

# The Saga of Abu-Sa`id Bahādor Khān:

## The Abu-Sa`idnāmé

### Introduction

The Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century decimated Iran's power elite and as a result, Turco-Mongols dominated Iran's power structure almost continuously up to the nineteenth century. Yet, despite such a prolonged subjugation by Turco-Mongols, Iran did not succumb to Turkicization as Anatolia did in becoming Turkey.

If Iran remained Persian, it was primarily because the cast of Persian viziers and administrators were able to lure Mongol royalty, particularly Abu-Sa`id Bahādor Khān, into the wonderful world of Persian literature and culture. Abu-Sa`id's strong affinity for Persian culture established a standard of princely education that was adopted by subsequent Turco-Mongol rulers of Iran. This princely education, termed as *Farhang-e Shāhāné* (royal curriculum) by Persian chroniclers, required royalty to be both educated in Persian literature and to patronize the sumptuous reproduction of its major works. The ensuing legacy of richly illuminated manuscripts enshrined Persian literature in a way never done before and firmly established Persian as the language of the court and consequently, as the administrative language of the land.

A pivotal element in the Turco-Mongols' adoption of Persian royal culture was the creation of an epic history of the Mongols projected over an illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāmé* (Book of Kings) in which---as it shall be argued---every painting was designed to have a dual representation: to reflect a story of the *Shāhnāmé* and at the same time, evoke an episode of Mongol history. It was an ambitious and complex project that lasted many years, perhaps as many as 20 years. It came in the wake of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* (Universal history) written under the supervision of the famous vizier Rashidoddin and used some of the very historians that participated in the writing of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*. The project gathered such a momentum that the text of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* was even modified

in order to achieve a better connection between the *Shāhnāmé* and Mongol history. The result was a grand illustrated manuscript that is generally referred to in western publications as the *Demotte Shāhnāmé*, a name that ironically celebrates the man most responsible for its dispersment.

After surviving five centuries of turmoil, the manuscript was dismembered upon reaching the Paris market early this century. Its paintings were individually sold, and pages that contained paintings on the front and the back were further mutilated when they were split---and pasted on another text page---and sold as separate folios. The remaining text was discarded or lost.

The dispersed pages of the manuscript have fascinated collectors and scholars alike, and generated numerous studies with much speculations on their origin, ranging from Tabriz to Samarqand and from circa 1300 to 1400.<sup>1</sup> However, no connection was ever established with an unidentified *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* (Book of Abu-Sa`id) mentioned by the calligrapher-chronicler Dust-Mohammad in the preface to the 952/1545 Bahrām Mirzā album.<sup>2</sup> In an effort to revive the name of the manuscript's patron, Abu-Sa`id Bahādor Khān, it shall be further argued that what Dust-Mohammad referred to as *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* is none other than this grand Il-Khānid *Shāhnāmé* conceived as an illustrated epic history of the Mongols.

Throughout this study, extensive use has been made of a work by O. Grabar and S. Blair who first suggested a possible linkage between the illustrations and events of the Il-Khānid period, and whose efforts led to a sequential reconstruction of the dispersed manuscript.<sup>3</sup> Their conclusions, however, are not always justified and shall be reevaluated where necessary.

The relationship of the illustrations with events of Mongol history are investigated in Part I, the sources explored for devising such relationships are discussed in Part III, and the purpose of this historic enterprise is explained in Part IV.<sup>4</sup> Although the main conclusions are based on the internal evidence produced in Part I, additional circumstantial evidence such as Dust-Mohammad's above cited account in conjunction with the calligraphic evidence presented in Part II, and peculiar aspects of related contemporary texts explained in Part III, reinforce these conclusions and reveal the extent of resources

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1. For a recapitulation of studies related to this *Shāhnāmé* see Grabar & Blair, 191--923.

2. See Part II.

3. Grabar & Blair (1980), 48--55.

4. I am indebted to Tom Lentz, Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert for their pertinent proposals in regards to the division and sequencing of topics as well as useful suggestions in many areas of this study.

mobilized for this manuscript. It is a manuscript that should not only be studied for its artistic merits but also for its importance as a historical document illustrating intricate aspects of Mongol politics, and for its crucial role in the irreversible tilt of royal library-ateliers towards the production of illustrated Persian literary works.

## Part I

### **The pictorial evidence**

An unusual aspect of this Il-Khānid manuscript is the illustration program that differs substantially from all other *Shāhnāmé* manuscripts. There seems to be no general pattern in the selection of illustrated episodes. Other grand *Shāhnāmés* usually display a higher concentration of illustrations at the beginning, but here, the density of illustrations is higher in the second half of the manuscript. Many selected episodes are secondary events not illustrated elsewhere and incorporate odd iconographic features unrelated to the *Shāhnāmé* narrative, the most striking of these is Rostam's imperial Chinese robe in **fig. 4**, instead of his protective tunic, the *babr-e bayān*, traditionally rendered (or rather misrendered)<sup>5</sup> as a tiger skin coat. The oddities though, are clues to Mongol history. Concrete visual indices reveal the double nature of each illustration reflecting episodes of both the *Shāhnāmé* and Mongol history. Section headings are used as key indicators by incorporating additional informative sentences such as "Picture of the Iron Horses and Soldiers" in **fig. 29**, and by their judicious positioning next to the illustration. If placed right above or close to the top of the illustration, they are descriptive titles. If placed on the side, the information is more complex: in **fig. 34** the heading is placed at mid-height, indicating that it draws on both, upper and lower, stories to gain a meaning; its content however does not describe the illustration.

Forty-seven illustrations of this grand *Shāhnāmé*, and three additional Jalāyerid ones, have been identified here below as representations of Mongol history and discussed in chronological order. The identifications are primarily based on the matching of *Shāhnāmé* stories with events of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*. Some match perfectly, some require a stretch of imagination. However, it is the massive weight of the 50 identifications as a

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<sup>5</sup>. For the correct interpretation of *babr-e bayān* as a magical beaver skin see Omid-Salar (1983); also Khaleghi-Motlagh (1988). For a synopsis see Soudavar (1992), 167.

whole that gives credence to the weaker links by establishing a pattern of arguments that serve both the strong and the weak connections. It is therefore suggested to the reader to focus on the more conclusive (\* marked) identifications in a first reading, and tackle the rest in a second one. A thematic explanation of the illustrations is presented in Part IV.

The remaining illustrations have similarly complex and unorthodox compositions. If as yet unidentified, further study will certainly reveal a linkage with Mongol history.

*Note*---The "GB" number in parenthesis, refers to the sequence number of documented illustrations in the reconstructed manuscript by Grabar and Blair; the TKS numbers give the references of related Jalāyerid miniatures of album H.2153 in Topkapu Saray Library, Istanbul. To differentiate the *Shāhnāmé* story from the corresponding episode of Mongol history, the former is narrated here in the present tense and the latter in the past tense.

### **1.1. Illustrations pertaining to Changiz (r.603--24/1206--27)**

In spite of their nomadic background, the Mongols had made a genuine effort to record the early life of Changiz. According to Rashidoddin, documents in Uyghur script and pertaining to Mongol history were haphazardly kept in the II-Khānid treasury, inaccessible to most but a few Mongol dignitaries. Rashidoddin was exceptionally allowed access to these documents, when Ghāzān ordered him to compile the history of the Mongols (i.e. volume I of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*).<sup>6</sup> Also, the Great Khān Qubilāy's envoy to the II-Khānid court, Pulād (Bolād) Ching-Sāng (d.712/1312), and the *il-khān* Ghāzān himself, provided much valuable information on the period of Changiz' rise to power. Yet, Rashidoddin avowed that Ghāzān "did not divulge certain secrets of Mongol history which thus remain unreported in this book (*Jāme`ottavārikh*)."<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, the discussions under **figs. 1, 2**, make use of a Sino-Mongolian source on the early days of Changiz, the *Secret History of the Mongols*, that possibly reveal some of the "unreported" secrets that Rashidoddin alluded to.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Fig. 1 \*Alexander Coming out of the Land of Darkness (GB 36)**

Contrary to Ferdowsi's narration---which does not describe a companion prince for Alexander---this illustration depicts two princes riding in the land of darkness. At first glance, either of the two may be considered as Alexander. However, the elder prince's

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<sup>6</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 1:18.

<sup>7</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 2:970.

<sup>8</sup> The *Secret History of the Mongols*, a Mongolian version of which (written in Chinese characters) has survived, is generally thought to be of similar content as the Mongol dynastic history kept at the II-Khānid treasury and occasionally referred to as the *Āltān Debter*; Pelliot (1949), 1--3.

mount depicted as a long-eared ass differentiates his status from that of the younger prince riding a horse. In Persian illustrative iconography as well as literary texts, the ass or the mule is used to underline the inferior status of a king or hero's companion.<sup>9</sup> So important is this distinction that in a tenth century story recounted by Nezāmi-ye `Arūzi, the celebrated physician Mohammad-e Zakariyyā-ye Rāzi, in fear of the king's reprisal because of a harsh medical treatment that he was about to administer, and planning his escape beforehand, asked for the fastest horse of the kingdom for himself and the fastest mule for his servant.<sup>10</sup> Although they had to escape together and would have been slowed down by the pace of the mule, Nezāmi, in conformity with narrative and illustrative traditions, differentiated the mounts in order to maintain the hierarchical distinction. Therefore the long-eared ass in these illustrations must point to a non-Changizid ruler, considered inferior in rank in respect to the young prince riding a horse.<sup>11</sup>

The illustration here relates to the story of the Kerait chieftain Ong Khān who after befriending Changiz fell at odds with him; he was defeated, and later killed by a rival tribe. Ong Khān's real name was Toghrol, and Ong was the Mongol pronunciation of Wāng (King), a title conferred to him by a Chin (Jin) general after his assistance in vanquishing their common enemy, the Tātārs.<sup>12</sup> As a man named king, he was drawn wearing a crown; but his non-Changizid status had to be emphasized as well, he was thus depicted riding an ass.

Ong Khān was *āndā* (sworn brothers, who mutually support each other) with Changiz' father, Yesukāy Bahādor. According to Rashidoddin, in the spring of 592/1196, Ong Khān, embattled and distraught, sent two of his *nokars* (attendants) to the "heights of Kelurān," seeking help from Changiz. Changiz obliged and brought him to his own encampments. "In autumn they both rode through a valley called Qarāun Qabchāl, meaning dark forest, and since (Ong Khān) was *āndā* to Yesukāy Bahādor, they became like father and son, and feasted together."<sup>13</sup> The two riders on the top seem to refer to the two *nokars*, the land of darkness is equated with the Qarāun Qabchāl, while the king riding along with the young prince alludes to Ong Khān and Changiz, as father and son. The father and son

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<sup>9</sup>. See for instance Soudavar (1992), 87 and 243

<sup>10</sup>. Nezāmi (1927), 82--85.

<sup>11</sup>. Another possibility, that the ass-rider was Uljāytu before his accession to the throne when he was referred to by his birth-name, Kharbandé (ass-herd), is rejected here since the rider is an elderly crowned ruler and not a young prince.

<sup>12</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:90.

<sup>13</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:266--67. Rashidoddin translates Qarāun Qabchāl as "black forest (*bishé*)" but Doerfer translates it as dark strait or mountain pass; Doerfer (1963), 1:386 and 403.

relationship was further stressed by Rashidoddin in stating that Changiz "sat before Ong Khān in the way of sons (before their father)."<sup>14</sup>

The *Secret History of the Mongols* confirms both the meeting in the Qarāun Qabchāl and the father and son relationship that existed between Ong Khān and Changiz; it also reveals---unlike the *Jāme`ottavārikh*---how in those early days, the Christian Keraites looked down on the Mongol tribe of Changiz, and refused Ong Khān's daughter to Changiz' eldest son, Juchi.<sup>15</sup> The superior status of the Keraites was such that even after their rise to power, the Changizids took pride in marrying Kerait women. Consequently, some of the most important women in the lineage of the *il-khāns* were related to Ong Khān, including Sorqoqtani and Doquz Khātun.<sup>16</sup>

In spite of the later conflict with Changiz, Ong Khān's high status in this illustration---projected as father to Changiz and riding ahead of him---is not only in deference to these relationships but also to honor the lineage of Uljāytu whose mother, Uruk Khātun, was a direct descendant of Ong Khān.<sup>17</sup> According to the Il-Khānid statesman `Atāmalek-e Jovayni: "in Mongol customs, the rank of sons sharing the same father was dependent on the nobility of their mother."<sup>18</sup> This illustration was meant to emphasize Uljāytu's---and by extension Abu-Sa`id's---high status through a noble maternal lineage that linked him to Ong Khān.

## **1.2. Illustrations pertaining to Changiz' sons**

Changiz' empire was to be divided among four of his sons: Juchi, Chaghatāy, Ogdāy and Tuloy.<sup>19</sup> Juchi's relationship with his brothers was much strained, and his premature death some six months before his father's, averted a succession war. His sons though, in a concerted effort with other Changizid princes, continued under Changiz' successor, Ogdāy, their forays into the European heartland. Later on, kinship considerations gave way to bitter rivalry and descendants of Juchi strongly contested the Il-Khānid domains in the Caucasus and Āzarbāyjān.

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<sup>14</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:93.

<sup>15</sup>. Kahn (1984), 78--79.

<sup>16</sup>. The all powerful Sorqoqtani, who married Tuloy and gave birth to Mungkā, Hulāgu, Qubilāy, and Arigh Bokā, was Ong Khān's niece, and Doquz Khātun (wife of Hulāgu) was his granddaughter; Rashidoddin (1976), 1:91.

<sup>17</sup>. Uruk Khātun was the daughter of Sārijé, brother of Doquz Khātun and grandson of Ong Khān from the Albā clan of the Kerait tribe, Rashidoddin (1976), 1:91.

<sup>18</sup>. Jovayni (1912), 1:29.

<sup>19</sup>. These four sons were all from Changiz' main wife, Borté Fujin. His sons from other wives did not enjoy the same status and prestige as these four.

**Fig. 2 \* Fereydun Asking About his Lineage (GB 2)<sup>20</sup>**

As a section heading, the title of this painting is not found in the two earlier dated *Shāhnāmés*, neither in the 1217 Florence manuscript nor the 675/1276 British Library one (Add.21. 103).<sup>21</sup> This is an unnecessary heading, closely following a more important one announcing "The birth of Fereydun." Its sole purpose is to explain the relevance of the illustration: a prince inquiring about his unknown or dubious lineage. It alludes to the illegitimate birth of Changiz' "first son," Juchi, related by the *Secret History of the Mongols*--but glossed over by Rashidoddin.<sup>22</sup>

According to the *Secret History*, the Merkits, avenging the abduction of one of their chieftain's wife, captured Changiz' wife, Borté Fujin; she was pregnant when subsequently recovered by the combined forces of Changiz and his ally, Ong Khān, and gave birth to Juchi.<sup>23</sup> The illustration here probably refers to an incident that reportedly occurred on the eve of Changiz' departure for the conquest of Iran. In reply to concerns on his succession, Changiz asked Juchi's opinion. Sensing that Changiz was designating his eldest son as successor, Chaghatāy (Changiz' second son) exclaimed: "How could we allow ourselves to be ruled by this bastard son of a Merkid?"<sup>24</sup> The two brothers seized each other by the collar but were separated by one of Changiz' commanders. Changiz intervened and appointed Ogdāy (r.624--39/1227--41) as his successor. The other brothers then swore allegiance to him. The gesture of the two men holding their hands over their heart seems to illustrate this oath of allegiance. Their presence is not accounted for in the *Shāhnāmé* narration; they were only added as pointers to the incident before Changiz.

Reference to Juchi's illegitimate birth particularly suited Abu-Sa`id since Juchi's descendant, the *khān* Ozbeg (r.712--42/1312--41)<sup>25</sup> of the Qebchāq Khānate (Golden Horde), initiated military expeditions against the Il-Khānid state in 718/1318, 725/1325 and 735/1335. Abu-Sa`id sent Amir Chupān (Chobān) on punitive expeditions to northern

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<sup>20</sup> The present study reverses a previous interpretation in Soudavar (1992), 42

<sup>21</sup> Ferdowsi (1988), 1:64. The inclusion of a similar heading in contemporary Injuid manuscripts was most probably influenced by the activities surrounding the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. The influence of other headings on later manuscripts shall be discussed as encountered.

<sup>22</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 1:72 and 505; see also 3.2.3.

<sup>23</sup> Kahn (1984), 40. Changiz's own mother had been abducted from the Merkit tribe.

<sup>24</sup> Kahn (1984), 167--8. Kahn has adopted the translation "bastard" for the Mongolian term *cul ulja`ur* according to the arguments stated in Cleaves (1982), 190 and note 41. The meaning of the unfamiliar Mongolian term is deduced from the violent reaction of Juchi against his brother and the subsequent defense of the honor of Changiz' wife by one of his generals.

<sup>25</sup> Samarqandi (1993), 65 and 91.

Āzarbāyjān and Georgia on the first two occasions, and was preparing to repel the third attack when he died *en route* in Arrān.<sup>26</sup>

The belittling of the dynastic head of a neighboring state seems to be a recurring theme in Persian painting. Another example is provided by an anachronistic portrait of Bābor (r.932-37/1526-30), the founder of the Mughal dynasty, kissing the hand of Shāh Esmā`il I (r.907-30/1501-24), painted at the end of the reign of Shāh `Abbās II (r.1052-1077/1642-66), when the latter displayed much animosity towards the Mughal emperor Aurangzib (r.1068-1118/1658-1707) and was preparing to invade India (**fig. 2a**). `Abbās II died while preparing for the campaign of Qandahār.<sup>27</sup>

### **Fig. 3 Bahrām-e Gur in the Treasury of Jamshid (GB 48)**

According to the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, Ogdāy built a palace in Qaraqorum, for which "he ordered reputed jewelers to make appropriate containers, in gold and silver, in the shape of animals such as elephants, lions, horses etc... for his drinking pavilion (*sharābkhāne*)."<sup>28</sup> The Franciscan William of Rubruck who had met in Qaraqorum the jeweler-craftsman responsible for the gold and silver edifice, the Parisian William Buchier, relates: "At the entrance to this great palace, since it was unfitting that skins of milk and other drink be brought through there, Master William of Paris had constructed for him (Mungkā Qāān) a large tree made of silver, with four silver lions at its roots, each one containing a conduit-pipe and spewing forth white milk of mares."<sup>29</sup> Since the fountain tree stood in Ogdāy's palace, Rashidoddin assumed it to be part of Ogdāy's constructions, but the more reliable account of Rubruck designates Mungkā Qāān (r.649--58/1251--60) as its patron.<sup>30</sup> This illustration is obviously based on Rashidoddin's account and not on Rubruck's.

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<sup>26</sup>. Samarqandi (1993), 65 and 91; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 163 and 188.

<sup>27</sup>. Soudavar (1992), 371--72.

<sup>28</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:478. The text of Jovayni's description of the palace of Qaraqorum in the present edition of the *Jahāngoshā* is scrambled and less clear than the *Jāme`ottavārikh*. The same animals are enumerated, seemingly as transportation means for heavy containers and not as animal-shaped gold containers; Jovayni (1912), 1:193. It is probable that his original text was similar to Rashidoddin's (who used him as a primary source for that period) but got distorted as a result of scribal mistakes. A pavilion depicted in an unidentified *Jāme`ottavārikh* page reproduced in Morgan (1986), 115, may represent Mungkā's drinking pavilion in Qaraqorum.

<sup>29</sup>. Rubruck (1990), 209. Buchier was captured in Belgrade in 1242 and given as slave to Tuloy's wife, Sorqoqtani. He was then inherited by Arigh Bokā who lent him to Mungkā Qāān for the palace project; *ibid.*, 208. William of Rubruck was sent by King Louis IX of France to Qaraqorum.

<sup>30</sup>. Rubruck recounts that he was in Mungkā Qāān's camp when the news of the fountain's completion reached the Khān. The Khān and his retinue reached Qaraqorum on April 5, 1254 to see it for the first time, Rubruck (1990), 208--11.

The *Jāme`ottavārikh's* description of Ogdāy's pavilion is very similar to the *Shāhnāmé's* description of Jamshid's treasury which includes: pairs of onagers, pairs of lions, pheasants and peacocks, all in gold and with jeweled eyes. The illustration closely follows Ferdowsi's description of the discoveries of Bahrām and his companion priest. The only allusion to the Qaraqorum court is made in the Mongolian attires of Bahrām and the priest (*mobad*), the latter differently dressed than the *mobads* depicted in **fig. 16**, *The Mobads Interrogating Zāl*.

### **1.3. Illustration pertaining to Qubilāy (r.658--93/1260--94)**

In 1251, Tuloy's powerful widow, Sorqoqtani, in alliance with Juchi's son, Bātu, engineered the election of her elder son, Mungkā, as Great Khān.<sup>31</sup> The transfer of the Great Khān (*qāān*) title to the house of Tuloy turned out to be irreversible and after Mungkā, his brother Qubilāy who was in charge of the China campaign, became the fourth of the Mongol Great Khāns to succeed Changiz. Upon ascending to the throne Qubilāy shifted the capital of the Mongol empire to Beijing, which was then renamed Khān-bāligh, City of the Khān. He is the founder of the Yuan dynasty (1260--1370) of China.

#### **Fig. 4 \* Rostam Slaying Shaghād (GB 2)**

Rostam falls into a pit dug by his treacherous brother, Shaghād, and lined with sharp blades (*tigh*). He is mortally wounded but as a last heroic act, he lets loose an arrow that pins his brother to the tree behind which he was hiding.

The purpose of this illustration is revealed by a striking visual clue: Rostam is not wearing his customary tiger-skin tunic (as in **fig. 12**, *Rostam Shooting an Arrow in Esfandiār's Eye*), but an imperial Chinese robe.<sup>32</sup> It points to the story of a Chinese emperor killing his brother: the story of Qubilāy Qāān and his younger brother, Arigh Bokā. Arigh Bokā had contested Qubilāy's election as Great Khān on grounds that the election gathering (*quriltāy*) should have been held on the sacred land of Mogholestān (Mongolia) and not in China. He subsequently convened a *quriltāy* in Mogholestān which elected him as Great Khān. War broke out between the two brothers and after several years of struggle, Arigh Bokā surrendered in 662/1264. According to Persian sources, Qubilāy castigated him for his treachery and, on the advice of his "Chinese counselors," ordered a peculiar punishment for his rebellious brother: Arigh Bokā was incarcerated in a prison with walls

<sup>31</sup>. For Bātu's role as a kingmaker and his relationship with Mungkā see Allsen (1979), 45--50.

<sup>32</sup>. The composition of this painting, is very similar to an illustrated scene of the same subject in the Edinburgh *Jāme`ottavārikh* (Talbot Rice & Gray, (1976), 76), see **fig. 58**. A possible explanation is offered under 3.5. I am indebted to Ms. T. Fitzherbert to have reminded me of the parallelism between these two paintings.

made of cactus spines (*khār-e moghilān*), where he perished within a year or two.<sup>33</sup> Both stories are about a brother killing a younger and treacherous brother; Qubilāy is portrayed here as Rostam causing the death of his brother. The blade-lined well is to recall Arigh Bokā's prison; its analogy with Rostam's death pit rests on a pun with the word *tigh* (blade) which also means spine in Persian.<sup>34</sup> Rostam's attire is similar to the one worn by Qubilāy in a painting now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei (**fig. 4b**), but Rostam's face with a white beard displays a striking similarity with Changiz' portrait (**fig. 4a**) in the same collection.<sup>35</sup> One can only assume that either a similar old age portrait of Qubilāy was available to the artist, or that he mistook the portrait of Changiz wearing a Chinese imperial robe for Qubilāy's.

