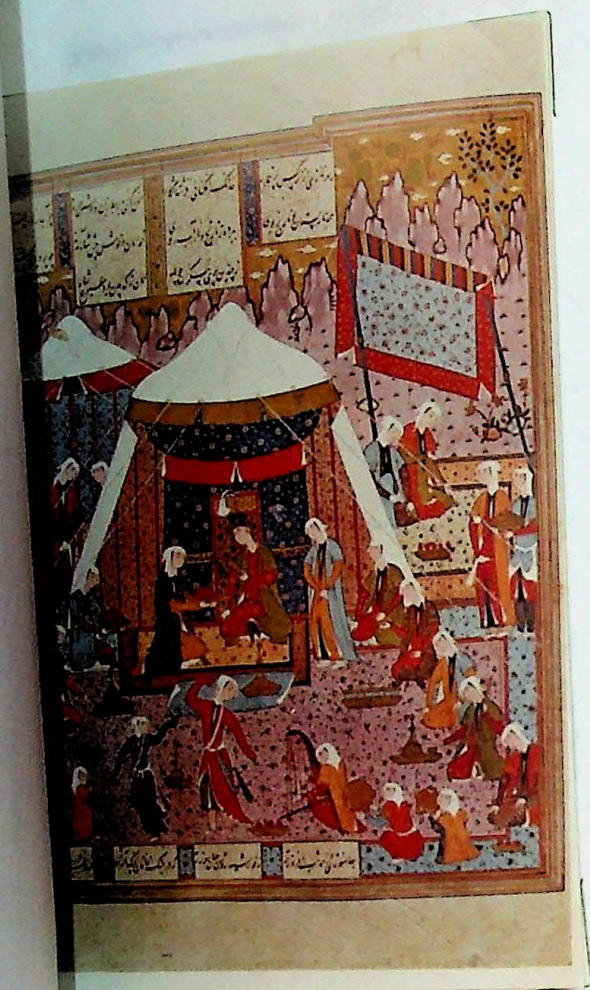


Iskandar and the shepherd Shiraz, c. 1575

b)

- 43 a) "Tīmūr surrounded by his court", *Zafarnāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Shiraz, 1552; London, British Museum, ms. Or. 1359, f. 35 v. (after STOCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures... de 1502 à 1587*, pl. XXVI)
- b) "Iskandar and the shepherd", *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Shiraz, c. 1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 856 f. 207 r. (after ROBINSON, *... John Rylands Library*, fig. 651, p. 220)





a)



b)

- 44 a) "Iskandar's relaxation in the lap of nature",  
Kulliyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz, c.1570-  
80; Leningrad, Leningrad State, Public Library,  
ms. PNS 67, f.169 r. (after ASHRAFI, *Persian-Iraqi  
Poetry...*, pl. 67)
- b) "Hūshang slays the black div", *Shāhnāma* of  
Firdausī, Tabriz, c.1530; New York, Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, *Shāhnāma* of Shāh Tahmāsp, f.21 v.  
(detail) (after WELCH, *Royal...*, pl. 5)