### **... Illustration pertaining to Teymur Qāān (r.693--706/1294--1307)**

After a long reign of thirty four years Qubilāy was succeeded by his grandson, Teymur (Ch'eng-tsung), recognized as the new *qāān* and nominal suzerain of the *il-khāns*.

#### **Fig. 5 \* Alexander Reaching the City of the Brahmans (GB 32)**

While the left part of this painting may illustrate Alexander's visit to the ascetic Brahmans, the courtly gathering on the right is unrelated to the surrounding *Shāhnāmé* text. Two indices orient the reader towards the event of Mongol history that this painting was meant to evoke: the section heading suggests a Mongol emperor's lonely visit to ascetics or Buddhist monks (*bakhshis*),<sup>36</sup> and the Chinese style braided pony tail of the seated ruler points to a Yuan emperor. The full meaning of this illustration is revealed by a combination

<sup>33</sup> Khādamir (1974), 64. The death of Arigh Bokā is apparently not reported in Chinese sources. Rashidoddin puts Arigh Bokā's death in the fall of 664/1265, Rashidoddin (1976), 1:631--32.

<sup>34</sup> Considering the important influence that Chinese painting had on the development of Persian painting, it is interesting to note how visual puns also appear in Chinese designs and compositions. "Most designs in Chinese art contain layers of meaning waiting to be uncovered" and the highly educated elite of Chinese society, especially in the post Yuan era, "relished the game of testing their wit and erudition by discovering hidden meanings in art;" Cort & Stuart (1993), 33. For example, the word *fū*, for bat, was pronounced similar to the words "good fortune", and *hong fū* (red bat) similar to "abundant good fortune"; depending on the color scheme, the bat, in plain or red, became a frequently used iconographical element in Chinese designs; same was true for the cloud (*yun*) motif which sounded like "luck," *ibid.*, 57.

<sup>35</sup> The headgear is a main element in this identification. Only two of the Yuan dynastic portraits---Changiz and Qubilāy---have similar headgears to Rostam's and the remaining emperors wear different ones (Weidner (1982), pls. 2, 4, 5). While this group of paintings may be copies of the Ming period, they were surely copied from the original Yuan paintings that hung in the Han-lin Academy; *ibid.*, 56--62. As argued elsewhere, the activities and organization of the Han-lin Academy inspired the production of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* at the Il-Khānid court and reproductions of the Han-lin imperial portraits served as model for later activities of the Il-Khānid library-atelier; Soudavar (1993).

<sup>36</sup> Buddhist monks (*bakhshis*) were held in high esteem by Mongol rulers; see also **Fig.15** *The Mobads Interrogating Zāl*.

of the two Yuan reign accounts, namely those of Qubilāy and Teymur, that appear in the first volume of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*.

Rashidoddin relates that tradesmen who had brought jewelry for Teymur Qāān, bribed some officials to value them at 600,000 *bālash*,<sup>37</sup> in a transaction with the treasury. A disgruntled officer who was left out by the conspirators, reported their scheme to the *qāān*. A new appraisal valued the jewelry at half the previous one, and Teymur Qāān had the conspirators---including twelve *amirs* and viziers---arrested and sentenced to death. To annul the sentence, their relatives first implored the emperor's pardon through the auspices of his mother. Since she could not prevail, they sought the intervention of Tanpé, a Tibetan Buddhist monk much honored by the *qāān*. By chance, the Zuzavābé comet had appeared in the sky on that day, and Tanpé summoned the emperor to come and pray against the bad omen that it portended. When Teymur Qāān arrived, Tanpé first demanded the release of 40 prisoners, and then, an additional 100, contending that such benevolence would counter the bad omen of the comet. The high number of released prisoners inevitably included the tradesmen and the corrupt officials. The *qāān* prayed there for a week and upon his return, reinstated the released officials, but demanded the restitution of the price overage to the treasury.<sup>38</sup>

Within his narration, Rashidoddin refers the reader to the Qubilāy section where he states that Tanpé had a fellow Tibetan monk named Kanpé who resided with him in the private Buddhist sanctuary (*bot-khāné*) of Qubilāy Qāān.<sup>39</sup> Hence the depiction of two ascetics in the top left of this painting. The gathering on the right was probably meant to evoke Teymur Qāān's deliberations on the jewelry transaction, and Alexander's ride to the city of Brahmans represented the *qāān*'s visit to the Tibetan monks, as its sequel.

#### **1.4. Illustrations pertaining to Hulāgu (r.654--63/1256--65)**

Mungkā Qāān had dispatched his brother Hulāgu westward, with mission to destroy the order of the Esmā`ilis, abolish the caliphate and pacify the nations of western Asia as far as the borders of Egypt. Hulāgu was successful in the first two, but failed in his attempt to conquer Mameluk Egypt. Nevertheless, Kāshāni qualifies him as world-conqueror (*jahāngir*) and world-emperor (*jahāndār*).<sup>40</sup> In the following three illustrations Hulāgu is identified with world-emperor Fereydun, and Zakhāk refers alternately to the `Abbāsīd caliphs and the Esmā`ili ruler.

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<sup>37</sup>. A *bālash* was valued at 2000, or 200 *dinārs*, depending on whether it referred to a gold or silver *bālash*.

<sup>38</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:678--79.

<sup>39</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:661--62..

<sup>40</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 107.

### **Fig. 6      Zakhāk Enthroned (GB 1)**

The section heading preceding the illustration reads: "Zakhāk's reign was a thousand years." The emphasis of the surrounding text is on the Arab origin of the tyrant usurper Zakhāk. Zakhāk primarily alludes here to the `Abbāsids who were not treated with high regards in the writings of the Persian administrators of the Il-Khānid court, especially after Uljāyṭu's conversion to Shi`ism. Kāshāni, "quoting" Ghāzān, qualifies them as "sinful (*fāseq*), debauchees (*fājer*) and adulterers (*zāni*)."<sup>41</sup> The number thousand in Persian is also used as a symbolic adjective indicating high quantity or lengthy period of time; therefore, the "thousand years" reign may refer to the combined lasting caliphate of the Omayyads and the `Abbāsīd (41--656/661--1258), considered as an usurpation of Muslim rulership that, according to the Shi`ites, rightfully belonged to descendants of the Prophet Mohammad.<sup>42</sup> Mongol conquests were systematically referred to by Jovayni, Rashidoddin and their followers, including Kāshāni and Shabānkāreī, as deliverance (*estekhlās*); thus the conquest of Baghdad was considered as deliverance from the "usurpation" of the `Abbāsīds.

### **Fig. 7      Fereydun Capturing Zakhāk (GB 3)**

The rendering of the palace of Zakhāk as a fortress with escalating walls alludes here to one of the Esmā`ili fortresses conquered by Hulāgu, of which the most famous was the impregnable fortress of Alamut that was still in Esmā`ili hands after the submission of the last grand master of the order, Roknoddin Khorshāh (r.653--54/1255--56), to Hulāgu. Hulāgu took Khorshāh to Alamut to negotiate the surrender of the fortress. The defenders capitulated after a few days of negotiations. "Hulāgu then climbed to the top to explore the Alamut fortress and was amazed by the magnificence of that mountain."<sup>43</sup> This illustration may refer to Hulāgu's visit to the Alamut premises. However, the painting has been mutilated on the right side where the hands of a person greeting Fereydun may well be the hands of Zakhāk, depicted in the same attire as in **fig. 5**. If so, the painting alludes to the surrender of Khorshāh to Hulāgu at the fortress of Meymundezh on Sunday 29th of Shavvāl 654/19 November 1256,<sup>44</sup> rather than the capitulation of Alamut.

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41. Kāshāni (1969), 94.

42. Because of a strong belief in the special status of Changiz' descendants amongst Mongols, Muslim Changizid princes such as Ghāzān and Uljāyṭu, could easily project the same privileged status to the Prophet Mohammad's descendants and concur with the Shi`ites in claiming that the `Abbāsīd caliphs were usurpers.

43. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:696.

44. For the discrepancy in the date of Khorshāh's capitulation in two section of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, see Daftari (1991), 697--98.

**Fig. 8 \* Fereydun Leading Zakhāk to Mount Damāvand (GB 4)<sup>45</sup>**

Despite Khorshāh's cooperation, Hulāgu decided to send him to Qaraqorum. When news of his dispatch reached Mungkā Qāān, he questioned his brother's decision and exclaimed: "it is a waste of *ulāgh* (mount)."<sup>46</sup> The *qāān* then sent envoys to kill him en route. Khorshāh's voyage to Qaraqorum is equated here with Zakhāk's journey to mount Damāvand where he faced death. Two additional clues reveal the identity of Khorshāh. The first clue is the depiction of Zakhāk as a white-bearded old man; such old man is described in Persian by the adjective *pir*, a term which was also used to refer to Esmā'ili leaders.<sup>47</sup> The second clue is Zakhāk's mount depicted as a Bactrian camel;<sup>48</sup> it alludes to Khorshāh's passion for watching camel fights. Rashidoddin recounts that to satisfy the passion of his guest-prisoner, Hulāgu once gave him one hundred male Bactrian camel (*shotor-e bakhti*).<sup>49</sup> Considering that Rashidoddin contends that the Alamut mountain was in the shape of a crouching camel,<sup>50</sup> one may also conclude that the image of the *pir* on top of a camel alludes to the Pir-e Alamut, the founder of the Nezāri branch of the Esmā'ilis in Iran, Hasan-e Sabbāh, whose order nearly came to an end with the death of Khorshāh.

**Fig. 9 Rashnavād Battling the Rumis (GB 27)**

This illustration probably alludes to Hulāgu's dispatch of his general Bāyju Nuyān to capture Rum (Anatolia). Bāyju, equated here with the commander of the Iranian forces Rashnavād, defeated the Saljuq Ghiāsoddin Kay-Khosrow of Rum in a battle prior to Hulāgu's departure for the conquest of Baghdad in 1258.<sup>51</sup>

**Fig. 10 Fereydun Preparing to Greet Iraj and Seeing his Coffin (GB 7)**

As Hulāgu embarked on his westward mission, some of his sons remained in the services of Mungkā Qāān. Among them, his second son, Jumaqur joined Arigh Bokā in the war of succession that erupted after Mungkā's death; but as Arigh Bokā's fortunes turned,

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<sup>45</sup> The section heading inserted here does not appear in earlier or contemporary *Shāhnāmés* (Ferdowsi (1988), 1:84) and its purpose is to focus the reader's attention on the journey of Zakhāk.

<sup>46</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 2:697. In Mongol times, *ulāgh* referred to mounts used in-between relay and postal stations.

<sup>47</sup> In the post Alamut period, Esmā'ili leaders were increasingly referred to as *pirs*, a term that usually designated Sufi *shaykhs*; Daftari (1991), 468.

<sup>48</sup> Ferdowsi describes Zakhāk's mount as *hayun* (a big animal that may be interpreted as camel); Ferdowsi (1988), 1:84.

<sup>49</sup> Rashidoddin (1977), 193.

<sup>50</sup> Rashidoddin (1977), 191.

<sup>51</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 2:698. The scene may also allude to Amir Chupān's mission to pacify the Turkamans of Anatolia during Uljāyту's reign. However, the latter mission did not result in a battle engagement with the adversaries as the Turkamans preferred to retreat and avoid confrontation, Kāshāni (1969), 169.

and upon insistence of his father who remained loyal to Qubilāy, Jumaqur decided to split towards Samarqand (662/1264).<sup>52</sup> Hulāgu sent one of his generals to bring back the prince along with the rest of Hulāgu's household. Jumaqur was struck ill and died en route. Like Fereydun, Hulāgu was awaiting his son's return, but received instead the news of his death. He blamed his general for negligence and sentenced him to a severe beating.<sup>53</sup> The illustration conveys the story of Hulāgu's disappointment, heightened by the depiction of Fereydun's mourning army. The main clue is provided by the title, different than earlier or contemporary *Shāhnāmés*, emphasizing preparation to greet Iraj rather than the usual title announcing Fereydun "learning about Iraj's death."<sup>54</sup>

**Fig. 11 \* The Reign of Garshāsb Son of Zav Was Nine Years (GB 15)**

The nine years stated in the section heading placed on top of this illustration corresponds to the exact reign years of Hulāgu in Iran, from 654/1256 to 663/1265. It is to be noted that since Hulāgu was never formally enthroned in Iran, the scene omits the two attendants with swords and belts hanging over their shoulders, traditionally present in Mongol enthronement scenes (see **figs. 18** and 50).

Garshāsb's independent rule was contested in earlier historical texts. The 10th/11th century historian Sa`ālabi, quoting his predecessors Tabari and Ebn-e Khordādbeh, states that although Zav and Garshāsb are known to have shared the kingship of Iran, the real king was Zav, and Garshāsb was his most important assistant and in charge of all military affairs.<sup>55</sup> Ebn-e Asir (555--630/1160--1233) reiterates that Garshāsb was only a vizier and assistant in Zav's reign, but also asserts that he ruled for nine years after Zav's three years rule.<sup>56</sup> Since this *Shāhnāmé* manuscript was being prepared in the wake of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* production--which made use of all the above mentioned sources--it is probable that Hulāgu's depiction as Garshāsb was not only based on the similar length of rule but also on the fact that Hulāgu was initially sent by Mungkā Qāān to pacify Iran and that he ruled as viceroy.<sup>57</sup> In the words of the II-Khānid historian and statesman,

<sup>52</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:626.

<sup>53</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:680 and 745--46.

<sup>54</sup>. Ferdowsi (1988), 1:122

<sup>55</sup>. Sa`ālabi (1989), 88.

<sup>56</sup>. Ebn-e Asir (1985), 26 and 52. Gardizi contends that Garshāsb was sent by Zav to conquer Zābolestān and that he was in effect the ancestor of Sām, Zāl and Rostam; Gardizi (1989), 41-42.

<sup>57</sup>. Garshāsb's reign is eliminated from the *Jāme`ottavārikh* and the replacement of its first volume prepared by Hāfez-e Abru; see Rosen (1971), 71. In the latest study of the *Shāhnāmé*, the title and the three couplets pertaining to the reign of Garshāsb have been considered as non original verses, inserted in Ferdowsi's work as early as 675/1276, the date of completion of the British Library manuscript (Add. 21.103)--which includes these couplets--and prior to the copying of this II-Khānid manuscript; Ferdowsi (1988), 1:329.

Hamdollah-e Mostowfi: "during his (Hulāgu's) rule, decrees were issued in the name of the *qāān* and the civil administration was in the hands of Arghun Āghā," who reported directly to the *qāān*.<sup>58</sup>

### **1.5. Illustration pertaining to Abāqā (r.663--80/1265--82)**

Abāqā was elected successor to Hulāgu by the Mongol princes and generals in Iran. His election was subsequently confirmed by a decree of his overlord, Qubilāy Qāān.

#### **Fig. 12 Rostam Shooting an Arrow in Esfandiār's Eye (GB 21)**

The emphasis of the section heading is on the arrow striking Esfandiār's eye rather than the demise of the prince. It refers to a similar incident involving Nuqāy son of Tātār, an ambitious Juchid prince who had marched south from Darband. Abāqā sent his brother Yoshmut, to confront him. In the ensuing battle, an arrow struck Nuqāy in the eye.<sup>59</sup> Nuqāy however, survived and became a king maker within the Golden Horde. He was finally killed by the *khān* Tuqtā (686--89/1287--89) of the Golden Horde, and his wife and son came to Ghāzān to seek help.<sup>60</sup>

#### **Fig. 13 Kay-Khosrow in his Palace of Āzargoshasb (TKS H2153, fol. 55a)**

A series of *Shāhnāmē* illustration fragments from the Jalāyerid period in Istanbul are directly related to the illustration program of this manuscript and in two cases fit illustration empty slots foreseen by Grabar and Blair in their reconstruction of this manuscript (**figs. 30 and 45**). The present painting does not correspond to a precise slot but seems to belong to a large gap between folios 51 and 111, which according to Grabar and Blair must have included several illustrations. Although untitled, its subject has been recently identified by A.S. Melikian-Chirvani as Kay-Khosrow who sits in the palace he built on the ruins of the mountain-top castle of Bahman that he had wrested from the *dīvs* (demoniac creatures); next to the palace, Kay-Khosrow erects the temple of Āzargoshasb, the most prestigious fire temple in Āzarbāyjān.<sup>61</sup> This identification is explained within a lengthy article on the elaborate *Shāhnāmē* verses that appear on the ceramic tiles from a palace built by Abāqā Khān in Āzarbāyjān on the ruins of the fire temple of Āzargoshasb, on a mountain-top presently known as Takht-e Soleymān and called Soghurloq by the Mongols. The *kufic*

<sup>58</sup>. Mostowfi (1960), 590. See also Allsen (1979), 41--42.

<sup>59</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:744. Nuqāy's own kingdom stretched from the Don river, across Ukraine, to the mouth of Danube. The tribes under his command became known as the Nuqāy (Nogai) Horde. He initiated attacks on Transylvania and Poland; Saunders (1971), 159--63.

<sup>60</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:921.

<sup>61</sup>. Melikian-Chirvani (1991), 94--98.

inscription on---the left panel of---the window frame depicted in this painting contains the opening verse of the *Shāhnāmé*, and as the only instance of *Shāhnāmé* verses appearing in these illustrations, it may be that the painter included them in recognition of the actual existence of *Shāhnāmé* verses on the tile-work of Takht-e Soleymān, for which Melikian-Chirvani provides numerous examples.<sup>62</sup> Mostowfi recounts that: "in the province of Anjerud there is a hamlet (*qasabé*) situated on a mound (*poshté*) that the Mongols refer to it as Soghurloq; the Kayānid Kay-Khosrow had built it. In the hamlet stands a great palace, and in the center of the palace's courtyard there is a big pond (fed by a spring), almost like a lake whose bottom sailors cannot reach ... the Mongol Abāqā Khān rebuilt that palace."<sup>63</sup> The Takht-e Soleymān palace thus provided a natural association between Abāqā and the legend of Kay-Khosrow. What remains unclear is the precise meaning of the armors presented to the ruler, usually symbolizing victory over a dispossessed adversary. If the armors are signs of war spoils presented to the *il-khān*---depicted sitting in his palace---they should have come from a campaign in which Abāqā himself did not participate. It may allude to the spoils recovered by prince Arghun from a renegade Chaghatāyid *amir*, Āqbeg, who had sacked Bokhārā in (670/1272) and massacred its inhabitants. Arghun stationed in Khorāsān, captured Āqbeg and sent him to Abāqā.<sup>64</sup>

## **1.6. Illustration pertaining to Tegudār (r.680--83/1282--84)**

Upon Abāqā's death, his brother Ahmad Tegudār (Hulāgu's seventh son), was elected *il-khān* over Abāqā's son, Arghun.

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<sup>62</sup>. Melikian-Chirvani observes similar modifications of the "standard" *Shāhnāmé* verses on the tiles as well as the text of `Alā'oddin-e Jovayni's *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā*, and concludes on Jovayni's participation in the construction project of the palace. His analysis is based on the standards set by the Mohl and Bertels editions of the *Shāhnāmé*. But other versions existed as well. For example the word *shārestān* in a verse of one of the tiles, is picked by him as a Jovayni-like modification of *shahr-e `elm* in the Mohls and Bertels editions (Melikian-Chirvani (1991), 93--94), while Khaleghi-Motlagh's recent thorough edition of the *Shāhnāmé* recognizes the verse with *shārestān* as authentic; Ferdowsi (1988), 1:10. Another argument is based on a poem by Zol-feqār-e Shirvāni eulogizing the ascent to the throne of the Muslim *il-khān* Ahmad Tegudār. Melikian-Chirvani believes the poem to say that the world was rejuvenated when the king rallied to Islam through the intervention of Jovayni; Melikian-Chirvani (1991), 127. His interpretation rests on the wrong meaning of the word *tarbiat* in the verse: با سر تربیت صاحب دیوان آمد. He translates it as "education" while in fourteenth century literature it usually meant protection and favors (see for instance Samarqandi (1993), 101, or Shabānkārēi (1984), 203 and 271), and confounds the subject with the direct object of the sentence. The poem implies that once again the *il-khān* "bestowed protection and favors on the *sāheb-e divān* (Jovayni)," with no implication whatsoever for the involvement of Jovayni in Tegudār's conversion to Islam.

<sup>63</sup>. Melikian-Chirvani (1991), 72, quoted from the *Nozhatol-qolub* of Mostowfi.

<sup>64</sup>. Āqbeg persuaded Abāqā that Bokhārā served as launching base for Chaghatāyid raids against Il-Khānid territories and therefore should be destroyed. He was caught by Arghun when about to flee with the loot; Rashidoddin (1976), 2:766--67.

### **Fig. 14 Salm and Tur Killing Iraj (GB 6)**

Fratricide within the house of Changiz was forbidden by the *yāsā*, and conviction of Mongol princes required convening a special military tribunal.<sup>65</sup> Thus, Tegudār's summary execution of his own brother, Qunqurtāy, constituted one of Arghun's main objections to his uncle's rule. When Tegudār was finally defeated, Arghun ordered his execution in reprisal for the death of Qunqurtāy.<sup>66</sup> This illustration, included within the Fereydun chapter in which the legendary emperor is mostly identified as Hulāgu, evokes the killing of Hulāgu's son, Qunqurtāy, by analogy to the murder of Fereydun's younger son, Iraj, at the hands of his brothers, Salm and Tur.

### **1.7. Illustrations pertaining to Arghun (r.683--90/1284--91)**

Imprisoned in Tegudār's royal camp and facing execution, Arghun was saved by the ambitious Mongol general Buqā who switched allegiance to the young prince and defeated Tegudār. Buqā's own era of power came to an abrupt end when his plot to replace the *il-khān* with another Changizid prince was uncovered by Arghun. Buqā was executed and his wealth confiscated. His demise allowed for the rise to prominence of the Jewish vizier Sa`doddowlé whose influence and power grew as Arghun, surrounded by Buddhist monks (*bakhshis*) and preoccupied with alchemy and magic potions, increasingly entrusted the affairs of the state to him. Sa`doddowlé in turn, fell victim to the rebellion of a group of Mongol generals who killed him as Arghun was agonizing in his deathbed.

### **Fig. 15 \* Nushirvān Eating the Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbod (GB 56)**

Nushirvān's trusted vizier, Mahbod, attracts the jealousy of the chamberlain, Zorvān.<sup>67</sup> In complicity with an evil sorcerer, Zorvān manages to poison the food that the sons of Mahbod exclusively serve Nushirvān. Zorvān warns the king to have the food first tested by the two youths. They die instantly and the king orders Mahbod beheaded.

This story, which involves sorcery, poisoned food, a vizier with his two sons, and exclusive access to the king, is used to illustrate events leading to Arghun's death. Arghun encountered a *bakhshi* from "India"<sup>68</sup> who claimed to have gained longevity through use of

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<sup>65</sup>. For examples of Changizid princes trials (*yarghu*) conducted under Mungkā Qāān, see Allsen (1979), 25--27.