Garshāsp fighting the "dog-heads" (No. 45). British Museum, 1977

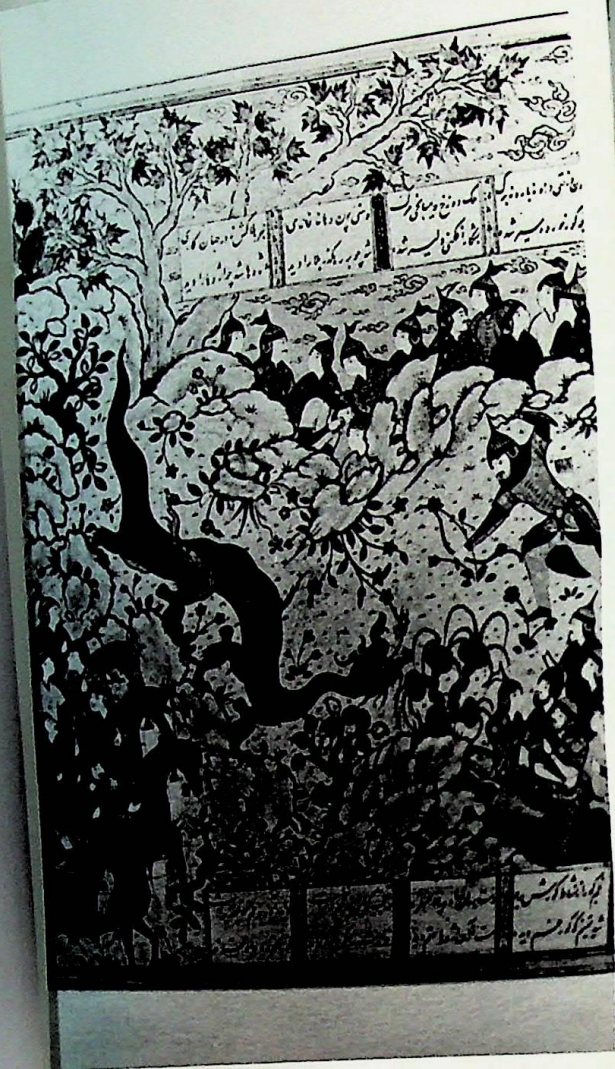
a)



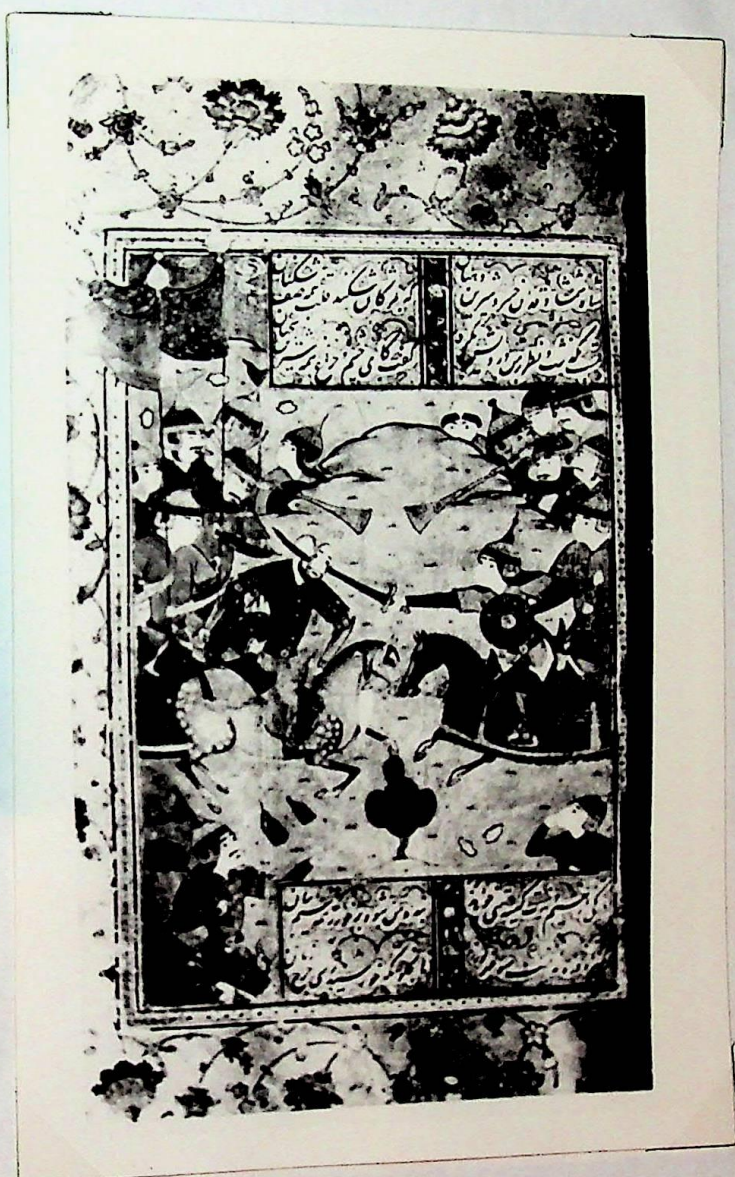
b)