<sup>66</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:800.

<sup>67</sup>. The chamberlain Zorvān, named after the ancient Iranian deity, is misspelled in later manuscripts as Zurān. In the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, the letter spelling is correct but the vowel accent on (z) suggests an incorrect reading as Zarvān.

<sup>68</sup>. The *bakhshi* that is referred to as "Indian" by Rashidoddin is probably Tibetan, since the Tibetan Buddhist monks, reputed to have magical and supernatural powers, became influential at the court of Arghun's overlord, Qubilāy. Qubilāy even presided over--and actively participated in--a debate between the Buddhists and the

a special potion. Arghun asked for some and the *bakhshi* began to administer a mixture containing "sulfur and mercury." After eighth months, the *il-khān* secluded himself in the fortress of Tabriz for a period of forty days during which time, the only people allowed to visit him were the vizier Sa`doddowlé, his two subordinates, the generals Orduqiā and Ouchān, and the *bakhshis*. As Arghun's health deteriorated various explanations were advanced, including sorcery that was blamed on a harem lady, Tughāchāq (Tughānjuq) Khātun, daughter of Ahmad Tegudār's wife, Ilqotlogh Khātun. She was tortured and drowned, along with some other women of the harem.<sup>69</sup> While relying on the poisoning plot of the *Shāhnāmé*, this illustration mostly depicts the events described in the *Jāme`ottavārikh*. The two men standing to the right are dressed as Mongol generals and represent the counterparts of Mahbod's two sons: the one standing guard near the door is Ouchān, the commander of the Tabriz fortress,<sup>70</sup> and the one to the right is his superior Orduqiā. Ferdowsi's story includes a housemaid who set the table for Nushirvān, but the lady depicted next to the king is crowned, and of high rank. She may represent Tughāchāq, engaging in "sorcery", while the women over the doorway are the "accomplices" drowned with her.

### **Fig. 16 The Mobads Interrogating Zāl (GB 12)**

To put Zāl to test, king Manucehr summons the *mobads*, the Zoroastrian priests, who ask Zāl to solve several riddles.

This story is to underline Rashidoddin's eagerness to engage into analytical and argumentative debates. Book four of section one of part one of Rashidoddin's *Jāme`ottasānif* (Compendium of works), named *Latā`efol-haqāyeq* (Subtle truths), is devoted to the compilation of philosophical and religious arguments developed by the vizier in reply to various questions submitted to him. On one occasion, a *bakhshi* in the retinue of Arghun, tried to test Rashidoddin before the *il-khān*. He asked Rashidoddin "whether the chicken came from the egg or the egg came from the chicken?" Rashidoddin boasted in his account that, although he had never been questioned on this problem before, he readily developed a comprehensive argument likening the problem to that of the creation of men (and other animal species), despite the fact that "his interlocutor (the *bakhshi*) was

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Taoists at the end of which he declared the latters to be the losers. The most prominent of the Tibetan Buddhist monks was Phags-pa lama who, in religious ceremonies, would sit higher than Qubilāy himself. He was the author of a "universal" script promoted by Qubilāy to become the alphabet of official Mongol correspondences and seals; see Rossabi (1988), 40-42 and 155--60.

<sup>69</sup>. Elements of this story are scattered through various sections of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*; see Rashidoddin (1976), 2:783, 821, 823--24. Tughāchāq was daughter of Ilqotlogh daughter of Kinshu son of Jumaghur son of Hulāgu, Banākati (1969), 412 and 438.

<sup>70</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:821.

incapable of understanding such arguments."<sup>71</sup> The *mobad* is obviously equated here with the *bakhshi*, and Zāl with Rashidoddin; the young boy on the left might be a representation of one of Rashidoddin's sons accompanying him to the court, perhaps Ghiāsoddin Mohammad.

**Fig. 17 \* Mehrān Setād Selecting a Chinese Princess (GB 58)**

To forge a stronger relationship between China and Iran, the *khāqān* of China asks Nushirvān to marry one of his daughters. In compliance, Nushirvān sends his vizier to select and bring back the bride.

The story is a perfect match for a delegation sent by Arghun to Khān-bāligh (Beijing) seeking a new bride for the *il-khān* "in lieu of (*be-jā-ye*)" the deceased Bologhān Khātun-e Bozorg (d.686/1286), Abāqā's favorite wife, remarried to Arghun. Princess Kukājin was sent back with the delegation that returned circa 693/1293, after Arghun's death. The reigning *il-khān*, Gaykhātu, allowed her to be wed to Ghāzān who assigned her the prestigious Yurt-e Bozorg, the camp quarters that once belonged to Doqūz Khātun, Hulāgu's wife.<sup>72</sup> Marco Polo who accompanied the delegation back to the Il-Khānid court gives a more detailed account. Qubilāy received Arghun's delegation headed by three of his "barons": Oulatai (Ulādāy), Apusca (Abishqā) and Coja (Khājé). "Then he summoned a lady called Cocachin, who was of the lineage of the Queen Bolgana, and was seventeen years old and most beautiful and charming. He said to the three barons that this was the lady whom they sought. They replied that they were content." The delegation first tried to return by land, but because of a war raging among Changizid princes of central Asia, it had to return to Beijing. Some three years after leaving Tabriz, they embarked on a perilous sea journey with the Polos back to Iran.<sup>73</sup> Most of the delegation died en route, including Ulādāy and Abishqā. Khājé was the only envoy to return, and thus the only one mentioned in the account of Rashidoddin. Since Khājé is mostly used as an honorific title for high-ranking Persian administrators, Mehrān Setād who portrays him in this illustration wears the turban of Persian administrators and not the attire of Mongol warlords.

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<sup>71</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976) LH, 36--38.

<sup>72</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:869. Kukājin was related to Bolghān Khātun; both were from the Bāyāt tribe; *ibid.*, 1:138.

<sup>73</sup>. Polo (1931), 15, 18. For the correct name spellings and dates see Pelliot (1959), 1:44, 393-94 and, 2:798. It took almost seven years to "replace" Bologhān Khātun with another "Chinese" princess.

## **1.8. Illustration pertaining to Gaykhātu (r.690--94/1291--95)**

Because of his feeble nature, reputation for largess and constant pursuit of worldly pleasures, Gaykhātu was elected *il-khān* by Mongol warlords who wished to dominate the affairs of the empire.

### **Fig. 18 The Reign of Zav, Son of Tahmāsb, Was Five Years (GB 14)**

As the main argument supporting their theory for dating the manuscript to the reign of Arpā Kāun, Grabar and Blair surmised that the depiction of Zav, a minor king who was enthroned for lack of any other descendant of Fereydu, paralleled the appointment of Arpā as *il-khān* by Khājé Ghiāsoddin Mohammad.<sup>74</sup> Their reasoning does not take into account the section heading incorporated at the top of the illustration which limits Zav's reign to five years and augured a short reign for the *khājé's* candidate (see also 3.1). A more likely alternative is that Zav personified Gaykhātu whose years of reign come very close to his. Gaykhātu reigned a month and half short of four years. But if the four months between the demise of Arghun and the enthronement of Gaykhātu are taken into account, his death would have occurred in the fifth year of his reign.<sup>75</sup> The two *amirs* depicted on each side of the throne represent the two most prominent princes or generals who, according to Mongol customs, would take the new *khān* by the hands and place him on the throne; they have their belts and sword hanging from their shoulders and neck as a sign of allegiance to the new ruler.<sup>76</sup> The kneeling prince who is offering a bowl of wine to the ruler symbolizes the Mongol practice of *kāsé-giri* (bowl-offering) by which Changizid princes would honor one another. The Persian Muslim administrators and artists in charge of manuscript production, seemingly preferred to avoid references to Mongol wine drinking, especially in respect to Ghāzān and Uljāyту who had both converted to Islam. The depiction of bowl-offering within this enthronement scene, to the exclusion of all others, is probably in reference to Gaykhātu's notorious habits in debauchery and wine drinking.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Grabar & Blair (1980), 48 and 51.

<sup>75</sup> As stated in *The Reign of Garshāsb Son of Zav was Nine Years*, Zav and Garshāsb's reigns are the subject of much confusion in early history texts. Mas'udi (d.345/956) for instance states that some put Zav's reign at three years, and some at more; Mas'udi (1962), 1:201.

<sup>76</sup> They are named as Amir Chupān and Amir Sevinch for the enthronement of Abu-Sa'id, Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 122; and prince Qunqurtāy and Shiktur Noyān on the occasion of Ahmad Tegudār's accession to the throne, Rashidoddin (1976), 2:785. Referring to Ogdāy's enthronement, Rashidoddin states that Chaghatāy took his right hand and Tuloy his left hand (ibid., 1:453), while Jovayni states that Ogdāy's right hand was held by Chaghatāy and his left hand by his uncle, Utgin (Utjekin); Jovayni (1912), 147.

<sup>77</sup> Mostowfi (1960), 600; Boyle (1975), 374.

## **1.9. Illustration pertaining to Bāydu (r.694/1295)**

Arghun's strong-willed son, Ghāzān, was by-passed a second time by the Mongol generals who had first brought Gaykhātu to power and then in, a shift of allegiance, caused his downfall and elected prince Bāydu son of Taraghāy son of Hulāgu, as *il-khān*.

### **Fig. 19 Bahrām-e Bahrāmiān Enthroned (GB 45)**

As in the previous case, the section heading above the illustration designates the *il-khān* with a similar length of reign. It reads "the reign of Bahrām-e Bahrāmiān was four months" and corresponds to the very short reign of Gaykhātu's successor, Bāydu, in the year 694/1295. Although Bāydu's length of reign is not specified in the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, it is framed by the death of Gaykhātu in the month of Jomādā I (April) and his own death in the month of Ziqā`dé (September) of the same year.

It was most fortuitous that the few lines of *Shāhnāmé* text devoted to a minor Sāsānian king, Bahrām III (r.293),<sup>78</sup> provided a spot for the---equally minor---*il-khān* Bāydu, in this manuscript.

## **1.10. Illustrations pertaining to Ghāzān (r.694--703/1295--1304)**

Ghāzān vanquished Bāydu with the help of his Muslim general Amir Nowruz, who advised him to accept the Muslim religion. Two years later, Ghāzān had to quell a rebellion fostered by Amir Nowruz and his relatives.

### **Fig. 20 \* Bahrām Staying in the Farmer's House as the Farmer's Wife Milked the Cow (GB 50)**

The very strange and elaborate title of this illustration is encountered in no other *Shāhnāmé* manuscript. It pertains to the story of Bahrām-e Gur harbored by a peasant woman who, unaware of his real identity, complains about the injustices committed by the king's retinue. Angered by her remarks, Bahrām vows to himself to act harsher in order to dissuade further criticism. The next morning, when the cow's milk dries up, the woman interprets it for her husband as a sign of the king becoming unjust. Bahrām hears the conversation, repents, and the milk flows again.

The above story is used to illustrate an early incident in the life of Ghāzān. Rashidoddin recounts that Ghāzān had a wet-nurse, Moghālchin, wife of Isheng the Khitan. Mongol customs forbade wet-nurses of Changizid princes to have intercourse with

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<sup>78</sup>. Sa`ālabi also gives Bahrām III's reign as four months; Sa`ālabi (1989), 324. Bahrām III was son of Bahrām II son of Bahrām I, thus his name Bahrām-e Bahrāmiān (i.e. Bahrām son of Bahrāms).

their husbands fearing "contamination" of their milk. But Isheng slept with his wife, the young Ghāzān contracted diarrhea from her milk, and Moghālchin was replaced.<sup>79</sup> The milking scene refers to the fostering of Ghāzān by Moghālchin, while the peasant approaching his wife alludes to Isheng's intercourse with his wife, termed as *nazdiki* by Rashidoddin, literally meaning "getting close." In both stories, the process of providing milk to the prince is momentarily disrupted.

**Fig. 21 Bahrām-e Gur Hunting Onagers (GB 51)**

Abāqā was so fond of his grandson Ghāzān, that he took the custody of the three year old prince away from his father and gave it to his own wife, Bologhān Khātun-e Bozorg. Five years later, Arghun came to visit Ghāzān at the camp of Abāqā and took him along for a hunt. Ghāzān showed his prowess with bow and arrow by hunting his first deer at the very young age of eight. Festivities celebrating the event lasted for three days.<sup>80</sup>

Highly admired by Rashidoddin, Ghāzān's skills in hunting, riding and hawking provided an easy ground for Ghāzān's identification with Bahrām-e Gur whose various talents are similarly praised in the *Shāhnāmé*.

**Fig. 22 Bahman Meeting Zāl (GB 18 and TKS H2153, fol. 8a)**

Esfandiār, wishing to avoid war, sends his son, Bahman, to persuade Rostam to make peace and pay homage to his father, King Goshtāsb. Bahman is met and embraced by Rostam's father Zāl.

This illustration alludes to two similar incidents, both involving Ghāzān. The first one occurs when Arghun, pursued by Ahmad Tegudār into Khorāsān, sends his son Ghāzān to ask for peace. Ghāzān enters Tegudār's camp near Semnān (Rabi` I 683/June 1284) and is embraced by his uncle who "perceived in him the Divine Glory."<sup>81</sup> The second involves Ghāzān as contender against Bāydu. After a tentative compromise on the division of the kingdom between the two (Rajab 694/ June 1295), Bāydu sent his son, Qebchāq, inviting Ghāzān to visit him, lest "those of far and near think that there is no amity between us."<sup>82</sup>

In both instances a son is sent to seek peace. Since Qebchāq was inviting Ghāzān to visit his father, the second event seems to be a better match for the *Shāhnāmé* story. Also, Uljāyту had joined his brother's camp prior to the arrival of Qebchāq, and the long-eared ass depicted on the top left with reins in the hands of an attendant, may be a device to

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<sup>79</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:843.

<sup>80</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:846.

<sup>81</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:794 and 848.

<sup>82</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:891.

designate him as the prince standing in front of it, since, before his accession to the throne, Uljāyту was constantly referred to by Rashidoddin as the "Kharbandé (ass-herd) prince."<sup>83</sup> Uljāyту was only three years old in the first incident and could not have accompanied Ghāzān. On the other hand, according to the consistent iconography of this manuscript a prince with a golden crown represents a future king. Thus, the golden crown of Bahman may designate Ghāzān and not Qebchāq.

The Jalāyerid interpretation of the same theme (**fig. 22a**), which depicts less people and omits Uljāyту, seems to favor the first event. But in the case of this *Shāhnāmē* manuscript, references to both events may have been deliberately squeezed into the same illustration.

### **Fig. 23 Alexander Arriving at the Talking Tree (GB 38)**

At the time of Amir Nowruz' rebellion, Ghāzān camped in open air near the city of Kermānshāh, on a mountain slope before a large tree. At night, while apprehensive about Nowruz, Ghāzān perceived "heavenly signs of success and joy." Passing nearby some six years later (c.702/1302), Ghāzān decided to go on a pilgrimage to the spot with the tree, "accompanied by all his wives and generals." He wept and remembered his pledges and wishes, and the subsequent victory and success; as per his pledge he performed the Muslim prayer twice and prostrated himself before the Lord begging for continued success. "And then, all those present, hung ornaments from the tree which became like a shrine, and the generals danced to the tune of the accompanying musicians."<sup>84</sup>

The story of Alexander's visit to the talking tree was used to illustrate Ghāzān's pilgrimage to the tree near Kermānshāh, in which the human and animal heads represent substitutes for ornaments hung by Ghāzān's retinue.

Pilgrimage to a tree seems to be a recurring theme in Mongol tradition. In continuation of the same episode, Amir Pulād Ching-Sāng, who was an authority on Mongol history and present at the ceremony, recounted that in a campaign against the Merkits, Changiz' great uncle Qutolé, dismounted by a tree and vowed to the Eternal Heaven that if victorious "I shall turn this tree into a shrine and dress it in colorful garments." After victory, he returned to the tree and dressed it as vowed, and danced around the tree followed by his army, "until the earth sank by one *gaz*."<sup>85</sup> Another tree story is associated with Changiz himself. Out on a hunt, Changiz saw a lone tree with a very

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<sup>83</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:890.

<sup>84</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:950--51.

<sup>85</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:950--51. The name of Changiz' uncle is misread in some editions of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* as Qubilāy Qāān, as pointed out by Pelliot; Pelliot (1959), 2:630. A *gaz* measures approximately 0.5 meter.

appealing shape. He slept under it and joy filled his heart. He told his companions to mark the spot, for it was worthy of becoming his burying place; and at his death, the princes and generals who remembered his wishes buried him by that tree.<sup>86</sup>

#### **Fig. 24 Picture of Nushirvān the Just (GB 54)**

The only heading of the manuscript to be written in decorative *kufic* script, the title of this illustration names Nushirvān the Just, the very symbol of a just king in Persian literature. Kāshāni who systematically used the epithet "just" for Ghāzān, explained that each *il-khān* was known for a distinctive trait (that reflected on the behavior of his subjects): Hulāgu was a world-conqueror and world-emperor interested in philosophy and sciences, Abāqā favored agriculture and constructions, Arghun was bent on magic potions and alchemy, Gaykhātu indulged in feasts and debauchery, and the "time of Ghāzān the Just was marked by reform, wisdom, justice, charity and donations."<sup>87</sup> Other chroniclers such as Shirāzi and Shabānkārēi also use the epithet just for Ghāzān.<sup>88</sup> Ghāzān is portrayed here as Nushirvān the Just, with a solar disk symbol of his Divine Glory behind his head, glancing at a young prince on his right that may be Uljāytu.

#### **Fig. 25 \* Bahrām-e Gur Talking to Narsi (GB 52)**

Struck by the odd choice of this *Shāhnāmē* episode for illustration, Grabar and Blair had correctly surmised that it alluded to Ghāzān as Bahrām, and Uljāytu as Narsi (both appointed governors of Khorāsān by their respective brothers).

The Il-Khānid state was constantly threatened on its north-west borders by the Golden Horde, and on its north-east frontiers by the Chaghatāyids. The Il-Khānids assumed the defense of the western borders from the capital city of Tabriz or Soltāniyyé. The defense of the eastern frontiers was the responsibility of the governor of Khorāsān, the second most important position in the Il-Khānid state, traditionally assigned to the crown prince. Thus Arghun, Ghāzān, Uljāytu and Abu-Sa`id were all governors of that province prior to their ascent to the throne.

This episode of the *Shāhnāmē* is a short, and usually untitled, passage following Bahrām's victory over the *khāqān* of China, in which Bahrām addressing Narsi declares "take (its) crown and seal-ring; I gave you Khorāsān, make it prosperous." It may allude to Uljāytu's appointment as viceroy (*qā'em-maqām*) to Khorāsān in the year 695/1296 in the aftermath of the defeat of Amir Nowruz.<sup>89</sup> However, the focus of the illustration is the

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<sup>86</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:387. For a discussion on Changiz' burial site see Pelliot (1959), 330--53.

<sup>87</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 107.

<sup>88</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 505, and Shabānkārēi (1984), 267.

<sup>89</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:925--26.

interaction between the two brothers: Ghāzān is offering Uljāyту a handkerchief that appears as a scepter-like symbol of kingship in the hand of the monarch in most other enthronement scenes of this manuscript, especially those depicting Uljāyту (**figs. 34 and 35**), and in similar scenes depicting contemporary or later Islamic rulers (see **fig. 25a**).<sup>90</sup> Perhaps, it translates into image Rashidoddin's assertion that Uljāyту "inherited the throne through his prior designation as crown prince (*berāh-e velāyat-`ahdi*)," and was meant to bolster a belated assertion at the end of volume one of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* that, on his death bed, Ghāzān "reiterated Uljāyту's designation as crown prince that he had proclaimed five years earlier and reconfirmed on various occasions ever since."<sup>91</sup> Rashidoddin seems to imply that such proclamation was done on the occasion of Uljāyту's visit to his brother in Ujān between 25th of Sha`bān 698 (28th of May 1298) and early Zihajjé 698 (September 1298), when the two brothers participated in a *quriltāy* (a term that designates a conference on important matters), but the passage pertaining to this encounter---recorded some five years earlier, while Ghāzān was still alive---omits mention of such important proclamation.<sup>92</sup> Trying to blur the issue, Rashidoddin used less precise terms in another passage by stating that the designation of Uljāyту as crown prince was proclaimed "some five or six years earlier."<sup>93</sup> Adding to the confusion, Kāshāni attributed the proclamation to four years earlier, rather than five and Shirāzi claimed that it was done "three or four years earlier."<sup>94</sup> Another historian, Fakhroddin-e Banākati, writing at a slightly later date (717/1317), and despite his generally close following of Rashidoddin's *Jāme`ottavārikh*, stated that Ghāzān chose Uljāyту as his successor in 703/1303 without any reference to earlier proclamations.<sup>95</sup> At the time of the *quriltāy*, Ghāzān had a son, Ālju (697--99/1297--1300),<sup>96</sup> and was perhaps hopeful of having more; there were no compelling reasons to designate his brother as successor at such early stage of his life, especially in consideration of the succession problems that this designation would entail for his own progeny. Sideways transfers of kingship in the Il-Khānid dynasty had been short lived and/or contested (e.g. Tegudār, Gaykhātu, Bāydu), and kingship eventually reverted to the main line after each such transfer. Thus, at Ghāzān's death, Uljāyту's position was vulnerable and

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<sup>90</sup>. See note 98 *infra*.

<sup>91</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:962.

<sup>92</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:937.

<sup>93</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:2.

<sup>94</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 13; Shirāzi (1959), 457. Kāshāni and Shirāzi were perhaps trying to rectify Rashidoddin's mistake by situating the proclamation after the death of Ghāzān's infant son Ālju.

<sup>95</sup>. Banākati (1969), 470.

<sup>96</sup>. Rashidoddin gives a precise date for the death of Ālju: third of Zihajjé of 699 (Rashidoddin (1976), 2:943) while Banākati gives an imprecise date of 700 (Banākati, *Tārikh-e Banākati*, 451).

pretenders such as Ālāfarang son of Gaykhātu, championed by Amir Harqadāq, had to be eliminated before his assumption of power.<sup>97</sup> Rashidoddin's contention of an earlier proclamation was probably a fabrication destined to strengthen Uljāyту's succession vis-à-vis other contenders.

Ghāzān and Uljāyту are both depicted here with a crown and a solar disk---symbol of their Divine Glory (see 4.1.3)---behind their head. The painting composition emphasizes the legitimacy of Uljāyту as a ruler in his own right but also by inheritance from Ghāzān through the gesture of transfer of the insignia of kingship. That the handkerchief symbolized an insignia of kingship is confirmed by Shirazi's account that on his death bed, Uljāyту "wrote a testament nominating the prince of the world Abu-Sa`id as his successor" and then "tucked his two dazzling ear-rings with his shining signet-ring and the succession testament in the special handkerchief (*dastārché-ye khās*), and gave it to the just commander Isanqotloq" to arrange for the transfer of kingship to Abu-Sa`id.<sup>98</sup> Not surprisingly, a similar composition is used for a similar purpose in Mughal times: to emphasize Jahāngir's right to rule, Jahāngir (r.1014--37/1605--27) and his father Akbar are both depicted with a solar disk, but instead of the handkerchief, Akbar is giving a *sarpich* (turban aigrette) to his successor (**fig. 25b**).