- 5 a) "Garshāsp fighting the 'dog-heads'", *Garshāspnāma* of Asadī, Qazvin, 1573; London, British Museum, Or.12985, f.45 v. (after ROBINSON, *Persian Miniature Painting...*, pl.23)
- b) "Tahmuras defeating the demons", *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, Qazvin, c.1576; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Cat. N. 256.1 (detached folio from the *Shāhnāma* of Ismā'īl II) (after ROBINSON, *Persian Miniature Painting...*, pl.28)





a)



b)

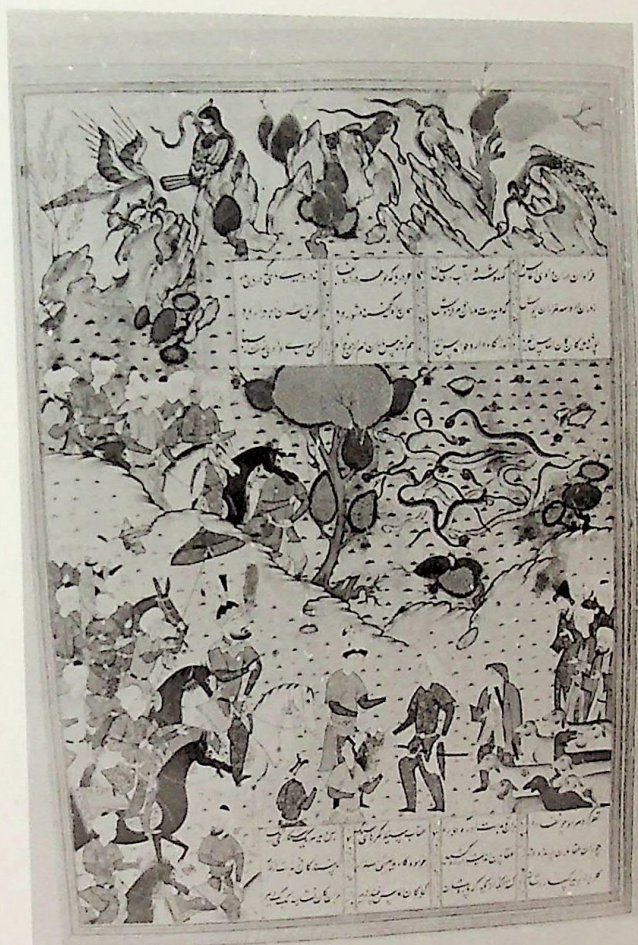
- 6 a) "Bahrām Gūr fighting a dragon", *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Shiraz, ..92/1584?; University Museum of Pennsylvania, Cat. N. 223 (after GUEST, *Shiraz Painting...*, pl. 48B)
- b) "Battle scene", *Divān* of Ḥāfiẓ, Shiraz, c.1580; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. Ryl. Pers. 945, f.167 v. (after ROBINSON, ...*John Rylands Library*, fig. 655, p. 223)





a) LES ANGES ADORANT ADAM

a)



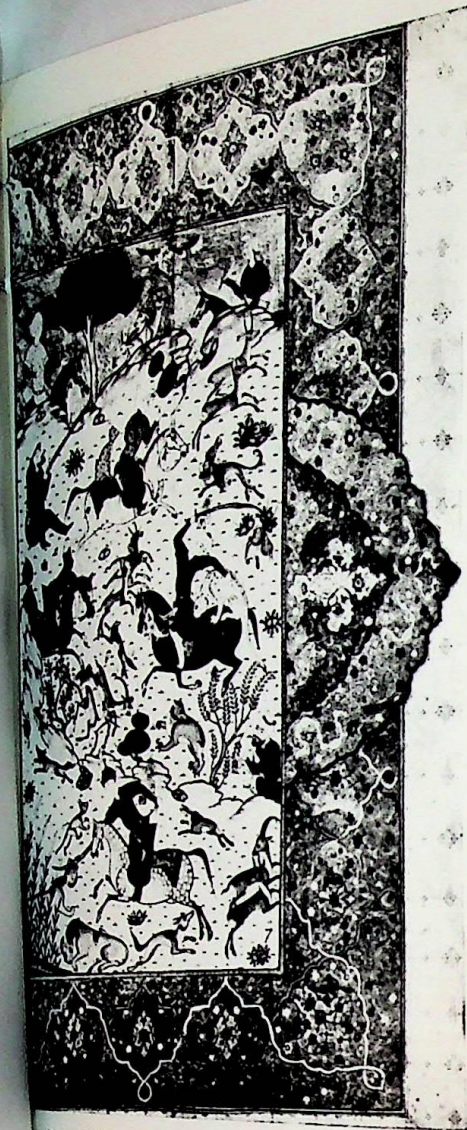
b) ISKANDAR ET SON ARMÉE DEVANT LA FOSSE AUX DIAMANTS  
ET AUX SERPENTS