### **Fig. 26 The Bringing of Esfandiār's Bier (GB 22)**

Prior to their conversion to Islam, Il-Khānid rulers were buried in a secret place. In contrast, Ghāzān and Uljāyту who both accepted the Muslim faith, built personal mausoleums in the tradition of Persian Islamic rulers. Thus, the funeral procession of these

97. Shirāzi (1959), 461--63. According to Mostowfi, on his death-bed, Ghāzān recognized that the princely cousins Kharbandé (Uljāyту) and Ālāfarang were both worthy of the throne; but Kharbandé, slightly more so; Mostowfi (1405), 707.

کی در باغ جان سرو آزاده اند	ز تخم ابقای دو شهزاده اند
سزاوار تخت و کلاه و کمر	کی هستند عمزاده ی همذگر
کی هستند در ملک مردی بننگ	چو خربنده گرد و آلافرنگ
سزاوارتر شد بتخت و کلاه	سرافراز خربنده اکنون براه
همان از دو رو دارد این انتقال	که هم مهتر است از هنر وریسال
برادرش اکنون جهان کدخدا	کی بودش پدر پیش ازین پادشا
که اوراست تدبیر این کار بیش	ورا کردم اکنون ولی عهد خویش

A previous attempt to place Ālāfarang on the Il-Khānid throne had failed in the last year of Ghāzān's reign; Ālāfarang was pardoned by Ghāzān but the main instigator, a certain dervish known as Pir Ya`qub was executed along with some of his followers; Rashidoddin (1976), 2:958--59. Normally, Ālāfarang would have been killed along with the rest but it seems that in his wisdom, Ghāzān perceived the necessity to have a back-up crown-prince for Uljāyту as no other adult Hulāguid princes had survived, and the remaining two were as much threatened by excessive wine drinking as their ill-fated predecessors. Ironically, by sparing Ālāfarang's life, Ghāzān reinforced his claim to the throne.

98. Shirāzi (1959), 617:

وصیت نامه نوشت محتوی بر ولایت عهد پادشاه زاده عالم ابوسعید ... و هر دو گوشواره فرقددرخش... از گوش بیرون کرد و با

two *il-khāns* only could be illustrated in this *Shāhnāmé* manuscript. Of the two, Uljāyту died in Soltāniyyé where his mausoleum was located, but Ghāzān died near Ghazvin and his bier was transported to his mausoleum in Tabriz. Rashidoddin recounts that his bier "was mounted on a special carriage, and accompanied by the (imperial) ladies and generals, the procession headed for Tabriz, and from cities and villages along the way, men and women, bareheaded and barefooted, clad in craggy mourning gowns (*palās*), came out crying and grieving."<sup>99</sup> To illustrate this mourning procession, the death of Esfandiār which occurs in Zābolestān, provides a suitable match since Rostam organizes a sumptuous procession for the return of the prince's body to Iran.

### **1.11. Illustrations pertaining to Uljāyту (r.703--17/1304--17)**

According to Kāshāni, Uljāyту got word that the Chaghatāyid *khān* Duā (r.690--706/1291--1306) and his generals ridiculed him "for being unable to subdue the enclave of Gilān, situated in the midst of his empire and measuring less than thirty *farsangs* in perimeter, and yet wishing to conquer Syria and Egypt."<sup>100</sup> Enraged by these remarks, Uljāyту first demanded the Gilānis to surrender. They refused, and the furious *il-khān* unleashed a four-pronged attack: Amir Chupān, from Ardabil marching towards Āstārā, the commander in chief Amir Qotloghshāh, from Khalkhāl towards Fuman, Amir Toghān and

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خاتم خورشیدنگین و تفویض ولایت عهد در دستارچۀ خاص بسته ، خسرو عادل اینسقتلغ را سپرد تا بر سبیل ودیعت وارث تاج و تخت و حارث نهال بخت ابوسعید را سازد

The handkerchief as a scepter-like symbol of kingship is depicted in Turkaman courtly scenes (e.g. portrait of Soltān Ya`qub in Topkapu Saray Museum, H2153, fol. 91r, reproduced in Khonji (1992), pl. 1) and Mamluk enthronement scenes (see enthroned ruler in a 734/1334 Maqāmāt manuscript in Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, AF9, fol. 1r; Ettinghausen (1962), 148), and Ottoman imperial portraits, especially that of Mohammad the Conqueror (Topkapu Saray, H2153, fol. 10r; see for instance Zygulsky (1993), 126--32). In consideration of the handkerchief appearing in such a wide spectrum of portraits of Islamic rulers, the suggestion of a Byzantine influence (*idem*) seems unwarranted, and an Iranian or Islamic one more probable (for the usage of handkerchief in the early Islamic period see Rosenthal (1971), 63--109 - I am indebted to Tom Lentz for providing me with a copy of this article).

The preceding considerations offer a clue to the identity of the enthroned prince and princess in the frontispiece of the *Munesol-ahrār* manuscript dated 741/1341 (Kuwait, Dār al-Āthār al-Islāmiyya, LNS 9 MS); see Swietochowski et al. (1994), 8. Since the princess is holding a folded handkerchief and not the prince, she is probably Sāti Beyg, Abu Sa`id's full sister who, after her brother's death, was married to successive Il-Khānid pretenders to the throne, to bolster their claims of legitimacy. She was married briefly to Arpā Kāun whose reign lasted less than six months. She was subsequently elevated to the throne in early 739/1338 by the Chupānid Shaykh Hasan-e Kuchak and was due to marry Toghān-Teymur but finally married another Shaykh Hasan candidate, the Hulāguid prince Soleymān, in late 739/1339. Thus the prince next to her in the frontispiece is her consort in 1341, Soleymān. This is corroborated by the prominence of an illustrated poem in the manuscript naming Soleymānshāh who "owns crown and throne" and before whom "stand in obedience; Human and Harpy, demon and fairy;" *ibid.*, 26-27. With coins struck in her name, Sāti Beyg was worthy of being depicted with the scepter-like handkerchief of kingship, despite the fact that Soleymān was the nominal *il-khān*.

<sup>99</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:3 and 2:963.

<sup>100</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 55. One *farsang* is approximately 6 kilometers.

Amir Mo'men, from Ghazvin towards Kelārdasht, and finally Uljāyту himself, directly towards Lāhijān.<sup>101</sup>

**Fig. 27 King Kayd of India Telling his Dream to Mehrān (GB 29)**

King Kayd of Hend (India) is foretold by the sage Mehrān about Alexander's impending invasion of India. Mehrān advises the king not to resist Alexander and capitulate to him.

Amir Toghān and Amir Mo'men who attacked from Ghazvin, first encountered a local ruler by the name of Hendushāh (literally meaning Indian King), who readily surrendered to Uljāyту's generals and was sent to the *il-khān's* court.<sup>102</sup> The analogy between this illustration and the Gilān episode is based on the name of the ruler interpreted as a king of India, and his quick submission to the forces of the conqueror. In the process, Uljāyту is elevated to the rank of the world-conqueror Alexander and his conquest of Gilān equated with the conquest of India.

**Fig. 28 Kay-Kāvus and his Paladins Killing the Divs of Māzandarān (GB 16)<sup>103</sup>**

Despite the stern admonitions of Zāl, the vain and greedy Kay-Kāvus foolishly attacks Māzandarān for plunder, only to be captured by its inhabitants, the *divs*. The story is very similar to the adventures of Amir Ootloghshāh in Gilān (adjacent to Māzandarān) who was forewarned about the difficulties of troop movement in densely wooded and mountainous areas. At first, he obtained the surrender of the Gilānis, but out of greed he continued his plunder and massacre. The beleaguered Gilānis retreated in the mountain, laid a trap for the Mongol troops, and managed to annihilate the pursuing army, and kill Amir Ootloghshāh.<sup>104</sup>

Noteworthy in Kāshāni's account of these campaigns is the use of singularly harsh adjectives to describe the Gilānis. Gilān and its inhabitants are named as the "jungle of ferocious beasts and valley of demons," as if the author wished to create a tighter correlation between the Gilānis and the *divs* of the *Shāhnāmé* story.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 61-71; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 70.

<sup>102</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 73. Mostowfi gives a detailed list of local Gilāni rulers referred to as *amiras*, the most important of which was Amira Dobāj, the ruler of Fuman, to whom Ootboddin-e Shirāzi dedicated his famous *Dorratol-tāj le-Ghorratel-Dobāj* treatise in 705/1306, shortly before Uljāyту's Gilān campaigns; Mostowfi (1405), 713v. His account also sets aside the notion of *amira* being a woman's epithet, and confirms Amira Dobāj as a ruler of masculine gender.

<sup>103</sup>. This illustration was destroyed in 1937 and no title is visible in existing photographs.

<sup>104</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 67-68; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 71--72; Hāfez-e Abru's version of the *amir's* death differs from Kāshāni's: Ootloghshāh was first captured, and killed later on in reprisal for the death of Amir Nowruz.

<sup>105</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 63.

**Fig. 29 Alexander Battling the Fur of India; Picture of the Iron Horses and Soldiers (GB 30)**

To counter the *fur* of India who lines up numerous elephants against him, Alexander devises an iron cavalry spreading fire through their lances and the iron horses' nostrils.

Once again, Kāshāni's uncommon descriptive sentences provides a correspondence between the explanatory second part of the title (Picture of the Iron Horses and Soldiers), and the tale of Uljāyту's campaign of Gilān. He recounts how Uljāyту ordered his generals to set fire to the forests of Lāhijān and clean the "earth from their filthy, idiotic and backward attitude." Then, numerous troops "clad in steel, similar to Indian braves submerged in steel" descended upon them, "saws hanging from their belt, and flint stones in their pouches to ignite their portable burners, in order to set a fire that would turn the Gilānis into black smoke."<sup>106</sup>

It is unlikely that Mongols wore heavy metal armors for themselves and their horses, in a difficult terrain such as the densely wooded mountains of Gilān. Kāshāni seems to have deliberately structured his description to fit this story.<sup>107</sup> In particular the sole purpose for likening the steel clad troops to Indian braves (*savārem-e hendi*)<sup>108</sup> is to connect Alexander's theater of operations to Uljāyту's (see also 3.2.2); Indian soldiers were otherwise never cited as symbols of bravery in Persian literature.

**Fig. 30 \* The Marriage of Fereydun's Sons (TKS, H2153, fol.118a)**

Based on a count of insufficient verses to fill one complete folio, Grabar and Blair had predicted the existence of an illustration on a theoretical folio 9v of the original manuscript.<sup>109</sup> This Topkapu Saray painting seems to be a Jalāyerid interpretation of the Grabar and Blair anticipated illustration on folio 9v of this grand *Shāhnāmé* manuscript.

Fereydun wishes to marry his sons to the three daughters of the king of Yemen. The three sons are sent to Yemen. After putting them to test, the king concedes his daughters to the princes of the house of Fereydun and builds a special sitting deck for the occasion. The story evokes the simultaneous engagement of the two elder sons of Uljāyту

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<sup>106</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 63. The poorly edited text of the *Tārikh-e Uljāyту* is scrambled in this section and a non-deciphered word is read as (مانندة) to complete the meaning of the sentence.

<sup>107</sup>. Despite a detailed account of the Gilān campaigns (Mostowfi (1405), 712v-717r), Mostowfi's verses neither allude to setting the woods on fire nor do they compare the Mongol troupes to Indian braves.

<sup>108</sup>. The word *savārem*, plural of *sārem* (sharp, brave) is an expression that Kāshāni might have borrowed from Rashidoddin's writings, see 3.2.2.

<sup>109</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 184.

on the same day (Sunday the 14th of Jomādā II) in the year 704/1304: Bastām with Uljāy-Qotloḡh, daughter of Ghāzān, and Bāyazīd with the great granddaughter of Tudāy Khātun and Abāqā.<sup>110</sup> As in the Fereydun story, the couples were of royal descent. By marrying Ghāzān's only surviving child to his elder son, Uljāyṭu wished to consolidate his position, as well as that of his successor, as heir to Ghāzān's legacy. After Bastām's premature death, Uljāy-Qotloḡh was remarried to Abu-Sa`id.<sup>111</sup> This painting thus symbolizes the fusion of the houses of Ghāzān and Uljāyṭu.

### **Fig. 31 Alexander Building the Iron Rampart (GB 37)**

For protection against the beastly creatures of Gog and Magog, Alexander erects a rampart constructed with bricks made of an amalgam of iron and copper, sprinkled with sulfur.

Uljāyṭu is usually credited with the construction of the citadel of Soltāniyyé in the pastures of Qonqor-Ulong, even though some preliminary works were initiated by Arghun and Ghāzān.<sup>112</sup> According to Kāshāni, in Moharram 705/August 1305, Uljāyṭu visited "the constructions in Qonqor-Ulong, since he was very enthusiastic (*mohavvas*), excited, and absorbed in its construction and master planning."<sup>113</sup> His two elder sons, Bastām and Bāyazīd, then eight and five years old respectively,<sup>114</sup> are depicted accompanying their father. Alexander is portrayed with a solar disk, symbol of Uljāyṭu's Divine Glory. Hāfez-e Abru related that the citadel walls were made of cut stones,<sup>115</sup> allowing for close comparison with Alexander's rampart. The wide variety of workers, from different races and with different attires, reflects the substantial resources available to the Il-Khānid court, a sample of which is shown in a letter addressed by Rashidoddin to his son Jalāloddin, governor of Anatolia. The vizier mentioned that for the construction of a garden near the

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<sup>110</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 42.

<sup>111</sup>. Uljāy-Qotloḡh (b.696/1297) was engaged to Bastām in 703/1303, during Ghāzān's last year of reign; Rashidoddin (1976), 2:956--57. According to Samarqandi, after Bastām's death she was married to Abu-Sa`id at the time of the prince's departure for Khorāsān; Samarqandi (1993), 54. But this may have been a formal engagement only, with the official marriage ceremony to come at a later date. Fasihi sets the second marriage of Uljāy-Qotloḡh at the beginning of 717/1317 and prior to Abu-Sa`id's ascension to the throne in the month of Safar (2nd month of the lunar year); Fasihi (1960), 26. Shirāzi seems to indicate that the marriage ceremony was organized after Abu-Sa`id's enthronement; Shirāzi (1959), 619. Banākati who wrote the most contemporary account indicates that Abu-Sa`id married his cousin prior to his enthronement which he situates on the 23rd of Rabi` II, 717/5th of July 1317; Banākati (1969), 478.

<sup>112</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 477; Rashidoddin (1957), 3:229; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 67. The most explicit reference to Arghun being the initiator of Soltāniyyé's construction is provided by Mostowfi; Mostowfi (1405), 710r.

<sup>113</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 45.

<sup>114</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 87; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 120. Abu-Sa`id was only one year old and the other sons, Abol-Khayr, Teyfur and Soleymānshāh, were not yet born.

<sup>115</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 68; also Mostowfi (1405), 710. Mostowfi indicates that the width of the rampart was such that four horsemen could ride side by side; idem.

Rab`-e Rashidi (the Rashidi quarters), he was employing some 80 slave-couples from Georgia, Africa, Abyssinia and Qarav (Qairouan?), each group assigned to specific quarters, and needed twenty more couples from Anatolia (Rum).<sup>116</sup>

### **Fig. 32 Dārāb Sleeping in the Vault (GB 26)**

Jealous of her infant son Dārāb, who according to the wishes of the late king Bahman should have succeed him, Queen Homāy puts the baby in an ark and sets him loose on the Euphrates. Recovered and raised by a launderer and his wife, Dārāb joins the Queen's army. One day, in the midst of a thunderstorm, he takes refuge under a ruined vault. The commander of the Queen's army, Rashnavād, passes by and hears a mysterious voice addressing the crumbling ruins: "Beware, O ruined vault, mind this king of Iran who, without companion or spouse, is asleep under thee." Rashnavād sends his men to investigate the ruins and bring back any person therein. The vault collapses as Dārāb is brought out of the ruins.

The above story is a parable for an incident involving Uljāyту's son, Teyfur (b.705/1305), and one of several instances of clairvoyance attributed to Uljāyту. At the outset of the Gilān campaigns (706/1306), the imperial household was sent away, except for Uljāyту's wife, Iltormish Khātun (d.708/1308) who was ill. When she rejoined the rest of the household, she was informed that the previous night, fire broke out at the royal encampment. Prince Teyfur's cradle was saved but he had suffered ten burns. Iltormish decided not to reveal the incident to the *il-khān*. Unexpectedly, an envoy arrived with letters from Uljāyту, recounting that a fortnight ago, "by divine revelation" the *il-khān* had augured a calamity for his sons. Iltormish was to give offerings to the needy so that the Exalted Lord would spare their sons Bastām, Bāyazid an Teyfur. Verifying the timing, "it was clear that the writing of the letter coincided with the fire in the encampments."<sup>117</sup>

In this parable, Rashnavād's hearing of the mysterious voice is equated with Uljāyту's clairvoyance, prince Dārāb's escape from the crumbling vault is correlated with prince Teyfur's rescue from fire, and Dārāb's ark is perhaps meant to allude to Teyfur's cradle.<sup>118</sup>

### **Fig. 33 Fereydun Going to Iraj's Palace and Mourning (GB 8)**

Fereydun carries the head of his youngest son Iraj to his garden and, unable to withstand the sight of a pavilion that was once filled with joy, burns it down. In this

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<sup>116</sup>. Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 64.

<sup>117</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 236--37.

<sup>118</sup>. Teyfur died shortly after (perhaps as result of the burns) and was possibly buried in the Kāshāné funerary tower in Bastām; Adle (1984).

illustration, the two main elements of the Fereydun story are separated into two distinct scenes: at the top, Fereydun is mourning the death of Iraj, while down in the garden, two children carrying torch-like wood sticks, are supposedly setting the palace on fire.

The first scene seems to allude to one of the numerous tragedies that Uljāyту faced as five of his six sons died at a young age.<sup>119</sup> The wrapping of Iraj's head in a diaper-like cloth might indicate an infant son, most probably Abol-khayr whose mother was also a full sister to Abu-Sa`id's mother Hājji Khātun. The depiction of the mourning women is unwarranted by the *Shāhnāmé* story; the two closest to Fereydun may represent Uljāyту's wives, Hājji Khātun and her sister, both granddaughters of Hulāgu.<sup>120</sup>

The second scene seems to portray the two elder brothers of Abu-Sa`id, Bastām and Bāyazid (the same two that appear in fig. 31), engaged in the pursuit of a terrified cat (down left corner, glancing back at them), perhaps for the purpose of setting it on fire. This type of mischievous action by Abu-Sa`id's brothers, although unrecorded in contemporary chronicles, must have been vividly remembered by those involved in this *Shāhnāmé* project.

#### **Fig. 34 \* Nushirvān Rewarding the Young Bozorgmehr (GB 55)**

This illustration is situated at the junction of two stories of the *Shāhnāmé*. At the top is the story of the vizier Bozorgmehr who is rewarded with purses, each filled with ten thousand silver coins. It is followed by the story of another vizier, Mahbod, who had two sons (see also narration for **fig. 15**). The illustration draws on both stories to portray Tājoddin `Ali-Shāh (d.724/1324), the only vizier to die by natural death in Il-Khānid services. The pointers to his identity are the two young noblemen carrying the purses. They portray `Ali-Shāh's two sons who for a short while after his death, replaced him in the vizierate.<sup>121</sup> Although Abu-Sa`id was very fond of him and visited him on his deathbed, this illustration refers to a fifty thousand *dinār* reward that Uljāyту---portrayed with a solar disk and the scepter-like handkerchief---bestowed on him in Tabriz, in 715/1315, after he was once again "confirmed as vizier."<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>. Grabar and Blair's suggestion that the depiction of Iraj's head brought to his father parodies the beheading of Teymurtāsh (Grabar & Blair (1980), 50) is hereby rejected since his father, Amir Chupān, had been executed some eight months earlier (Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 178 and 183).

<sup>120</sup>. The father of the two sisters is named as Chechak, son of Sulāmish son of Tangiz-e Gurkān by Rashidoddin (Rashidoddin (1976), 1:79; 2:683) and incorrectly written as Zahhāk in the poorly edited biography of Uljāyту (Kāshāni (1969), 7). Fasihi considers Hājji Khātun as daughter of Sulāmish (Fasihi (1960), 23). All three sources name the sisters' mother as Tudākāj, daughter of Hulāgu, who was first married to Tangiz (hence the epithet *gurkān*, son in law to the house of Changiz), then to his grandson, Chechak.

<sup>121</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 162. After several clashes between the two brothers, they were arrested and had to buy back their freedom "with all the wealth accumulated over the years by their father and his relatives," Idem.

<sup>122</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 177.

### **Fig. 35 The Vizier Pleading his Case with Ardashir (GB 44)**

Upon discovery of the poisoning scheme plotted by the queen (see entry for **fig. 49**), Ardashir orders his vizier to put her to death. But the queen confides that she is pregnant with Ardashir's child, and fearing that Ardashir may have no other heir, the vizier hides her in his own house. To avert future suspicions, he has himself castrated and stores away the severed parts in a small round box at the treasury, sealed that very day. Years later, when Ardashir is preoccupied with the lack of heir, the vizier begs for clemency for the secret that he was to reveal, and produces the box from the treasury as proof of his sincerity.

The title of this painting as well as its composition, takes the emphasis away from the core of the story and shifts it to the encounter of the vizier with the king, in which the ruler is presented with evidence of the vizier's sincerity. It seems to point to an episode involving Tājoddin `Ali-Shāh who, as a young bureaucrat and protégé of Amir Hosayn Jalāyer, had caught the eye of Uljāyту. The vizier Sa`doddin-e Sāvaji felt threatened by the new-comer, and appointed him superintendent of the Ferdows imperial textile mills in Baghdād, where, much to the chagrin of Sāvaji, he established an efficient management. When Uljāyту visited Baghdād, Sāvaji sent two inspectors to bring out `Ali-Shāh's shortcomings, but the latter was able to present his case to the ruler and offered some magnificent presents "never seen nor imagined before," thus winning the confidence and support of the *il-khān*.<sup>123</sup> As in other depictions of Uljāyту, the *il-khān* is distinguished by the solar disk behind his head; and `Ali-Shāh has the same features as in the previous illustration.

### **Fig. 36 \* Khosrow Writing to the Khāqān (GB 57)**

The *khāqān* of China proposes an alliance to Nushirvān so that "the two most powerful countries on earth" would be at peace with each other. But in between is Hebtāl, the ruler of the Hephtalites (White Huns), who feels that such an alliance would be detrimental to his country. He undertakes to sabotage the alliance between the two rulers by intercepting their envoys and confiscating the royal gifts. Despite Hebtāl's maneuvers, the alliance is established when Nushirvān accepts to marry the *khāqān* of China's daughter (see **fig. 17**).

Based on central Asian geopolitics from Sāsānian times, this *Shāhnāmé* story was bound to be repeated as long as there were two powerful countries, Iran and China,

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<sup>123</sup> Kāshāni (1969), 121--22. Kāshāni speaks only of robes, but Khāndamir gives a detailed list of presents including a crown with a 24 carat ruby and a hat heavily studded with precious stones, Khāndamir (1974), 3:193; the same presents are enumerated by Shirāzi but in an unclear context ; Shirāzi (1959), 541.

framing central Asia. Nevertheless, it is astounding to see the story, with its very details, being re-enacted in Mongol times. Under the title "The Reasons for Fear and Enmity Between Isanbuqā and the Clan of Chaghatāy with the Qāān and the Soltān," Kāshāni recounts that the Chaghatāyid Isanbuqā (r.709--18/1309--18) had captured the *qāān* Buyāntu's (Jeng Tsung, r.1311-20) envoy, Abishqā, who revealed the *qāān*'s secret message to Uljāytu: to eliminate the common enemy (the Chaghatāyids), "you must attack from the west and we attack from the east." Isanbuqā, furious, intercepted the *qāān*'s embassies. First, Toqteymur Ching-Sāng who was accompanying a princess "picked by the *qāān* himself, and riding with a train of fifteen hundred mules," then `Alā'oddin and envoys carrying tigers, falcons and other gifts, and later on, an embassy of eighty people sent by Uljāytu.<sup>124</sup>

### **Fig. 37 The Picture of the Bier of Alexander (GB 39)**

Alexander's death is mourned here as the death of Uljāytu, the Il-Khānid ruler who is mostly identified with him in the *Shāhnāmé*. As previously mentioned, Uljāytu died in Soltāniyyé and therefore his bier was directly deposited in the mausoleum he had built there. The scene represents the Soltāniyyé setting rather than the plain of Alexandria where according to the *Shāhnāmé*, Alexander's coffin was placed, and conforms to the description given by two of the chroniclers. Kāshāni recounted that in sign of grief "the saddened ladies of the harem, generals, nobles, friends and companions as well as ordinary people undid their hair, tore their collars and clothes, and bloodied their forehead,"<sup>125</sup> and Hāfez-e Abru added that the mourners were clad in blue or black robes.<sup>126</sup>

### **1.12. Illustrations pertaining to Abu-Sa`id (r.717--736/1317--35)**

On his deathbed, Uljāytu entrusted his only surviving son, the twelve year old Abu-Sa`id, to his general amir Chupān who became *de facto* regent of the empire. Chupān's mistreatment of Amir Qurmishi and a few other *amirs*, led to a rebellion that was also embraced by the powerful Amir Irinjin, father in law of Abu-Sa`id and Uljāytu's maternal uncle. As Mostowfi insinuated it was a confrontation along tribal affiliations; Irinjin and Qurmishi were both Keraites and apprehensive about the increasing power of the Soldus

<sup>124</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 200--08. Buyāntu's Buddhist name was Ayurbarvadā and his Yuan dynastic name was Jeng Tsung.

<sup>125</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 223.

<sup>126</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 119.

Chupānids.<sup>127</sup> The young Abu-Sa`id sided with Chupān and marched against the rebels (719/1319).

The next five episodes illustrate various events pertaining to the triumph of Abu-Sa`id (mainly portrayed as the Sāsānian king Ardashir) over his rebellious general Irinjin (portrayed as Ardavān, the last of the Parthian kings).

### **Fig. 38 Killing of the *Fur* in the Hands of Alexander (GB 31)**

The ensuing battle on the 24th of Rabi` II 719 (12th of August 1319), was fought passionately by Amir Irinjin followed by his wife, princess Konjak, who "wielding a sword, rushed like a brave, killing a few enemies."<sup>128</sup> The rebels followed suit and came close to victory if not for Abu-Sa`id who set an example by personally charging the enemy. His bravery was much praised by his panegyrists and won him the title Bahādor (valiant) Khān. Abu-Sa`id's bravery notwithstanding, the chroniclers note that the defeat of the rebels was mainly due to an unforeseen factor: a powerful wind that blew the dust into the enemy's eyes.<sup>129</sup> A similar unforeseen element results in the victory of Alexander over the *fur* of India: the thundering noise of a storm from behind the Indian army causes the *fur* to turn his head, and "as the dusty wind blew, Alexander struck his mighty opponent with his sharp sword." The dusty wind, prominently depicted in this illustration, is the common link between the two stories and a sign of divine intervention for the hero of both episodes.

### **Fig. 39 Golnār Coming to Ardashir's Pillow and Sleeping by his Side (GB 40)**

Amir Irinjin's daughter was Qotloghshāh Khātun, Uljāyту's chief wife who according to Mongol customs was subsequently taken by Uljāyту's son and successor Abu-Sa`id. As the *il-khān's* chief wife, she sat at the Yurt-e Bozorg, the encampment of her

<sup>127</sup>. Mostowfi (1960), 614. Irinjin, was the brother of Uruk Khātun mother of Uljāyту, and son of Sārijé, brother of Doquz Khātun, from the Kerait tribe, and great grandson of Ong Khān; Rashidoddin (1976), 1:91 (Kāshāni wrongly considers him from the Nāymān tribe; Kāshāni (1969), 8). Mostowfi also accused Irinjin of harboring the wish "to restore the paramount status of the House of Ong Khān" and "proclaim himself emperor of Iran," (Mostowfi (1405), 728) :

کنم تازه آئین فرخ نیا	بکار اندر آرم بسی کیمیا
برآرم ، در ایران شوم پادشاه	سر تخمه اونگ خانی بماه

<sup>128</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 149. For the etymology of the name Konjak see Pelliot (1949) HO, 95.

<sup>129</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 149; Samarqandi (1993), 76. For the Abu-Sa`id era, these two sources rely on the versified *Zafarnāme* of Mostowfi; Hāfez-e Abru even quotes---without credit---the following two verses of Mostowfi in his own account (Mostowfi (1405), 728):

بزد بر رخ دشمن شهریار	یکی باد برخاست زان کوهسار
برآمد از آن دشمن گشن شور	توگفتی کی گشتند از آن خاک کور

A wind rose from the mountain side, striking the king's enemy into the face  
As if blinded by that dust, the mighty enemy lost its fighting fervor.

great-aunt, the famous Doquz Khātun.<sup>130</sup> At the death of Uljāyту "she was impatiently awaiting Abu-Sa`id,"<sup>131</sup> whom Ebn-e Battuta praised as "the most handsome of God's creations."<sup>132</sup> To protect her status at the Yurt-e Bozorg, she must have approached the young and handsome Abu-Sa`id by her own initiative. As a king's favorite consort who marries another a king, Qotloghshāh Khātun is equated here with Golnār, King Ardavān's favorite concubine who ran away with King Ardashir.

Facing a conflict that pitted her father against her husband, Qotloghshāh Khātun interceded twice with Abu-Sa`id to try a peaceful settlement; each time, Irinjin refused the *il-khān's* proposals and responded with increased belligerence. As a result, she not only lost her father, mother and brother (see below), but also the trust of the *il-khān*, who gave her away to one of his generals, Amir Pulādqjā.<sup>133</sup>

#### **Fig. 40 Ardashir Battling (Bahman son of) Ardavān (GB 41)**

Since the beginning of the rebellion, Irinjin's son, Shaykh-`Ali, had remained with the *il-khān*, even though he had tried to eliminate Chupān's son, Dameshq Khājé. When negotiations with the rebels failed, Abu-Sa`id had Shaykh-`Ali decapitated and taunted the enemy by brandishing his head at the tip of a lance.<sup>134</sup>

The large letters in the heading at the top of this illustration reads "Ardashir Battling Ardavān" but the surrounding story is about Ardavān's son, Bahman, who was sent by his father to capture Ardashir. The insertion of the additional words "Bahman son of" in regular black letters before the name of "Ardashir" in the heading, rectifies it to remind the reader of the minor engagement of Ardashir (alias Abu-Sa`id) with Bahman (alias Shaykh-`Ali) within the context of the major conflict between Ardashir and Ardavān (alias Irinjin).

#### **Fig. 41 Ardavān Captured by Ardashir (GB 42)**

Ardavān musters his troops and marches against Ardashir. After forty days of continued battle, Ardavān is captured and brought before Ardashir who orders his execution. Similarly, Irinjin was captured at the village of Kāghaz-kanān (near present day

<sup>130</sup>. Doquz' yurt was given to the *il-khān's* chief wives, including Kukājin and Kerāmun, successive wives of Ghāzān.

<sup>131</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 121. At one point Qotloghshāh Khātun was accused by Amir Chupān to have an affair with amir Toqmāq, a former companion (*ināq*) of Uljāyту. Toqmāq was briefly imprisoned, then released and became aide-de-camp (*nāyeb*) to Amir Chupān (Mostowfi (1960), 612). He subsequently switched sides and joined the Irinjin rebellion and was hung with the rest of the rebellious generals; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 145-46.

<sup>132</sup>. Ebn-e Battuta (1979), 2:116. Kāshāni also praises Abu-Sa`id's handsome features, Kāshāni (1969), 44.

<sup>133</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 646; Tabrizi (1398), 121v, Samarqandi (1993), 86.

<sup>134</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 146-49. Irinjin's son Shaykh-`Ali is not to be confounded with Amir Shaykh-`Ali who was Abu-Sa`id's personal falcon-bearer (*qushji*), Mostowfi (1405), 728.

Zanjān) and brought before Abu-Sa`id who had him executed.<sup>135</sup> The similarity between the two stories is enhanced by the fact that like Abu-Sa`id, Ardashir had married the daughter of his enemy, Ardavān.

**Fig. 42 Picture of Māni Hanging from a Tree (GB 46 and TKS, H2153, fol.113a)**

The hanging of the prophet Māni alludes to the execution of the rebel generals. Amir Irinjin and two of his followers, Toqmāq and Isanbuqā, were captured and taken with Abu-Sa`id to Soltāniyyé to be hung.<sup>136</sup> This sentence seems to be unique in the fact that the whole body of the rebels was to hang outside Soltāniyyé. In most other cases, the enemies of the *il-khān* were decapitated, and their heads hung from the gates of the capital.<sup>137</sup>

The main instigator of the rebellion, Amir Qurmishi,<sup>138</sup> was able to escape, but was captured soon after by Amir Sutāy and sent to Soltāniyyé where he shared the fate of his comrades. Since two bodies are only depicted, each in a different position, the illustration seems to put the emphasis on the two main culprits, Amir Irinjin and Amir Qurmishi, and not on Toqmāq and Isanbuqā. Thus the body on the ground may represent the earlier victim, Irinjin, while the one hanging from the tree is that of Qurmishi, and the riders on the left allude to Sutāy's troops who escorted the prisoner to Soltāniyyé. The contemporary chronicler Shirāzi recounted that a fire was set underneath some of the hung rebels; Ahmad-e Tabrizi and Hāfez-e Abru further specify that Irinjin was among them.<sup>139</sup> By depicting the *il-khān* on the left and the fire under the victims, a Jalāyerid illustration of the same episode (**fig. 42a**) conforms to the version adopted by Hāfez-e Abru, a historian whose period of activity overlaps with the Jalāyerids.

**Fig. 43 Bahrām-e Gur Hunting with Āzādé (GB 47)**

Irinjin's wife, Konjak (mother of Qotloghshāh Khātun), who had valiantly fought alongside her husband, attracted Abu-Sa`id's wrath; according to Shirāzi who treats her as "that doggish hound (*sag sirat-e sag-sār*)," she was "stripped of her clothes, stoned and trampled (to death) by riding animals and livestock."<sup>140</sup> Abu-Sa`id's vicious treatment of the

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<sup>135</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 150.

<sup>136</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 150.

<sup>137</sup>. Heads of Dameshq Khājé and Teymurtāsh were hung by the gates of Soltāniyyé, Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 170 and 183; similar was the fate of the pseudo prophet Musā, see Kāshāni (1969), 77.

<sup>138</sup>. Qurmishi was the son of `Ali Ināq (Alināq), Rashidoddin (1976), 1:95.

<sup>139</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 645; Tabrizi (1398), 121v; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 150; also Mostowfi (1405), 728.

<sup>140</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 645. Konjak was the daughter of II-Khān Ahmad Tegudār. Considering the incident described under *Nushirvan eating the food Brought by the Sons of Mahbod* (**fig. 15**) involving another relative of Ahmad, in conjunction with Konjak's actions here, there must have been considerable animosity between the

Changizid princess Konjak was apparently too appalling for the contemporary poet and historian Mostowfi who preferred to modify his account and state that she was killed in battle.<sup>141</sup>

As Hillenbrand first suggested,<sup>142</sup> there is an obvious similarity between Konjak's death and that of Āzādé, Bahrām-e Gur's favorite harpist who was also trampled to death. Out on a hunt, Āzādé challenges Bahrām to show his prowess in marksmanship by changing a female deer into a male, a buck into a doe, and to shoot a deer through the ear and foot at the same time. When Bahrām achieves all three through the skillful use of his bow and arrows, Āzādé taunts him by saying that only the devil has such skills. Furious, Bahrām pushes her off his camel and tramples her to death.

#### **Fig. 44 \* Afrāsiāb Killing Nowzar (GB 13)**

Prince Afrāsiāb son of the Turānian ruler Pashang, raids Iran and defeats the tyrannical king Nowzar who is beheaded in reprisal for the death of the Turānian braves.

In the wake of his conflict with the *qāān* Buyāntu and Uljāyту (see entry for **fig. 34**), the Chaghatāyid *khān* Isanbuqā (son of Duā son of Borāq son of Isan-Duā son of Muatukān son of Chaghatāy) decided to reclaim Khorāsān that he considered as extension of the Chaghatāyid hereditary domain (*ulus*). A large army headed by his own brother Kebek (Köpek) and another Chaghatāyid prince, Yesaur (son of Urk-Teymur son of Buqā-Teymur son of Buri son of Muatukān son of Chaghatāy),<sup>143</sup> raided the Khorāsānian territory as far as Tus, but was recalled when the *qāān*'s troop attacked the main Chaghatāyid base (*yurt*). Yesaur though, preferred to remain in Khorāsān and settle in the pastures of Shāburqān (Shāpurgān) near Balkh, and obtained Uljāyту's permission to do so. Kebek, who accused Yesaur of sabotaging their Khorāsānian campaign and leniency towards fellow Muslims, sought revenge. After a first unsuccessful attempt, he was joined by a thirty thousand large army sent by Isanbuqā and attacked Yesaur once again, but had to retreat when Uljāyту, upon the recommendation of Abu-Sa`id, sent a contingent headed by amir Bektut to repel the Chaghatāyids in the year 715/1315.<sup>144</sup> However, after Uljāyту's

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house of Ahmad and that of Arghun, from the time the latter had Ahmad killed. Mostowfi pretends that Konjak's actions brought shame to the House of Ahmad, Mostowfi (1405), 728:

تبه گشت شهزاده کنجک بچنگ وزان نام احمد بدل شد ببنگ

<sup>141</sup>. Mostowfi (1405), 728; relying perhaps on Mostowfi, the usually accurate Hāfez-e Abru also claimed that Konjak perished in battle, Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 150.

<sup>142</sup>. Oxford conference of May 28th, 1994 entitled "The Court of the Il-Khāns 1290-1340, The Cultural and Intellectual Milieu."

<sup>143</sup>. Yesaur was the father of Qazān father of Sarāy-Malek Khānum, Teymur's chief wife.

<sup>144</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 209-18. Fasihi records these events under the year 715/1315, Fasihi (1960), 24; it is dated 714/1314 in Shirāzi (1959), 611-13. Amir Bektut son of Ulādāy, had been appointed commander of the military

death, Bektut joined Yesaur in a conspiracy to kill the Khorāsān commander, Amir Yasāvul, and despite a renewed pledge of allegiance to Abu-Sa`id, Yesaur, together with his new ally, invaded Khorāsān and raided Māzandarān. Entangled in the Irinjin-Qurmishi uprising, Abu-Sa`id dispatched a limited force commanded by Amir Hosayn Jalāyer, that nevertheless provoked the gradual withdrawal of Yesaur and Bektut. But by 720/1320, after the quelling of the Irinjin rebellion, the *il-khān* was able to mobilize a larger force against Yesaur. Meanwhile, Isanbuqā had died and was succeeded by Yesaur's archenemy, Kebek, who sent his son Iljigedāy to capture the renegade Chaghatāyid prince. Caught in between the impending attack of the Il-Khānid forces and the menacing Chaghatāyid army, Yesaur's generals were easily persuaded to switch sides. Bektut was killed and Yesaur escaped along with his wives and sons, followed by Iljigedāy who caught up with him within three days, and had him decapitated on the spot.<sup>145</sup>

Once the Chaghatāyids are equated with the Turānians who constantly attacked the eastern frontiers of the Iranian empire, the Yesaur episode becomes a near perfect match for the Nowzar story of the *Shāhnāmé* for which, Afrāsiāb son of Pashang is easily identifiable with Iljigedāy son of Kebek; in both stories, the two protagonists are distant cousins. Yesaur is perceived as the Iranian king Nowzar because unlike his Chaghatāyid enemies he is a Muslim and resided west of the Oxus, the traditional boundary between Iran and Turān. He was as tyrannical as Nowzar, and like Nowzar, he escaped before being captured by his enemy.<sup>146</sup> The figures on the left of the illustration have no counterparts in the *Shāhnāmé* story and depict Yesaur's household of which, the most prominently displayed was his "dearest and most beloved wife" who had insisted on accompanying him on dangerous campaigns.<sup>147</sup>

**Fig. 45 Daqiqi Killed by his Slave (TKS, H2153, fol. 112a)**

In the inevitable power struggle ensuing Uljāyту's death, Rashidoddin became the prime target of the *amirs*, and administrators such as his arch-rival Tājoddin `Ali-Shāh, who strove to dismantle Rashidoddin's financial empire. The vizier was accused of poisoning

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contingent accompanying prince Bastām to Khorāsān at the time of Uljāyту's accession to the throne; Shirāzi (1959), 466.

<sup>145</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 151--59.

<sup>146</sup>. Yesaur is almost adopted as an Iranian king by later historians such as Fasihi, who---writing from a fifteenth century Herāti point of view---qualifies the Khorāsāni territories bequeathed by Uljāyту to him as Iranzamin, Iranian empire; Fasihi (1960), 24; see also discussion in 3.2.2. Writing in Teymurid time, Fasihi might have had a desire to improve the status of Yesaur who was the grandfather of Teymur's chief wife.

<sup>147</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 209. Kāshāni gives a physical description of Yesaur: "handsome, tall, with a large and slightly bulging forehead ... and a squinting eye;" *ibid.*, 220. Since most of those depicted in this manuscript have squinting eyes, it is difficult to single out Yesaur on the basis of Kāshāni's descriptions alone.

Uljāyту and upon the testimony of two phony witnesses, the young Abu-Sa`id was persuaded to order the execution of Rashidoddin (718/1318).

Although no extant painting of this *Shāhnāmé* refers to the execution of Rashidoddin, a Jalāyerid version has survived and relates to a predicted missing illustration by Grabar and Blair on folio 3v of this manuscript.<sup>148</sup> The association between Daqiqi's death and that of Rashidoddin is provided by the fact that the poet Daqiqi was the first to have started the versification of the *Shāhnāmé* but his untimely death "left the book unfinished;"<sup>149</sup> it was subsequently continued and completed by Ferdowsi. This may allude to the unfinished status of Rashidoddin's *Jāme`ottavārikh* in respect to the Uljāyту section (see also entry for **fig. 50**). Further clues to the identity of the vizier are provided by the depiction of a cupboard filled with books and apothecaries' porcelain containers that Rashidoddin--who was a trained physician---had commissioned from China for a hospital that he had built in the Rashidi Quarters, including "one thousand elaborately designed jars (*khomré*) for syrups," bearing his epithets and inscribed with the syrup name.<sup>150</sup> Chinese porcelain jars were luxurious and expensive items that no author but the immensely rich Rashidoddin could afford.

#### **Fig. 46 Zāl Climbing to Rudābé (GB 9)**

Rashidoddin's death entailed a vast change of power in which Amir Chupān's sons and grandsons supplanted those of Rashidoddin as governors of major provinces. Chupān himself was more inclined to remain *amirol-omarā* (commander in chief) and defend the Il-Khānid empire against the Chaghatāyid and Golden Horde threats in the north-west and north-east, leaving the functions of regency to his third son, Dameshq Khājé, who resided at the imperial camp of Abu-Sa`id and acted "not only as amir and vizier, but as *soltān* and *pādshāh*."<sup>151</sup> Dameshq's arrogance so annoyed Abu-Sa`id that he even requested Amir Chupān to replace him with one of his other sons, Jalāv Khān (Abu-Sa`id's own cousin) or Mahmud; to no avail.<sup>152</sup> Abu-Sa`id's ill-feeling towards Dameshq and his father was compounded by his passionate love for Chupān's daughter, Baghdād Khātun, who was married to the *il-khān*'s cousin, Amir Hasan Jalāyer. Mongol customs required the amir to divorce his wife for the sake of the *il-khān*, but Chupān, hoping that the young ruler's passion would subside, sent away his daughter and son-in-law. Abu-Sa`id harbored an increasing grudge against the Chupānids and patiently plotted their downfall. The news that

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<sup>148</sup> Grabar & Blair (1980), 184.

<sup>149</sup> Ferdowsi (1988), 13.

<sup>150</sup> Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 214. Rashidoddin had also ordered lidded boxes for drug mixtures from China, idem.

<sup>151</sup> Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 168.

<sup>152</sup> Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 165.

Dameshq had an affair with Qonqonāy Khātun (a concubine of his father who resided in the fortress of Soltāniyyé), presented an opportunity to strike at Dameshq when he next visited his mistress.<sup>153</sup> Abu-Sa`id's troops surrounded the fortress forcing Dameshq to flee; he was captured and put to sword by Abu-Sa`id's trusted lieutenant, Mesr Khājé, on the 6th of Shavvāl 727 (25th of August 1327), and his head was hung from the gates of Soltāniyyé.<sup>154</sup> Zāl's climb of the fortress wall to see Rudābé, parodies Dameshq's visits to Qonqonāy Khātun at the fortress of Soltāniyyé.

**Fig. 47 Zāl Approaching Shāh Manucehr (GB 11)**

Fearing amir Chupān's reprisal, Abu-Sa`id decided to immediately launch a campaign against the Chupānids. He set out from Soltāniyyé at the head of an important army while imperial decrees were sent out to the generals announcing the death of Dameshq and ordering execution of all remaining Chupānids. Amir Chupān had no choice but to confront Abu-Sa`id. Marching from Khorāsān, he stopped in Semnān to visit the venerated Sufi *shaykh* `Alā'oddowlé-ye Semnāni (659--736/1261--1336), and implored the *shaykh* to intercede with Abu-Sa`id to deliver to him the killers of his son so that war could be averted. The *shaykh* accepted the mission and went to Abu-Sa`id who much honored his visit but refused his requests.<sup>155</sup>

The painting here illustrates Zāl's visit to King Manucehr, imploring him to abandon his decision to make war with Mehrāb, father of his beloved Rudābé. Zāl's unusual attire depicted as one of a cleric rather than an *amir*, is alluding to `Alā'oddowlé's visit to Abu-Sa`id. In both cases, the purpose of the visit is to avert a war initiated by a love affair with a warlord's daughter. While a century later, Hāfez-e Abru, conforming to the Teymurid tradition of veneration of Sufi *shaykhs*, emphasized Abu-Sa`id's courteous treatment of `Alā'oddowlé by stating that the *il-khān* "rose before him, and sat him close to himself while he knelt before the *shaykh*,"<sup>156</sup> the depiction here not only conforms to Ferdowsi's narration in which Zāl "kissed the ground before the king" but most probably to the actual encounter of the *shaykh* and the *il-khān*. For, `Alā'oddowlé was the scion of a wealthy Semnāni family with a long tradition of serving the Il-Khānids and prone to behave like a courtier. `Alā'oddowlé himself joined the services of Arghun at the age of

<sup>153</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 169. Ebn-e Battuta states that another wife of Uljāyту, Donyā Khātun (daughter of Soltān Najmoddin of Mārdin), had warned Abu-Sa`id about Dameshq's affairs with the ladies of the imperial harem and pointed out that Dameshq's arrogance was such that he had even made a pass at her; Ebn-e Battuta (1979), 2:118.