b)

a) "Angels adoring Adam", *Khamse* of Niẓāmī, Shiraz, c.1570; Istanbul, Topkapı Serai, ms. B.146/K423, f.14 r. (after STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures de la Khamseh...*, pl. LXXIIa)

b) "Iskandar and his army in front of the snake and diamonds pit; same ms. as Pl.42a, f.364 v. (after STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures de la Khamseh...*, pl. LXXIIb)





Manuscript 16, folio 10.

Bibliothèque des Cultures d'Asie.

a)



NŪSHIRVĀN ET SON VIZIR DEVANT UN CHÂTEAU EN RUINES.  
Khamsa de Nizāmī, achevée en 968/1561, peinte à Shiraz.  
Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1956, fol. 10.

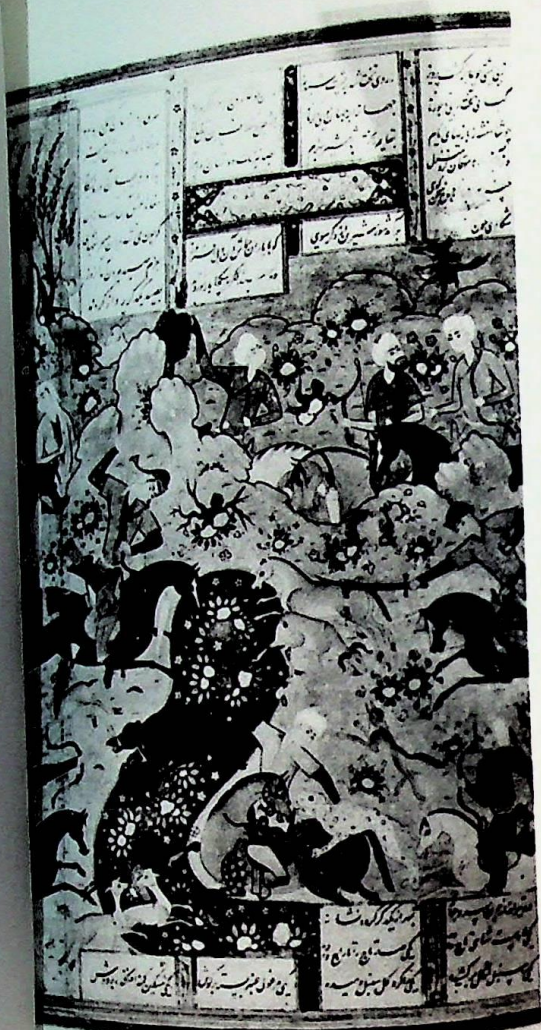
b)

48

a) "Hunting scene", probably from the same ms. as Pl. 42, f. 380 v. (after KÜHNEL, *Miniaturmalerei...*, pl. 73)

b) "Nūshirvān and his vizir in front of a ruined castle", *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, Shiraz (?), 968/1561; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1956, f. 10 (after STCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures... de 1502 à 1587*, pl. LII)





a)



b)

- 49 a) "Shirīn hunting with Khusrau", same ms. as Pl. 43b, f. 40 r. (after STOCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures... de 1502 à 1587*, pl. LIV)
- b) "Farīdūn hunting with his courtiers", same ms. as Pl. 43b, f. 14 r. (after STOCHOUKINE, *Les Peintures... de 1502 à 1587*, pl. LV)





Laila and Majnun fainting at meeting, Shiraz, c. 1575

a)



Majnun visited by Salih, Shiraz, c. 1575

b)