<sup>154</sup>. Samarqandi (1993), 99. Mesr Khājé son of Mohammad-e Udāji had accompanied the crown-prince Abu-Sa`id to Khorāsān; Shirāzi (1959), 614.

<sup>155</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 174--75.

<sup>156</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 174--75.

fifteen, but quit some ten years later to pursue the path of the Sufi. However, his wealth and religious stature made further contact with the *il-khāns* inevitable, albeit not always on friendly terms.<sup>157</sup> He was finally reconciled with Uljāyту in 705/1305.<sup>158</sup> Amir Chupān's choice of `Alā'oddowlé to plead his case with the *il-khān*, may have been influenced by a previously successful intervention of the *shaykh*---on behalf of Malek Ghiāsoddin-e Kart---with Uljāyту in 714/1314.<sup>159</sup>

#### **Fig. 48 Picture of Rostam and Zavāré's Biers (GB 24)**

Despite several oaths of allegiance to amir Chupān, most of his generals switched sides as they approached the imperial army. Chupān was forced to flee and took refuge with "his trusted friend," the Kart ruler of Herāt, Malek Ghiāsoddin. But enticed with the promise of the hand of Chupān's wife, princess Kordujin, along with the revenues of her ancestral fiefdom of Fārs, the *malek* carried out Abu-Sa`id's orders to kill the Chupānids; first, Chupān was executed and then his young son Jalāv Khān. Meanwhile, Abu-Sa`id obtained the divorce of Baghdād Khātun from her husband and married her immediately after the required religious waiting period, *`edda*. With her influence growing over the *il-khān*, Baghdād Khātun was able to cancel the promised marriage of Kordujin to Malek Ghiāsoddin, and order the biers of her father and brother to be brought from Herāt for burial in Medina according to the last wishes of Amir Chupān. The *il-khān* himself contributed the sum of forty thousand *dinārs* towards the procession.<sup>160</sup>

As Grabar and Blair had surmised, the depiction of the procession of the two biers of Rostam and his son Zavāré was probably meant to evoke those of Amir Chupān and his son, en route to Medina.<sup>161</sup> Rostam and Amir Chupān (who was often likened to Rostam by contemporary chronicles)<sup>162</sup> had both valiantly defended the Iranian empire against its enemies, and had finally perished in an eastern province by the treachery of a trusted person.

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<sup>157</sup>. Arghun and Uljāyту disapproved `Alā'oddowlé's connection to the Baghdād circle of Sufis; Van Ess (1985), 774--77.

<sup>158</sup>. Fasihi (1960), 14.

<sup>159</sup>. Fasihi (1960), 23.

<sup>160</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 178--79.

<sup>161</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 50.

<sup>162</sup>. See for instance Shirāzi (1959), 639-40, where Chupān is repeatedly referred to as *Rostam-e ākhar-e zamān* (a latter-day Rostam).

**Fig. 49 The Picture of Ardashir with his Wife (khātun) Throwing down the Poison Cup (GB 43)**

In continuation of the story of Ardashir, this *Shāhnāmé* painting illustrates the story of Ardavān's daughter who, upon instigation of her exiled brother, attempts to poison her husband Ardashir. When the cup of poisoned sweet drink slips out of Ardashir's hands, she so trembles that the king becomes suspicious and has the spilled drink tested by fowls. They die instantaneously and the plot is revealed.

The most unusual aspect of this illustration is the use of the word *khātun* in its title to designate Ardashir's wife. *Khātun* is a Turkish word designating the Mongol ruler's main wives (as opposed to *qomāy* for concubines), that does not appear in the *Shāhnāmé* text nor in any earlier section headings. Its inclusion here is to draw attention to a poison plot involving one of the *khātuns*. A candidate is of course Baghdād Khātun who was murdered (Rabi II 736/June 1336) by the order of Abu-Sa`id's successor, Arpā Kāun, on the charges of poisoning her husband some two weeks earlier.<sup>163</sup> Ebn-e Battuta relates that the alleged motivation was Baghdād's jealousy aroused by the *il-khāns* new passion towards Delshād Khātun (Dameshq's daughter and Baghdād's own niece).<sup>164</sup> However, it is highly unlikely that the *Shāhnāmé* project continued after Abu-Sa`id's death and that such plot could be superimposed on a *Shāhnāmé* episode in which the king survives the poisoning attempt. Perhaps it relates to a prior incident in 732/1332 when Baghdād Khātun was accused of having a secret correspondence with her former husband, Amir Hasan Jalāyer, and plotting to kill Abu-Sa`id.<sup>165</sup> The nature of the plot is not well documented, but since poisoning---true or alleged---seemed to be the standard way for eliminating the *il-khāns*, one may surmise that similar accusations were made against the *khātun* in the year 1332.<sup>166</sup>

**1.13. The enigma**

**Fig. 50 Alexander Enthroned (GB 28)**

Two headings are incorporated in this illustration: the first announces "Beginning of the Story" a title often encountered at the beginning of some stories of the *Shāhnāmé*, the second explains that the illustration represents the "Enthronement of Alexander." Neither of

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<sup>163</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 190--91.

<sup>164</sup>. Ebn-e Battuta (1979), 2:122--23.

<sup>165</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 186.

<sup>166</sup>. After further investigation Baghdād Khātun was exonerated and regained her former status with the *il-khān*; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 186. Another possibility is a plot by Qotloghshāh Khātun at the time of her father's rebellion.

these titles reveal any clues to the identity of the enthroned Mongol ruler. That identity is perhaps implied in a preceding title that announces that "Alexander's reign was fourteen years."<sup>167</sup> It almost corresponds to the length of reign of Uljāyту who died on the Friday 29th of Ramazān 716,<sup>168</sup> fourteen days before the beginning of his fourteenth year of reign, if the period from Ghāzān's death (11 Shavvāl 703) to his official enthronement in Zihajjé 703 is included in his legitimate reign period. Uljāyту is depicted again with the solar disk, and holds the handkerchief passed on to him by Ghāzān (**fig. 25**).

The incorporation of the first title into this painting is quite odd and an aberration in the general composition of the manuscript. To avoid this anomaly, the illustration could have been lowered or conceived smaller and away from the top heading. At first one is tempted to see it as a pointer to the founder of the dynasty, Changiz, or to Abu-Sa`id because of whom the manuscript was referred to as *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. Both possibilities are to be rejected: 1- Changiz ruled more than fourteen years and was not surrounded by turbaned Muslim administrators on his enthronement in 1206; 2- it was improper to consider any limitation to the length of rule of Abu-Sa`id and, the two amirs holding their belts and swords by the throne and depicted as generic attendants, cannot allude to Amir Chupān and Amir Sevinch who sat the young ruler on the throne.<sup>169</sup> The reason for their non specific depiction may be that the scene represents Uljāyту's enthronement, and no such two amirs were reported for that occasion.

That the identification of Uljāyту with Alexander was a deliberate decision in the organization scheme of this manuscript is also supported by the high number of other illustrations in the Alexander cycle that pertain to Uljāyту's reign. It was a decision based on Rashidoddin's efforts to elevate Uljāyту to the rank of the world conqueror Alexander the Great (see 3.2.1) and Shirāzi's chronicles echoing those efforts when calling Uljāyту, The Second Zol-qarnayn (Zol-qarnayn being a pseudonym of Alexander).<sup>170</sup> Still, the meaning of the first title needs to be deciphered. Is it possible that the project began---or was conceived---during Uljāyту's reign but mainly produced under Abu-Sa`id, in the same way that the great Shāh Tahmāsb Shāhnāmé was initiated by Shāh Esmā`il but was

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<sup>167</sup>. Besides the *Shāhnāmé*, early Persian and Arabic history texts agree that the reign of Alexander was fourteen years, see for instance Sa`ālabi (1989), 278 or Minovi (1975), 48.

<sup>168</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 617. Kāshāni situates the death of Uljāyту on the 27th of Ramazān, Kāshāni (1969), 222. Hāfez-e Abru, relying once again on the *Zafarnāmé* (Mostowfi (1405), 722r), puts it at three days later (*shab-e ghoré-ye shavvāl*) which, according to Persian parlance, corresponds to the night of the 30th of Ramazān; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 119. Shabānkārēi pegs Uljāyту's death to the month of Ramazān without specifying the day; Shabānkārēi (1984), 272.

<sup>169</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 122.

<sup>170</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 484.

dedicated to his son Tahmāsb who patronized the project for some fifteen years after him? In such case, should one consider that the manuscript that Daqiqi left "unfinished" (see *Daqiqi Killed by his Slave*) alludes to this *Shāhnāmé*, as brainchild of Rashidoddin? Perhaps. Further research may reinforce or disprove this supposition, but given the precise use of headings as indicators throughout the manuscript, it should be considered as a distinct possibility. In either case, Uljāyту's limited reign of less than fourteen years projected by this illustration, the picture of his bier (**fig. 37**), as well as paintings pertaining to Abu-Sa`id are proofs that most paintings were done after his death and under Abu-Sa`id.

## Part II

### **The calligraphic evidence**

#### **2.1. Calligraphy tradition**

The calligrapher-chronicler Dust-Mohammad, who wrote in 952/1545 an account of "Past and Present Artists" in the preface to an album prepared for the Safavid prince Bahrām Mirzā (Topkapu Saray H.2154) described the beginning of illustrated manuscript production at the Persian royal library-ateliers in the following terms:

Then (after the Sāsanian period), the custom of watercolor painting became established in the lands of Cathay and the Franks until sharp-penned Mercury wrote the edict of rule in the name of Soltān Abu-Sa`id (son of)<sup>171</sup> Khodāybandé. Master Ahmad (son of) Musā, who was his own father's pupil, lifted the veil from the face of depiction, and the style of depiction that now prevails was invented by him. Among the works he contributed to during the reign of the aforementioned emperor, it is well known that an *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, a *Kalilé-o Demné* and a *Me`rājnamé*, calligraphed by Mowlāna `Abdollāh-e Sayrafī, and a *Tārikh-e Changizi* in beautiful script by an unknown hand were in the library of the late emperor, Soltān-Hosayn Mirzā.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup>. It is necessary to read the Persian *ezāfē* (-e, son of) between the name Abu-Sa`id and the epithet Khodāybandé which referred to Abu-Sa`id's father and was added to distinguish him from his Teymurid namesake. Same is true for the reading of Ahmad(-e) Musā in the next sentence of the Persian text.

<sup>172</sup>. Bayāni (1966), 1:197. The *Tārikh-e Changizi* remains a mystery. A versified history of Changiz and his successors, 18'000 verses long and written in the name of II-Khān Abu-Sa`id by one Ahmad-e Tabrizi, is referred by its author as *Shahanshāhnāmé*--although the only extant copy (Tabrizi (1398)) is inscribed with the name

So little information is available on the activities of Persian royal library-ateliers that Dust-Mohammad's unique account of the manuscripts copied by `Abdollah-e Sayrafi some two hundred years earlier cannot be verified with any other source, and yet it is deemed to be valuable for the following reasons:

1- Dust-Mohammad was a renowned calligrapher who taught calligraphy to the royal Safavid household and remained the head of Shāh Tahmāsb's library-atelier after the *shāh's* dismissal of most other artists;<sup>173</sup> and, as the longtime head of the royal library-atelier, he was the inheritor of a body of information related to royal manuscripts and major calligraphic works that very few people had access to;

2- calligraphers proudly traced their style back to earlier masters and according to Dust-Mohammad the line of tutelage of Khorāsāni calligraphers---of which he was one---went back to Sayrafi;<sup>174</sup> specimens---and copies---of calligraphy along with related informations were transmitted from one generation of calligraphers to the other and such chain of transmission was usually reliable;

3- a few of Dust-Mohammad's fellow artists at the Safavid royal library-atelier had been trained at the Herāt library-atelier of Soltān-Hosayn Mirzā (r.873--912/1469--1506), where the three manuscripts reportedly copied by Sayrafi were last seen.<sup>175</sup>

Noteworthy in this account is how Dust-Mohammad treats these manuscripts as well known and famous, almost as milestones. Indeed they were milestones, for besides the novelty of fine illustrations, the mere fact that in the early fourteenth century, a reputed calligrapher such as `Abdollah-e Sayrafi had been commissioned to copy secular works constituted a major shift in the practice of manuscript production at the Persian courts.

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*Changiznāmē*---and a 75'000 verses long history of the Islamic lands, Iran and the Mongols, composed by Hamdollah-e Mostowfi (Mostowfi (1405)) is entitled *Zafarnāmē*. It is unlikely that Abu-Sa'id would have commissioned a new history of the Mongols in prose (as the word "Tārikh" might suggest). What is referred by Dust-Mohammad as *Tārikh-e Changizi*, may be a copy of the first volume of the *Jāme'ottavārikh*, in the same way that another illustrated copy of that volume prepared for the Mughal emperor Akbar is labeled as *Ketāb-e Changiznāmē*, see Marek & Knizkova (1963), 29.

<sup>173</sup>. The calligrapher Dust-Mohammad taught calligraphy to Princess Soltānom, Shāh Tahmāsb's sister; Budāq (1576), 110a. Despite possible errors in his attribution of paintings in the Bahrām Mirzā album (see for instance Soudavar (1992), 95) his comments on calligraphy carry weight since Dust-Mohammad was a calligrapher and not a painter. His namesake, the painter Dust-Mohammad, was contemporaneously in the services of Tahmāsb. For a discussion on the two Dust-Mohammads, see *ibid.*, 258--59.

<sup>174</sup>. Bayāni (1966), 1:194. Another calligrapher chronicler, Sayyed Ahmad-e Mashhadi who wrote an introduction to the Amir Ghayb Beyg album (Topkapu Saray H.2161) in 973/1565 spells out the line of tutelage of the Khorāsāni calligraphers: 1- `Abdollah-e Sayrafi, 2- Hājji Mohammad-e Band-gir, 3- Mo'inoddin-e Tabrizi, 4- Shamsoddin-e Qottābi, 5- Ja'far-e Tabrizi and `Abdollah-e Tabbākh whose styles were followed by all subsequent Herāti masters; *ibid.*, 50.

<sup>175</sup>. The following artists can be named among those who joined the Safavid royal library-atelier in Tabriz: the celebrated painter Behzād who was also well trained in calligraphy (see Soudavar (1992), 98--100), and Qāsem son of `Ali (*ibid.*, 176) and possibly the painter Dust-Mohammad.

Calligraphy had been developed in the Islamic world to adorn the word of God, the Qorān, and at the Persian courts, where orthodoxy prevailed, elaborate calligraphy was restricted to the copying of Qorāns or religious and Arabic texts.<sup>176</sup> The script used for Persian manuscripts was the regular scriptorium script, a quick-hand *naskh*, legible but hardly elaborate. This was the script used for example in the sumptuous 1217 Florence *Shāhnāmé* (**fig. 51**),<sup>177</sup> and the circa 1310 copies of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* (**fig. 52**), which continued at the Injuid court of Shirāz for the production of the illustrated 1341 *Shāhnāmé* (**fig. 53**) commissioned by the vizier Qavāmoddin Hasan (d. 1353). The uninspired calligraphy of these important manuscripts cannot be attributed to a lack of talented calligraphers, for some of the most magnificent Qorāns ever produced were contemporaneously copied for the II-Khānids and the Injuids,<sup>178</sup> but rather to the absence of a tradition of calligraphic elegance associated with Persian literary texts. By the time of Uljāyту (Soltān Mohmmad-e Khodābandé), this situation was bound to change as the process of Persianization of the II-Khānids was fully under way and, under the influence of the Yuan court of China, calligraphy and the fine arts were gradually being taught to prominent II-Khānid princes. According to the chronicler Kāshāni, Uljāyту "had had instructions in fine arts and his royal curriculum (*farhang-e shāhāné*) included the learning of Mongol (i.e. Uyghur) and Persian scripts."<sup>179</sup> But more important was the royal curriculum of his son Abu-Sa`id whose interest in calligraphy and Persian poetry shifted the emphasis of the royal library-atelier to the production of Persian literary manuscripts.

As a child, Abu-Sa`id had been tutored by Sayyed Sharafoddin, a calligrapher from Shirāz, and "was so zealous in the practice of calligraphy that within a short while, his style matured and a slate written in his noble handwriting was presented to Soltān Uljāyту who out of joy, sent it (to be admired) at the various *ordus* (camp quarters of II-Khānid wives and princesses) and houses of noblemen."<sup>180</sup> The contemporary historian, Shabānkārēi, praised his "excellent" Persian and Uyghur calligraphy,<sup>181</sup> and a later one considered him a

<sup>176</sup>. It is interesting to note that Baghdad, the seat of the caliphate, was much bolder than the Persian courts in the use of painting as well as elaborate calligraphy for secular manuscripts such as the 1237 *Maqāmāt* of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Ms. Arabe 5847), see for instance Ettinghausen (1962), 118--19.

<sup>177</sup>. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Ms. Cl. 111.24 [GF 3]). Even the initial pages of the Abu-Mansuri introduction to this *Shāhnāmé* manuscript--although written in gold--are in a mediocre *sofs* script; for reproductions see Ferdowsi (1990), fols.2v--3r.

<sup>178</sup>. For the high calligraphy standard of the Uljāyту Qorāns see James (1988), 76--131. For a 1344 Qorān made for Tāshi-Khātun the mother of Shāh Shaykh Abu-Es'hāq-e Inju see *ibid.*, 168

<sup>179</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 17.

<sup>180</sup>. Samarqandi (1993), 55; Khādamir (1974), 3:197.

<sup>181</sup>. Shabānkārēi (1984), 286. Shabānkārēi's information is usually nonspecific and seem to be based on hear-say; he does not appear to have been part of the imperial chancery nor have reliable witnesses. But his remarks about Abu-Sa`id's calligraphy talents tie in well with information provided by other sources, such as Samarqandi (see

pupil of `Abdollah-e Sayrafi.<sup>182</sup> His interest in calligraphy was shared by his vizier, Khājē Ghiāsoddin Mohammad (d.736/1336), son of the celebrated Rashidoddin.<sup>183</sup> Ghiāsoddin, who had been a pupil of Sayyed Haydar-e Gondé-nevis, Sayrafi's calligraphy master,<sup>184</sup> pursued his own interest in calligraphy by commissioning a treatise on calligraphic canons from one Abdorrahim b. Mohammad-e Shirāzi.<sup>185</sup>

The choice of `Abdollah-e Sayrafi to copy a major work for Abu-Sa`id was therefore a natural one: a native of the capital city of Tabriz, he was the most esteemed calligrapher of his age and shared common calligraphy tutelage with the *il-khān* and his vizier. Sayrafi's high status at the II-Khānid court is also confirmed by the fact that he designed "unsurpassed" calligraphic panels for monuments erected in Tabriz by both the regent Amir Chupān and his powerful son Dameshq-Khājē, Abu-Sa`id's nemesis.<sup>186</sup> Thus, as a first step towards the identification of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmē*, it is necessary to investigate Sayrafi's participation in the production of this grand *Shāhnāmē* manuscript.

## **2.2. The calligraphers**

Dividing the extant folios of the manuscript into two categories: the "regular" and the "altered" pages, Grabar and Blair recognized only one type of script for each of the two categories. A closer look however, reveals six different hands: they shall be referred to as A, B, C, D, E and F. Pages copied by A, B, and C are deemed to be original (regular) because each group includes original illustrations; they are made of tightly pressed cloth or linen fibres in a felt-like pattern. Pages by D and E lack original paintings and are copied on a similar, although not identical, type of paper, with "laid lines" visible when held against light; they were probably inserted at a slightly later date. Calligrapher F's

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note 180 supra). More generally, he seems to be better informed about matters related to chancery practices--- and calligraphy may be argued to be of this category.

<sup>182</sup>. Schimmel quotes an eighteenth-century Ottoman source, *Tohfatal-khattātin* by Mostaqimzādē; Schimmel (1984), 182.

<sup>183</sup>. Since II-Khānid viziers were mostly chosen for their tax collection abilities, calligraphic skills was not their forte. Judging by a specimen in his endowment deed to the Rab`-e Rashidi, Rashidoddin's handwriting was of average quality; see Rashidoddin (1977) VR, (24). According to Shabānkārēi, Tājoddin `Ali-Shāh "didn't have a handwriting becoming a vizier;" he is silent on the skills of the vizier Sa`doddin-e Sāvaji, but praises his scribe Mobarakshāh's "Mongolian" (i.e. Uyghur) and "Turkish" calligraphy (probably meaning the official II-Khānid chancery language that was a Persian heavily studded with Turkish words); Shabānkārēi (1984), 271. The second generation administrators though, had a better chance to obtain calligraphy training; for instance, Nasiroddin-e Tusi's younger son, Fakhroddin Ahmad, was a pupil of the celebrated master calligrapher Ebn-e Bavvāb (see Modarres-e Razavi (1991), 73), and Rashidoddin's son, Ghiāsoddin Mohammad, was a pupil of Sayyed Haydar.

<sup>184</sup>. Budāq (1576), 107a; Bayāni (1966), 1:50 and 194; Qomi (1973), 22--24.

<sup>185</sup>. Rashidoddin (1979) SA, (34).




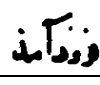

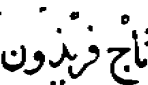

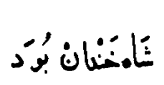
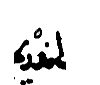

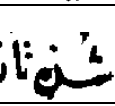
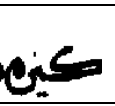
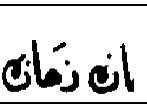

<sup>186</sup>. Budāq (1576), 107a.

handwriting appears on a single text page and some margins. Throughout the manuscript, the text is in *naskh* and, with the exception of **fig. 24**, the headings are in *sols*.

Blair has suggested that the original manuscript was conceived in two volumes with the first ending on folio 142r.<sup>187</sup> This suggestion is strengthened by a similar division of the 1217 Florence manuscript in two volumes,<sup>188</sup> and the distribution of labor amongst the different calligraphers of this *Shāhnāmē* as presented in **table 2**.

	Sayrafi	Calligrapher A
ending <i>yā</i> with vertical double-dot		
reversed ending <i>yā</i>		
double dots		
<i>sols</i> type <i>rā</i>		
middle <i>hā</i>		

**Table 1.** Comparison of Sayrafi's characteristics extracted from the colophon and fol. 24 of a Qorān dated 720/1321 in the Astān-e Qods-e Razavi (..) with those of calligrapher A

	volume1	volume 2		inserted reworks	
	A	B	C	D	E
pages	1-28----142r	142v-190	195-234	dispersed	111-115
<i>alef-maddé, ā</i>					
<i>sokun</i>					
<i>yāquti-connection</i>					--

<sup>187</sup>. Blair (1986), 127.