- 50
- a) "Lailā and Majnūn fainting at their meeting", *Khamsa of Nizāmī*, Shiraz, c. 1575; Manchester, John Rylands Library, ms. 856, f. 85 v. (after ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library, fig. 643, p. 213)
- b) "Majnūn visited by Sālīh", same ms. as Pl. 45a, f. 71 r. (after ROBINSON, ...John Rylands Library, fig. 642, p. 212)





Iskandar and the dying Dara, Shiraz, c. 1575

a)



638 Khusrau spies Shirin bathing, Shiraz, c. 1575

[208]

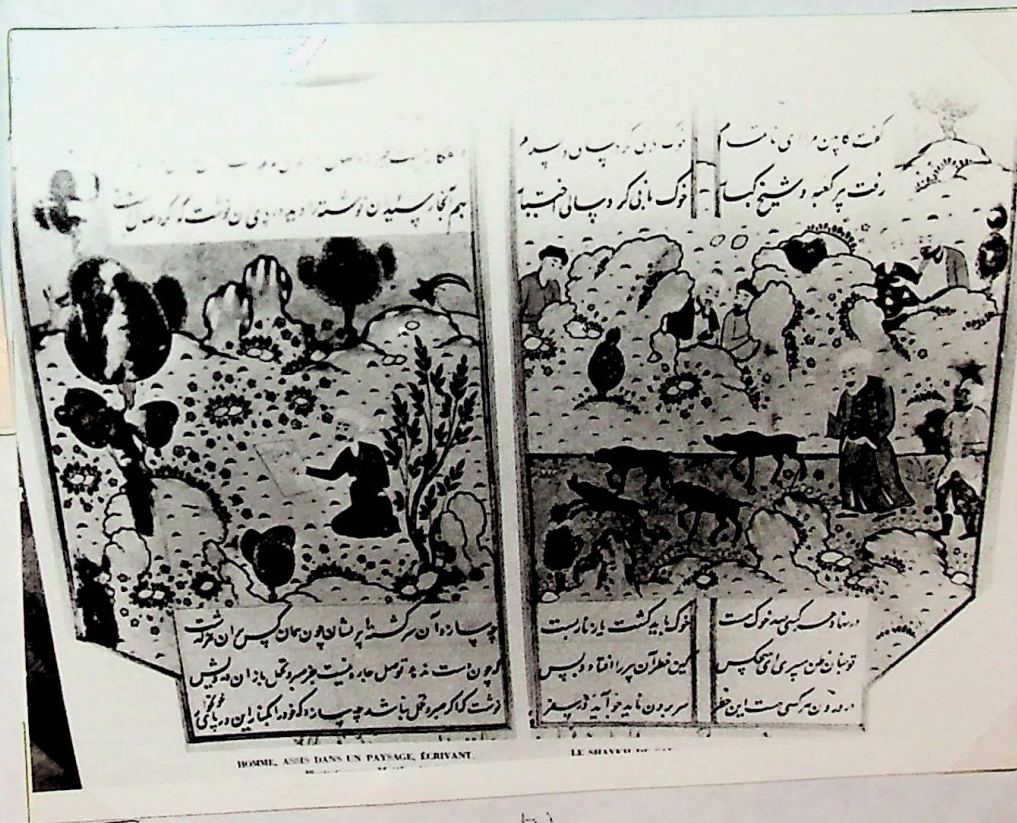
b)

- 51 a) "Iskandar and the dying Dara", same ms. as Pl. 45, f. 163 v. (after ROBINSON, "... John Rylands Library, fig. 650, p. 219)
- b) "Khusrau spies Shirin bathing", same ms. as Pl. 45, f. 25 r. (after ROBINSON, "... John Rylands Library, fig. 638, p. 208)





a)



b)

- 52 a) "Majnūn in the desert visited by his relatives",  
Kulliyāt of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī, Shiraz,  
c.1570s-80s; Leningrad, Leningrad State Public  
Library, ms. PNS 67, f.120 r. (after ASHRAFI,  
Persian-Tajik Poetry..., Pl. 65)
- b) Two miniatures from a copy of Majālis al-ʿUshshāq  
of Husain Bāiqarā, Shiraz (?), 989/1580; Paris,  
Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. persan 1150, ff.88  
v. and 233 r. (after STOCHOUKINE, Les Peintures...  
de 1502 à 1587, pl. LXXXI)