<sup>188</sup>. Piemontese (1980), **xv**, 48 and 66.

kāf	کَاف	کَدَمَاک	اَهْلَاک	نَهْلَه	مِنْ قَتَاک
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**Table 2.** Stylistic comparison between the first five calligraphers

### **2.2.1. Calligrapher A**

He is the calligrapher of the first fifteen of extant illustrated pages, as compiled by Grabar and Blair according to the *Shāhnāmé* sequential order, and his work extends from the beginning of the manuscript to folio 28; it may have originally continued until folio 142r, a page that is also attributable to him.<sup>189</sup> He is identifiable as `Abdollah-e Sayrafi, and probably the author of the entire first volume of the original manuscript.

Although the basic canons of *naskh* had been laid out by previous master-calligraphers such as Ebn-e Moqlé (272-328/885--940) and Yāqut (d.circa 696/1296), thirteenth-century calligraphers experimented with new refinements that established a distinctive style for each. `Abdollah-e Sayrafi's style was marked by his activity in panel calligraphy and expertise in *sols* for which, to create a harmonious script, the juxtaposition of letters was as important as the shape of the letters. In this quest for harmony, dots came into play: the three dots of (ش) were flattened to a horizontal lineup, and the double-dots of (ت) or (ق) were set vertically, when confronted with shortage of space. Other contemporary calligraphers such as Ahmad-e Sohravardi, occasionally used this device in *mohaqqaq* and *sols*, but `Abdollah-e Sayrafi used it profusely in *sols*, extending the practice into *naskh*, in situations avoided by others: the vertical double-dot adorned the ending (ت) where shortage of space was not an issue, the single dot of (ب) was lined up with those of the following (پ), and peculiarly, the ending *yā* was marked with a double-dot in a variety of positions and configurations---under, over, horizontal and vertical; double-dots and triple-dots were split in most cases and configured as a grouping of unconnected individual dots. This extensive play with dots is Sayrafi's most recognizable characteristic. It is a time consuming process by which the calligrapher must each time decide the spacing and the configuration of dots in relation to available space and dots from adjacent letters, an example being the three dots under the *sin* of the word (خواستند) configured symmetrically to the dots of its *tā* and *nun* (see below). The regular training of a calligrapher to this date involves a standard set of---connected---dots for the alphabet, and in a craft where repetition is the key to mastery, regular craftsmen do not venture in radical departures from standard procedures, and accomplished masters rarely do so. Sayrafi's play with dots was never canonized in calligraphy, and generations of his followers down to `Abdollah-e Tabbākh-e Heravi at the

<sup>189</sup>. Folio 142 is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It combines two split pages with two different hands: A on the recto and B on the verso; see Blair (1986), 127 and pl. XIX B.

court of Soltān Hosayn Mirzā, imitated his style and occasionally used the vertical double dot but shunned the extensive play with dots in other instances.

For comparison purposes, calligraphy characteristics of a manuscript of Qorān (**fig. 55**) copied in *naskh* by `Abdollah-e Sayrafi in 720/1320, are matched against sections of calligraphy attributable to calligrapher A.<sup>190</sup> Although both are in *naskh*, stylistic differences are to be expected, for one is in Qorānic *naskh* and the other in literary *naskh*. Sayrafi's Qorānic *naskh* followed well established---and slightly rigid---visual patterns intended to project the majesty and power of the word of God. Literary *naskh* had different requirements. Firstly, the columnar division of space, with its numerous ending words, necessitated a different compression of script. Secondly, the Persian literary script had much less diacritical signs. Thirdly, there was a natural tendency to harmonize the script with poetical intonations of Persian literature. It is in fact the latter tendency that very soon led to the gradual transformation of *naskh* into *nasta`liq*, the script that would become the prime vehicle of Persian literature.<sup>191</sup> Yet, despite such different requirements, the play with dots and similarities in letter shapes such as (و) and the frequently reversed ending *yā* are readily recognizable (**table 1**). The encircled dots in the *so/s* colophon of the Qorān (**fig. 54**) display Sayrafi's extensive play with dots which becomes more accentuated in the *Shāhnāmé* (**fig. 56**); probably to compensate for the lack of elaborate Qorānic diacritical markings in the Persian script.

The exclusive use of the (ī) for the long (a)---at the beginning of word---by calligrapher A (in contrast to the more liberal use of this sign by calligraphers B-C-E), in combination with his careful and correct use of diacritical marks suggests a sophisticated command over the Persian language. This corroborates A's identification with `Abdollah-e Sayrafi whose elegant prose in his treatise on the canons of calligraphy bears testimony to his affinity with both Persian literature and writing conventions.<sup>192</sup> He is also the only

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<sup>190</sup>. Sayrafi's penchant for dot plays can be verified in his extant works in *so/s* such as the exquisite *mohaqqaq* Qorān in the Chester Beatty Library, 1468 (see for instance Fazāeli (1977), 203, or James (1988), 241). *Naskh* Qorāns bearing a signature of Sayrafi are more problematic and sometimes unreliable. Such is the case for instance of a Qorān in the Nur Collection (James (1992), 112-13) which should probably be classified as 15th century. Also doubtful is E.H. 49 of the Topkapu Saray Museum (as reproduced in Atil (1987), 55), penned in a weak *rayhāni-naskh* script, with a gold ink colophon uncharacteristically written in the same script as the *sura* headings. Qorān no.178 of the Turk ve Islam Museum in Istanbul however, reliably signed by Sayrafi and dated 744/1343, displays similar characteristics as the Mashhad copy (I am indebted to D. Roxburgh for lending me his slides of this Qorān as well as calligraphy specimens of Sayrafi from album B. 411 of the Topkapu Saray Museum, Istanbul).

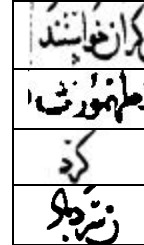
<sup>191</sup>. Soudavar (1992), 21 (with notes 14--15), 37.

<sup>192</sup>. For the complete text of Sayrafi's treatise see Māyel Heravi (1994), 128-36; for extracts see Fazāeli (1977), 297.

calligrapher of this manuscript to use the old-fashioned and typically Persian, dotted *dāl*, unfamiliar to those solely trained in Qorānic styles of calligraphy.

Other characteristics of calligrapher A are:

- a compact and controlled curve for his *yāquti* connections,<sup>193</sup> (see **table 2**);
- an occasional three dots under the *sin* configured as an upright pyramid;
- numerous use of a graceful v-shaped middle *hā* (ه);
- frequent use of a *sols*-type (س) especially in a (ف) and (ك) combination;
- and a *sols*-type (اد) ligature.



One should also note that *sols* type letters and ligatures are more curved than their regular *naskh* counterparts; and, like the play with dots, they require a higher dexterity in execution that considerably reduces calligraphy speed, and thus seldom appear in other calligraphers' *naskh* works.

### **2.2.2. Calligrapher B**

Calligrapher B's work starts at folio 142v (the beginning page of the second volume of the original manuscript) and continues up to folio 190v. His general style is slightly irregular and more linear than A, with less emphasis on letter configuration and less marking of diacritical signs. The *maddé* sign of (ā) is not only longer and more prominent than A's, but is also used to mark the long vowel (a) in the middle (rather than the beginning) of words (e.g. *homāy*, *bālāy*), contrary to the rules of Persian calligraphy and a reminiscent of B's training in Qorānic calligraphy. The (س) tail curls up markedly and the ligature of the v-shaped middle *hā* (ه) follows the left branch down before splitting away. The *yāquti* connection is moderately used. A noticeable difference with A, is a slanted crescent for the *sokun* (unvowelled consonant)---instead of the conventional round sign---not to be confounded with the inverted crescent sign used to mark phonetically connected unvowelled consonants, mostly (س) and (ك) (for example, the *tā*, of the word *ast* would be marked with the slanted crescent, and the *sin*, with the inverted crescent; see **table 2**).

### **2.2.3. Calligrapher C**

His style first appears on folio 195v and continues on the remaining pages of the manuscript. It is less dense, vertically shorter and more linear than the previous two. He uses the *maddé* in similar circumstances as B although with a more curved shape. The *yāquti* connection---traced with an ascending curve---is prominently applied. He uses the round sign of the *sokun* as calligrapher A.

<sup>193</sup>. The term refers to a curved connection of the letters (ك، د، ذ، ر، ج) with an end *hā*. instituted by Yāqut; Fazāeli (1977), 225--27.

#### **2.2.4. Calligrapher D**

His style is weaker than all the others. It is hurried and careless, and recognizable by the doubling of the ascendants of the attached (د) and sometimes the (ك), and a minuscule *kāf* sign about to be pierced by the *kāf*'s ascendant. Diacritical signs are minimally used and the letter (س) is occasionally marked by three dots underneath. Pages of his work are scattered throughout the manuscript and do not include any original painting but comprise special-layout pages with voided areas (see for instance **fig. 57**).

Grabar and Blair who consider calligraphers D and E as one, and author of all the special-layout pages ("checkered" pages), situate him in twentieth century Paris;<sup>194</sup> but as argued in appendix 2, calligrapher D is most probably a Jalāyerid artist who reorganized sections of the manuscript where new images were inserted or deleted, or rearranged pages of the manuscript with unfilled illustration spots.

#### **2.2.5. Calligrapher E**

He has a consistent and elegant style, mostly recognizable by the use of some elaborate and peculiar diacritical signs: (أ) to mark the long vowel u after a phonetically connected unvowelled consonant. He uses an elegant minuscule *kāf* sign (ك , *kāf-e khafifé*) instead of the slanted arm of the actual *kāf* at the beginning, and occasionally in the middle, of words. Three dots are sometimes placed under (س) and a *hamzé* sign over the *alef*.

Calligrapher E's work is enigmatic. Unlike calligrapher D's, his pages are not scattered throughout the manuscript but appear as a batch that comprised folios 111r to 115v, all belonging to the second part of the first volume of the original manuscript. Stylistically, the odd and frequent application of the *maddé* to mark the long vowel (a) in the middle of words such as رآه، بیآبان suggests these pages to be the work of an early calligrapher, working at a time when the norms of diacritical signs for Persian texts were not yet standardized. The writing of words such as أیرآن and شاه look so awkward that it is hard to attribute them to a calligrapher working later than the end of fourteenth century. Pending further evidence, calligrapher E was probably a Jalāyerid scribe who for some unknown reason rewrote a whole section of volume one, perhaps an entire quire of 8 folios.<sup>195</sup>

#### **2.2.6. Calligrapher F**

Folio 20 of the manuscript (presently at the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin) is different than all other pages of the manuscript in two noticeable ways: it lacks ruled margins, and there is reportedly an 1839 watermark on the text area (whereas the

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<sup>194</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 12.

<sup>195</sup>. The replaced quire may be quire 15 of the manuscript comprising folios 110 through 117; Blair (1986), 131.

watermark of other pages only appear on the margin paper), inferring a nineteenth century origin.<sup>196</sup> Its later provenance is also attested by a stylistically mature *naskh* calligraphy, typical of the Qājār period (1779--1924), in which the dagger *alef* is repeatedly used to mark the long a in the middle of a word (see **table 2**). Moreover, the page pointers---written at the bottom of the 1839 marked margin papers---are by the same hand. Calligrapher F is therefore from the Qājār era.

### **2.3. The Abu-Sa`idnāmé**

What transpires from the above is that in addition to the painters, at least three high-standing calligraphers of the II-Khānid royal library-atelier (*ketābkhāné*), including Sayrafi, were originally mobilized for the production of this grand manuscript; and, because of the unprecedented means gathered for its creation, the manuscript was bound to influence the activities of the following generations of library-ateliers. Therefore, important clues to its identity may reside in its repercussions in the library-ateliers of the Teymurids and Jalāyerids.

Inspired at inception by the imperial academies of China, the royal library-atelier that was originally instituted for the production of the great II-Khānid historical work, the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, became an important symbol of kingship and legitimacy in post II-Khānid Iran.<sup>197</sup> The Jalāyerids (736--835/1336--1432) who succeeded the II-Khānids after a series of skirmishes with rival contenders, lacked the full legitimacy to rule in a domain where the *yāsā*, the socio-political canon of Changiz---which required the ruler to be of Changizid male descent---was still much honored amongst the Turco-Mongol power-elite. Ruling initially in the name of Changizid puppets, the Jalāyerids eventually ascended to the vacant throne of the II-Khānids by clinging to a semi-legitimacy inherited through descent from Oljatāy, daughter of the II-Khān Arghun.<sup>198</sup> But to gain acceptance as successor to *il-khāns* they had to act like *il-khāns*: following in the footsteps of Abu-Sa`id, the Jalāyerids reactivated the II-Khānid library-atelier and pursued the production of illustrated literary manuscripts by commissioning copies of the *Kalilē-o Demné* and the *Shāhnāmé*, fragments

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<sup>196</sup>. A page incorrectly published as folio 20 in Grabar & Blair (1980), 9, should be corrected as folio 145. I am indebted to Sheila Blair who provided me with a photocopy of the real folio 20 and reiterated to me an affirmation by the former curator of the Chester Beatty Library, David James, that its watermark is on the text area.

<sup>197</sup>. The term library-atelier (*ketābkhāné*) is used in this study with the same meaning as in Teymurid and Safavid chronicles, that is the atelier where calligraphers, painters and other artists were gathered to create sumptuously illustrated manuscripts. For the imperial library-atelier as a significant symbol of kingship, especially when the legitimacy of the ruler is contested (in both Iran and China), see Soudavar (1993).

<sup>198</sup>. See Soudavar (1992), 55 and 58.

of which have survived in the albums of Istanbul libraries.<sup>199</sup> Strangely, despite a second reference of Dust-Mohammad to the *Abu-Sa`idnāmē* that the Jalāyerid Soltān Ahmad (r.784--813/1382--1410) "drew a scene in black ink" in it, no traces of an original *Abu-Sa`idnāmē* manuscript or text remain.<sup>200</sup>

Teymur (r.771--807/1370--1405) whose dynasty succeeded the Jalāyerids, suffered from a more acute problem of legitimacy: with no Changizid blood in his veins he remained an *amir* ruling in the name of Changizid puppets, despite territorial conquests that rivaled those of Changiz.<sup>201</sup> His own panegyrist, Nezāmoddin-e Shāmi, would proudly boast that Teymur "reinstated the Chaghatāyids on the throne of Iran and Turān, and revived the traditions set by Changiz and his successors."<sup>202</sup> Teymur was too busy with his conquests to revive the royal library-atelier. That task fell to his son Shāhrokh (r.812-50/1405-47) in whose time the full spectrum of the II-Khānid library activities was duplicated in the Teymurid capital of Herāt. A *Me`rājnāmē* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Turc 190), two *Kalilē-o Demnēs* (Topkapu Saray Library, Istanbul, R1022 and H362), and a complete *Jāme`ottavārikh* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1113) as well as replacement volumes for incomplete sets, were produced in the library-ateliers of Shāhrokh and his son Bāysonghor (1397-1434), in addition to various history texts commissioned to the historian Hāfez-e Abru emulating the *Jāme`ottavārikh*.<sup>203</sup> In the same vein, the most sumptuous manuscript produced in Shāhrokhid Herāt, the famous Bāysonghor *Shāhnāmē* (Golestān Palace Library, Tehran, no. 716), was meant to emulate the most sumptuous of the II-Khānid productions, the very *Shāhnāmē* of this study. Considering the importance of the *Shāhnāmē* production in subsequent royal ateliers, it is odd that Dust-Mohammad does not list one amongst the works copied for Abu-Sa`id nor refer to this grand II-Khānid *Shāhnāmē* in which we have detected the participation of Sayrafī, the most important master-calligrapher in his line of tutelage. Conversely, like the *Akbarnāmē* written and illustrated for the Mughal emperor Akbar (r.963--1014/1556--1605), the name *Abu-Sa`idnāmē* indicates that its content should relate to the events of the reign of Abu-Sa`id, and perhaps of the reign of his Mongol predecessors. Had there been

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<sup>199</sup>. Pages from these manuscripts are scattered in albums (H2153, H2160) of the Topkapu Saray and album (F1422) of the University Library, Istanbul; see for instance, Gray (1977), 35--42; Atasoy (1970), pls. 1--14.

<sup>200</sup>. Bayāni (1966), 1:197.

<sup>201</sup>. See Soudavar (1992), 57--67.

<sup>202</sup>. Shāmi (1984), 12.

<sup>203</sup>. For illustrations of the first three manuscripts see Gray (1977), 81--84; and Gray (1979), 97--100, 149, 157--161, 167, 287, 289. For a discussion on replacement volumes of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* as well as the history works commissioned to Hāfez-e Abru, see Soudavar (1992), 64--65. One should also note that the establishment of an observatory in Samarqand by Shāhrokh's son, Ologh Beyg, and the compilation of a new astronomical manual, the *Zij-e Gurkāni*, was emulating the earlier activities of the II-Khānid astronomers gathered at Marāghé.

an original *illustrated* manuscript of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, different than the *Shāhnāmé* and related to the exploits of Abu-Sa`id, surely the Jalāyerids or the Teymurids would have commissioned an illustrated copy, in the same way that numerous copies of Teymur's exploits, the *Zafarnāmé*, were illustrated in Safavid times;<sup>204</sup> and Bāysonghor who was keen on duplicating manuscripts of Soltān Ahmad's library,<sup>205</sup> would have ordered a copy of the manuscript that Soltān Ahmad so cherished as to personally add a painting to it. But no such manuscript is known to exist.

The logical inference of the above arguments is that "Abu-Sa`idnāmé" was a pun name for this particular manuscript of the *Shāhnāmé*, where the name of the actual king, Abu-Sa`id, was a substitute for *shāh* (king). Whether this Il-Khānid manuscript was originally named *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* or later became known as such is not clear, even though a cryptic sentence in the preciously ornate style of the contemporary chronicler Shirāzi may include a veiled reference to it.<sup>206</sup>

These speculations notwithstanding, the analysis of the illustrations in Part I justifies the appropriateness of the name *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* for a manuscript in which illustrations refer to Abu-Sa`id and his ancestors, and puns and double-meanings are tightly interwoven in its composition. Dust-Mohammad's account is only an added confirmation for what the internal evidence of the manuscript reveals.

## **Part III**

### **Organization**

#### **3.1. The patron**

Grabar and Blair's study concludes that the "Demotte" *Shāhnāmé* was prepared by the initiative of the vizier Khājé Ghiāsoddin Mohammad during the reign of Arpā Kāun

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<sup>204</sup>. Two other works pertaining to the exploits of Changiz and his successors down to Abu-Sa`id, the *Zafarnāmé* and the *Shahanshāhnāmé*, although originally unillustrated, were copied in Teymurid Herāt, Mostowfi (1405) and Tabrizi (1398); the latter even adorned with a few illustrations.

<sup>205</sup>. According to Dust-Mohammad, Bāysonghor ordered his artists to duplicate works of the Soltān Ahmad atelier in "the same format and size and with the same scenes;" Bayāni (1966), 1:198.

<sup>206</sup>. The words *az sa`ādat-nāmé-ye Bu-Sa`idi* (from Abu-Sa`id's book of good fortunes) in the following sentence in Shirāzi (1959), 646:

... در اینحال بنده و صاف الحضرة را مصدوقه فال سابق از سعادت نامه بوسعیدی بر مصداق حال لایق یاد آمد و گفتم

may also be read as *az sa`ādat-e nāmé-ye Bu-Sa`idi* (by the good omen of Abu-Sa`id's "book")---which may allude to the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*.

(r.Dec. 5, 1335/May 15, 1336), the Changizid prince that the *khājé* had championed to succeed Abu-Sa`id.<sup>207</sup> Abu-Sa`id had died without an heir.<sup>208</sup> The *khājé*'s scheme to place Arpā Kāun on the throne was contested from the outset by Abu-Sa`id's imperial household and leading amirs. Arpā was defeated and killed in less than six months. In between, the *il-khān* and his vizier had embarked on a major campaign to repel the attacks of the *khān* Ozbeg of the Qebchāq.<sup>209</sup> Arpā's short and tumultuous reign could hardly allow for a production of this magnitude. Besides the logistical problems of copying some 60,000 verses of this grand *Shāhnāmé*, the planning and execution of the illustrations---at a time when no established prototypes existed---was most time consuming. Even more so if the illustrations were to reflect imperial events. One can imagine the slow process by which the subject and composition of each illustration had to be submitted for the approval of the vizier, or the monarch himself, with alterations proposed at each stage, and if Arpā was the patron he would have certainly rejected the derogatory portraying of his ancestor Arigh Bokā in **fig. 4**. Moreover, a complicated work such as this *Shāhnāmé* is created during periods of security and peace rather than transition and turmoil.

Irrespective of the logistical problems, the intended recipient must have had the sophistication and aptitude to appreciate the intricacies of this manuscript. Arpā's literary interests are not known and chances are that---like most other Mongol princes---he had none.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, Abu-Sa`id was well versed in Persian poetry and composed poems of his own.<sup>211</sup> At the end of one of his *ghazals* he wrote:

بیا بمصر دلم تا دمشق جان بینی      که آرزوی دلم در هوای بغداد است

"Come to the Egypt of my heart to see the Damascus of my soul,

For my heart yearns for the sweet air of Baghdad,"<sup>212</sup>

in which Baghdad also refers to his beloved Baghdād Khātun daughter of amir Chupān, Damascus (*Dameshq*) to her brother Dameshq Khājé, and Egypt (*Mesr*) to Mesr Khājé, his trusted lieutenant who eventually decapitated Dameshq. Such disposition for puns makes Abu-Sa`id a worthy recipient of a manuscript studded with double and triple-meanings.

<sup>207</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 48; Blair (1986), 126. Arpā's Mongolian name was Arpā Ke'ün. The second part was transliterated in Persian as Kāun to avoid misreading as *kun* (derrière). This transliteration was probably adopted by chancery officials after Arpā's accession to the throne. In earlier texts *ke'ün* was transliterated as (کون): see for instance (تیمورکون) and (بوجیرکون) in Kāshāni (1969), 176.

<sup>208</sup>. Abu-Sa`id's wife, Delshād Khātun, was pregnant at his death but gave birth to a girl; Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 195--96.

<sup>209</sup>. Hāfez-e Abru (1971), 191--92.

<sup>210</sup>. Shabānkāréi related that Arpā upheld Mongol customs and avoided Persians (*tāzik natavānesti did*); Shabānkāréi (1984), 294.

<sup>211</sup>. Ghani (1942), 20.

<sup>212</sup>. Ghani (1942), 20. For the complete poem see Shabānkāréi (1984), 286.