Entretien mystique

a)



Discussion religieuse

b)

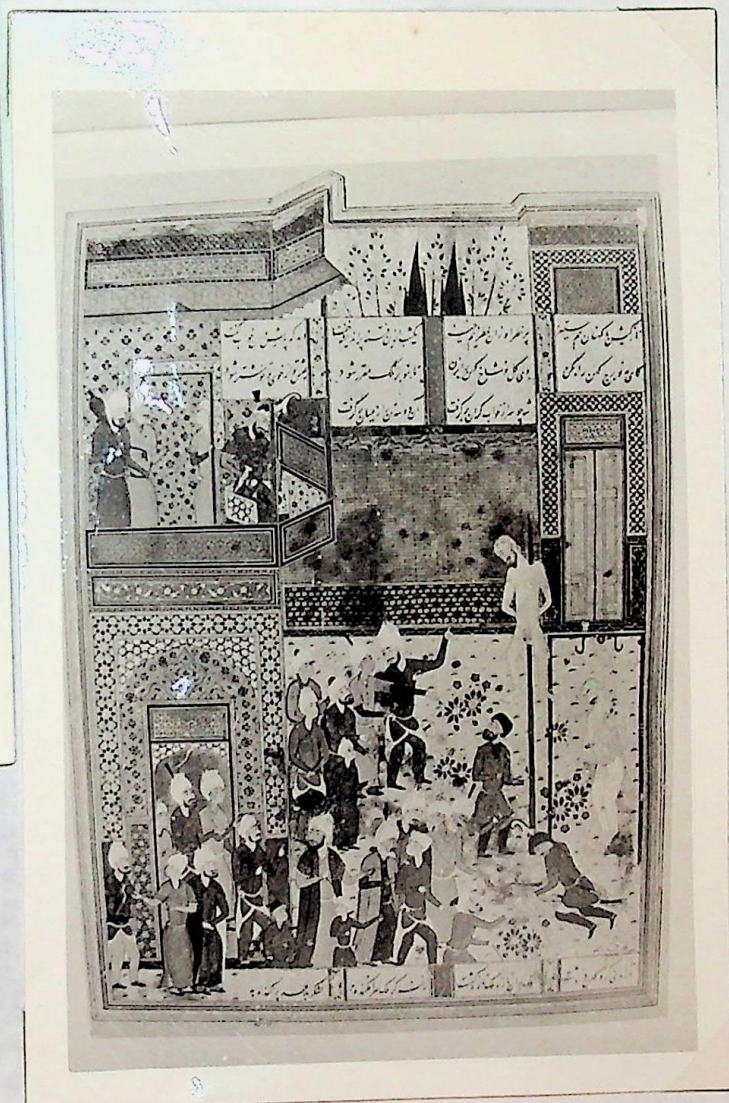
- 53
- a) "Mystical meeting", *Majālis al-Ushshāq* of Kāzīrghāhī, Shiraz, c.1575; Cairo, Collection of S.E. Sherif Pasha (after WIET, *Miniatures...*, fig. 40, pl. XXII)
- b) "Religious discussion", same ms. as Pl.48a, (after WIET, *Miniatures...*, fig. 43, pl. XXIV)





Sultan et Religieux

a)



b)

- Pl. 54 a) "The sultan and the men of religion", same ms. as Pl. 48, (after WIET, *Miniatures...*, fig. 42, pl. XXIII)
- b) "A prince assisting to executions", *Khamse* of Nizāmī, Shiraz, c.1560; Istanbul, Topkapi Serai Library, ms. A.3559/K.432, f.34 r. (after STCHOUKINE, *Les peintures de la Khamseh...*, pl. LXXIa)





24 BATTLE BETWEEN NARIMAN AND THE KHAQAN (No. 48). British Museum. 1573  
By Zayn al-'Abidin

55  
"Battle between Nariman and the Khāqān",  
Garshāspnāma of Asadī, Qazvin, 981/1573; London,  
British Museum Library, ms. Or. 12985, f. 90 v.  
(after ROBINSON, Persian Miniature Painting..., pl.  
28)



3 8534 00989 2864