No less sophisticated was his vizier Khājē Ghiāsoddin Mohammad who entertained men of knowledge and men of pen along with artists and musicians (*ahl-e tarab*).<sup>213</sup> He was a littérateur and connoisseur who revived the Rab`-e Rashidi built by his father, and patronized poets such as Salmān-e Sāvaji, Owhadi-ye Marāghéi, `Obayd-e Zākāni and Khāju-ye Kermāni, theologians such as Qāzi `Azododdin-e Iji and Ootboddin-e Rāzi, and historians such as Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi. The range and quantity of books dedicated to the vizier were staggering; by one account he was presented with 200 works on the occasion of the Persian New Year.<sup>214</sup> But unlike his father, who wrote original treatises on divers subjects such as theology, history, medicine and even gemology, Ghiāsoddin is not known for any discourses or other writings. As a professional administrator who was appointed superintendent of Khorāsān under Rashidoddin's tenure as vizier, he became the pliant executive who survived the onslaught on his family and later on, ungrudgingly, joined the services of the very *il-khān* who had ordered his father killed.<sup>215</sup> One can only speculate that such person was characterized by a gentle and accommodating attitude that would neither contradict his ruler nor push him toward novelties and untested projects, while his father Rashidoddin, following in the footsteps of his former master, the reformer *il-khān* Ghāzān, was more likely to propose such novel project. But even if Rashidoddin initiated the project (as perhaps suggested by **figs. 50 and 45**), Ghiāsoddin was the perfect executive to develop the sophisticated imagery of this manuscript, and maintain the young and learned Abu-Sa`id's enthusiasm in the project by constantly presenting new discoveries and possibilities. To the young Abu-Sa`id, educated and infused with Persian culture, the marriage of Mongol history with the *Shāhnāmé* constituted a natural sequel to the *Jāme`ottavārikh* project initiated by Ghāzān.

### **3.2. The sources**

The *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* was an ambitious project that required careful planning and organization. The first task was to match episodes of the *Shāhnāmé* with events of Mongol rule and the second was to devise a composition to illustrate both. There was a natural tendency to try to identify each of the Mongol rulers with a particular hero of the

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<sup>213</sup>. Rashidoddin (1979) SA, (33), where the editor Dānesh-pajuh quotes Ebn-e Favati. The tradition of the vizier entertaining an intellectual "salon" finds its continuation in the *majleses* organized by the viziers Majdoddin Mohammad and `Abdollāh-e Morvārid at the Teymurid court of Soltān Hosayn Bāyqarā; Subtelny (1984), 144-47, and Vāsefi (1970), 523-28, and 963-65.

<sup>214</sup>. Rashidoddin (1979) SA, (33--35).

<sup>215</sup>. Samarqandi says that upon designation as vizier, Ghiāsoddin not only refrained from harming "those who had previously plotted against the Rashidi family" but even "bestowed them with favors and rewards;" Samarqandi (1993), 101.

*Shāhnāmé*. Thus, Hulāgu was mainly portrayed as Fereydun, Ghāzān mainly as Bahrām, and Uljāyту mainly as Alexander. However, such identifications could not remain exclusive and whenever a suitable match between a *Shāhnāmé* story and Mongol history was found, it took precedence over the scheme of identifying rulers with particular *Shāhnāmé* heroes. A suitable match could be a whole story, a section, or even a simple sentence, and to find them, chronicles and historical texts had to be studied and interpreted.

### **3.2.1. Rashidoddin's works**

The primary source for Mongol history was obviously volume I of the extensive *Jāme`ottavārikh*. Rashidoddin boasted that the *il-khān* himself sanctioned this volume (which covered events of Mongol history from the time of Changiz until Uljāyту's reign) as "all true and correct," and that "nobody had ever written a more truthful, factual and precise history."<sup>216</sup> A substantial number of the illustrations directly relate to events encountered in volume I. Other volumes provided additional clues as exemplified by *Fereydun Leading Zakhāk to Mount Damāvand* (**fig. 8**) which is based on the *History of the Esmā`ilis* chapter included in volume II.

The *Jāme`ottavārikh* was part of the eleven book compendium of Rashidoddin, referred to as *Jāme`ottasānif-e Rashidi*, a master copy of which was placed at the Rab`-e Rashidi.<sup>217</sup> As per the endowment document of the Rab`, Rashidoddin instructed the trustee to have seven of his books copied each year and, after verification against the original text and certification by the trustee, "sent to all cities of Islam, in Arabic to Arab cities and in Persian to Persian cities, beginning with the most important cities."<sup>218</sup> Therefore, in view of its status as a master reference source, the compendium as a whole must have been consulted in search of matching events with *Shāhnāmé* episodes. *The Mobads Interrogating Zāl* (**fig. 16**) for example, is related to an event recounted in "book IV of section 1 of part I" of the compendium.

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<sup>216</sup> Rashidoddin (1976), 1:11.

<sup>217</sup> The compendium's composition evolved overtime and the name *Jāme`ottasānif-e Rashidi* now relates to the eleven books enumerated at the beginning of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, Rashidoddin (1976), 1:(88--90); see also next note.

<sup>218</sup> Rashidoddin (1977) VR, 239. The concept of distribution of copies made at the Rab` was initially formulated by Rashidoddin in his first draft of the endowment document of the Rab` prepared in 709/1309, in respect to two basic religious texts, the Qorān and the *Jāme`ol-usul*; *ibid.*, 133. In an addendum drafted in 713/1313 he added nine books of his own writings for copying and distribution, at the same time omitting four books of translated Chinese and Mongol works on medicine, plants, government, etc., from the eleven books of the *Jāme`ottasānif-e Rashidi*, while adding two other books of his; *ibid.*, 237. Shirāzi mentioned that in early 712/1312, Rashidoddin presented ten *volumes* (*majallad*) of his works to the *il-khān*; Shirāzi (1959), 538.

### **3.2.2. Kāshāni and the "closing addendum" of the Jāme`ottavārikh**

The *Jāme`ottavārikh* was conceived by Rashidoddin as an ongoing project. A special section heading was incorporated at the end of each chapter for additional information to be added by later historians, as they would become available. An example of such later addition is provided by the ending section of the Arghun chapter for which certain manuscripts show a later added text while others are devoid of it.<sup>219</sup> In the same vein, in the initial outline of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, Rashidoddin had allocated part one of volume II to the complete chronicles of Uljāytu's reign to be inserted at a later stage; the *Tārikh-e Uljāytu* by Kāshāni, seems to have been initially compiled for this purpose. In its introduction Kāshāni boasted that his text was the "closing addendum" (*tamimé va zamimé*) to the *Jāme`ottavārikh*.<sup>220</sup> Curiously, it is a mix of two different styles: a concise reporting of yearly events in the style of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, interjected with lengthy accounts of events that do not seem to merit such elaboration. The latter accounts though, become meaningful in conjunction with the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. The story of the Chaghatāyid clan recounted under the heading "The Reasons for Fear and Enmity Between Isanbuqā and the Clan of Chaghatāy with the Qāān and the Soltān," is the basis for understanding *Khosrow Writing to the Khāqān* (**fig. 36**), as well as the prelude to the story of Yesaur (**fig. 44**). It is the lengthiest and most elaborate section of the *Tārikh-e Uljāytu*, and its 21 pages (out of a total 241 text pages) are squeezed into the events of the year 716/1316, the last year of Uljāytu's reign. This lengthy section on the Chaghatāyids dwarfs that year's---and any other year's---account of Uljāytu's exploits and deeds, and makes redundant the story of Yesaur's crossing of the Oxus, briefly mentioned in the normal reporting of the events of the year 713/1313.<sup>221</sup> One must also note that the account of Isanbuqā's capture of the *qāān* and Uljāytu embassies (see *Afrāsiāb Killing Nowzar*, **fig. 44**), the most important event of that section, should have normally been reported in the year 713/1313 and not in 716/1316.<sup>222</sup> Similarly, the odd wording of some superfluous sentences in the lengthy account of Uljāytu's Gilān campaign provide a key to the relevance of *Kay Kāvus and his*

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<sup>219</sup>. Rashidoddin (1957), 3:229. The heading of the last section of the Arghun chapter reads: "Section Three from the Story of Arghun, Pertaining to his Noble Traits and Behavior and his Words of Wisdom, and his Orders and Edicts and the Story of the Events of his Time not Mentioned in the Previous Two Sections and Reported by Different Individuals."

<sup>220</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 5.

<sup>221</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 164.

<sup>222</sup>. Although the section heading is in the name of Isanbuqā and it is inserted amongst the events of the year 716/1316, the only date pertaining to that year is "Saturday 18th of Sha`bān 716" for Yesaur's battle in Transoxiana (Kāshāni (1969), 217), which is then negated by the mention of a second date (*ibid.*, 218), supposedly later but written as "Rajab of 716," which is a month earlier.

*Paladins Killing the Demons of Māzandarān* (**fig. 28**). Perhaps the most convincing proof for later insertions and modifications is a passage included under the events of the year 711/1311, that pertains to Tājoddin `Ali-Shāh's rise to the vizierate. Oddly, Kāshāni speaks of Uljāytu in the past tense: "in the days of Soltān Mohammad" (*be chāgh-e dowlat-e Soltān Mohammad*); even though in most other sections he refers to Uljāytu as a living monarch, wishing him a long lasting rule. This indicates that the passage was inserted after the *il-khān's* death, most probably to suit the inclusion of **fig. 35** in the *Shāhnāmē* project.<sup>223</sup>

Following the style of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, the basic chronological reporting style of the *Tārikh-e Uljāytu* is written for Persian speaking Turco-Mongols in simple prose with an abundance of Turco-Mongol words. By contrast, the second style is *monshiāné* (literary style of the royal secretariat), using multiple synonyms to achieve an elaborately rhythmic prose, in which the meaning was usually sacrificed for the form. In his second style, Kāshāni is clearly copying Rashidoddin's *monshiāné* style, the style of his official---as well as private---correspondences as compiled by one Shamsoddin Mohammad-e Abarquhi, in a compendium entitled *Savānehol-afkār-e Rashidi*. This material was not gathered for the sake of preservation of historical documents, but for use by scribes and administrators as a stylistic manual; and Kāshāni used Rashidoddin's writings to that effect.<sup>224</sup> An example is the Gilān campaign account in which most of the elaborate imagery is derived from three of Rashidoddin's letters to his sons.<sup>225</sup> In particular Rashidoddin's sentence *savārem-e sahām-e khun-pāsh* (sharp and blood-spilling arrows),<sup>226</sup> seems to have been the inspiration for connecting Uljāytu's attack on Gilān to *Alexander Battling the Fur of Hind; Picture of the Iron Horses and Soldiers* (**fig. 29**). In his sentence that compared the troops clad in steel

<sup>223</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 121.

<sup>224</sup>. While the authenticity of Rashidoddin's letters has been contested by some and accepted by others (Rashidoddin (1979) SA, (46--65)), and may still be challenged in a forthcoming publication by a prominent British scholar, it is very difficult to find a rational incentive for a hypothetical forger to create such documents, and to acknowledge the existence of a writer who could so admirably imitate Rashidoddin's solid prose and refer to such a variety of subjects that only Rashidoddin's vast knowledge permitted. On the other hand, correspondences of prominent viziers were often compiled and cherished by scribes and administrators as stylistic manuals, an example being the *At-tavassol elat-tarassol* (Manual for correspondences) comprising the correspondences of Bahā'oddin-e Baghdādi, the vizier of the Khārazmshāh `Alā'oddin Takesh (r.567-96/1172-1200); see Baghdādi (1936). These manuals were regularly copied and perhaps even modified to suit the scribe's needs and taste. Therefore, it seems that the discrepancies encountered in Rashidoddin's letters with other historical sources may be ascribed to scribal errors and modifications rather than forgeries.

<sup>225</sup>. Compare page 63 of Kāshāni (1969), with pages 123, 131, and 241 of Rashidoddin (1979) SA. It should be noted that while Rashidoddin's incorporation of Qorānic quotations in his prose was in a fluent style, Kāshāni's adoption of same formulae was incongruent and less successful. Such is the case for Rashidoddin's use of verse (Qorān 54:8) : "like scattered locusts" كانهم جراد منتشر *ibid.*, 131, when describing enemy troops, but quoted by Kāshāni for imperial troops! Kāshāni (1969), 63.

<sup>226</sup>. Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 123.

to Indian braves (*savārem-e hendi*), Kāshāni transformed the blood-spilling arrows into flame-thrower spears while opting for a second meaning of the very odd word *savārem* ("braves" instead of "sharp"), and adding the adjective *hendi*, for the sole purpose of connecting it to Alexander's battle in India (*hend*); Indian soldiers were previously never considered as symbols of bravery in Persian literature.

Finally, Kāshāni's often discredited allegation, that he wrote the *Jāme`ottavārikh* but Rashidoddin presented it---in the year 706/1306---to the *il-khān* as his own, may only be justified insofar as he was probably among the team that the vizier had gathered to keep a record of Uljāytu's reign in continuation of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* project. The published text of the *Tārikh-e Uljāytu* may be based on a personal version kept by Kāshāni, or one modified after the death of Ghiāsoddin, that incorporated isolated allegations against Rashidoddin while the rest of the text was respectful towards the vizier.<sup>227</sup>

According to the preceding arguments, it appears that the present version of the *Tārikh-e Uljāytu* was initially conceived as the chronicles of Uljāytu's reign for the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, but was modified twice by one of its initial co-authors, Kāshāni: once, in conjunction with the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* project, and once again, after the demise of Khājé Ghiāsoddin Mohammad. Whether an official version was ever adjoined to the *Jāme`ottavārikh* master copy at the Rab` is not known; the fact is that later historians did not know about it, or did not recognize it as part of the *Jāme`ottavārikh*. Thus, Hāfez-e Abru who was commissioned a century later by Shāhrokh to write the continuation (*zeyl*) to the first volume of the great Il-Khānid historical work, started his account with events of the reign of Uljāytu.

### **3.2.3. Mongol sources and subsequent reinterpretations**

The story of Qubilāy and Arigh Bokā (discussed under **fig. 4**), neither recorded by Rashidoddin nor by Kāshāni, further demonstrates the broad array of sources consulted

<sup>227</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 54 (under the events of year 706/1306):

دستور ایران خواجه رشیدالدین کتاب جامع التواریخ که تألیف و تصنیف این بیچاره بود ، به دست جهودان مردود بر رای پادشاه عرضه کرد و جایزه آن پنجاه تومان مال از املاک و دیه و ضیاع بستد و هر سال از محصول مستدرکات و ربوع ارتفاعات آن بیست تومان نقد عفواً و صفواً به وی میرسد و با وجود وعده بتصنیف بییک درم به مؤلف و مصنف آن نداد

"The vizier of Iran, Khājé Rashidoddin, offered to the emperor the book of *Jāme`ottavārikh* that I had authored, through the complicity of forsaken Jews, and obtained a fifty *tumāns* reward in property and farm-land that generate a yearly revenue of twenty thousand *tumāns* in cash for him; but didn't give a penny to its author (i.e. Kāshāni) as promised." Kāshāni repeated the same claim at the end of his book (for a corrected version see Mortazavi (1991), 501--504). They are both in contadiction with another assertion that Rashidoddin's revenues from the reward for the *Jāme`ottavārikh* was "eight *tumāns*, every year" (Kāshāni (1969), 196), and indicative of a later hasty insertion without consideration for prior writings. The claim that Rashidoddin appropriated for himself the fruit of Kāshāni's labor, along with accusations of favoritism towards Jews, was obviously inserted after the death of both Rashidoddin and his son: it was the typical reaction of a petty bureaucrat trying to emerge from the shadow of his former master struck by misfortune.

for this project. The story is referred to by the later historian Khandamir, and also Mirkhānd who acknowledges taking it from Hāfez-e Abru.

Despite Rashidoddin's boast of factual correctness, his version of Juchi's birth in the *Jāme`ottavārikh* which recognizes him as Changiz' first son, is different from the one preserved in the *Secret History of the Mongols*, and alluded to in *Fereyduṅ Questions his Mother About his Origins* (**fig. 2**). Also, Khandamir and Mirkhānd's accounts differ with Rashidoddin's and convey that Juchi's brothers, Chaghatāy and Ogdāy, scolded him for his "dubious birth."<sup>228</sup> Juchi's illegitimate birth was not only glossed over by Rashidoddin in deference to the early alliance of the houses of Juchi and Tuloy, but also to avoid tarnishing the image of Changiz himself. Juchi's illegitimate birth ultimately tarnished the image of the Mongol dynasty as a whole. What may have been an acceptable incident in the context of harsh nomadic life reflected by the *Secret History of the Mongols*, was detrimental to the prestige of the Mongol ruling family in the urban capitals of their empire. What Rashidoddin did not dare refer to in the historic *Jāme`ottavārikh*, no official Jalāyerid or Teymurid historian would have ventured to reinterpret. The Changizid legacy was still much revered under these successor dynasties, and the authority and sanction of a powerful Changizid prince was necessary for any reinterpretation. Abu-Sa`id had resuscitated this sensitive issue in the midst of an inter family dispute, and his approval of **fig. 2**, probably provided the required sanction for later historians' veiled references to this Changizid disgrace.

Considering the above discrepancies between the *Jāme`ottavārikh* and subsequent historical works, one wonders if some synopsis was not prepared to accompany this *Shāhnāmé*, providing explanations for the illustrations, and used by later historians as an additional source on Mongol history.

### **3.3. The production team**

The production team was probably placed under the supervision of Ghiāsoddin Mohammad who had served Abu-Sa`id when crown-prince in Khorāsān, and continued to serve him after his enthronement. According to Shirāzi, Ghiāsoddin was vizier (*makhdum-e jahāniān va dastur-e jahān-bān*) in 718/1318,<sup>229</sup> and although he may have been

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<sup>228</sup>. Khādamir (1974), 74. Mostowfi who alluded to Chaghatāy and Ogdāy's animosity towards Juchi, omitted any reference to his dubious birth (Mostowfi (1405), 551):

توشی با تولی داشت صدق و صفا میانشان گشوده طریق وفا  
زقآن و از جغتای جان او بدی خسته هرگز نگشتی نکو

"Tushi (Juchi) and Tuloy's friendship was wholehearted; as loyalty paved the way in between; But, his soul was wounded by Qāān (Ogdāy) and Chaghatāy, and never recovered"

<sup>229</sup>. Shirāzi (1959), 608.

temporarily removed from office after his father's execution, he rejoined the *il-khān's* services at a date probably earlier than his formal appointment as vizier in 727/1327.<sup>230</sup>

Abu-Sa`id himself must have had an active role, approving each composition and providing details about unrecorded anecdotes of his life. His mood shifts conditioned topic selections. The continued belligerence of Juchi's descendant, Ozbeg, prompted reference to Juchi's illegitimate birth in *Fereyduṅ Questions his Mother About his Origins*. While Baghdād Khātun was the favorite wife, Amir Chupān was evoked with deference (**fig. 48**). Eventually, when her own niece, Delshād Khātun, became the favorite, Baghdād Khātun's reaction was exposed in *The Picture of Ardashir with his Wife throwing Down the Cup of Poison* (**fig. 49**). These were all sensitive issues necessitating the *il-khān's* sanction for inclusion in the manuscript.

Considering the vast array of sources that needed to be consulted, the selection process of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* illustrations was certainly conducted by a team of learned historians and chroniclers, well versed in the stories of the *Shāhnāmé*. Foremost among them was Kāshānī who seems to have modified the Uljāyṭu chronicles---or added to it---to accommodate the project. Another possible candidate was Hamdollāh-e Mostowfi, the author of a versified historical work entitled *Zafarnāmé* (Book of victories), 75'000 verses long and modeled after the *Shāhnāmé*, of which, the last 30'000 pertained to the history of the Mongols down to Abu-Sa`id's time. In its opening section, he complained that most *Shāhnāmés* that he had seen contained inaccuracies perpetuated by scribal errors, and were 10'000 verses short of the 60'000 that Ferdowsi claimed to have composed.<sup>231</sup> He had spent six years to gather a "complete and corrected version" of the *Shāhnāmé*---a copy of which is presumably written on the margins of the *Zafarnāmé* manuscript of the British Library.<sup>232</sup> An administrator with close ties to Ghiāsoddin, and involved in the compilation of a "complete and corrected" version of the *Shāhnāmé*, as well as versification of the

<sup>230</sup>. As superintendent of Khorāsān, Ghiāsoddin might have developed a special relationship with Abu-Sa`id when the young prince was appointed governor of that province. Natanzi stated that "since in his (Abu-Sa`id's) youth, Ghiāsoddin Mohammad, son of the great vizier Rashidoddin, had rendered praiseworthy services, he (now) rewarded him with the vizierate; Natanzi (1957), 156. Mostowfi recounted that after the demise of Dameshq-Khājé (d.727/1327), the vizierate was initially shared between Khājé Ghiāsoddin Mohammad and `Alā'oddin Mohammad, but six months later Ghiāsoddin became sole vizier and `Alā'oddin was granted the function of *estifā'* (tax collection); Mostowfi (1960), 620--21. But Ebn-e Battuta who saw Ghiāsoddin Mohammad in the presence of Abu-Sa`id and Dameshq-Khājé sometime after Rajab 727/May 1327, presumed Ghiāsoddin to be a vizier at that time; Ebn-e Battuta (1979), 2:116. It is probable that Ghiāsoddin had entered the services of Abu-Sa`id at an early stage, perhaps with the approval of Dameshq, and was performing most of the vizierate functions while formal title and final power resided with Dameshq.

<sup>231</sup>. Mostowfi (1405), 6:

چو تخلیط رفته درو	بیشمار	ولیکن تبه گشته از روزگار
شده کار آن نامه زیبر و زبر		ز سهو نویسندگان سربسر

<sup>232</sup>. Mostowfi (1405).

history of the Mongols down to Abu-Sa`id's time, Mostowfi was most probably a participant in the project.<sup>233</sup> His involvement though, may have been mostly with the *Shāhnāmé* text, and perhaps intermittently with the process of illustration selection: his account of princess Konjak's death differs with that portrayed in **fig. 43** and eliminates him as the person who conceived this particular illustration, on the other hand, his verses on the "dusty wind" that led Abu-Sa`id to victory (**fig. 38**), seem to provide the only contemporary reference to this divine intervention.

### **3.4. The original scope**

Grabar and Blair's speculation on the original number of illustrations, based on extrapolation of the ratio of known illustrations to known pages of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*,<sup>234</sup> is not justifiable, as the illustration program was not for the purpose of creating an attractive and evenly illustrated manuscript but one with a political message. Furthermore, despite the two Jalāyerid miniatures that fit into Grabar and Blair's projected illustration spots, insufficient numbers of verses between two extant pages cannot always be interpreted as unfilled illustration space since the decision to insert an illustration after the completion of the calligraphy of a section, would have left extra verses that needed to be transferred to an additional page with much void on it. That void was then spread over a few rewritten pages, perhaps with illuminations filling some of the empty spaces.<sup>235</sup> This consideration may explain why there are two sets of page numbers: one scratched and one valid (see **fig. 57**); the smaller number had to be scratched and replaced when new additions were made to the manuscript. This may also partially explain the existence of the "checkered" pages (other possibilities are explored in appendix 2) and undermines the hypothesis that less than a pageful of verses indicates a lost painting. Thus, *the possible numbers of Shāhnāmé stories suitable for double representation* is the only valid criteria for the assessment of the original scope of illustration, however intangible such criteria may be. The 61 *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* episodes enumerated in appendix 1 (58 from the original manuscript and 3 additional Jalāyerids) represent a tremendous intellectual effort to match the *Shāhnāmé* with Mongol history. The original total number was probably not much higher.

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<sup>233</sup>. Had Demotte not discarded the text pages of the Il-Khānid *Shāhnāmé*, its comparison with the Mostowfi version, copied on the margins of British Library 807/1405 *Zafarnāmé* manuscript might have revealed a more positive indication of Mostowfi's participation in the project.

<sup>234</sup>. From a first estimate of 120 in 1980 (Grabar & Blair (1980), 12), Blair increased her estimate of total number of original illustrations to 190 in 1986; Blair (1986), 127.

<sup>235</sup>. Some later *Shāhnāmé* manuscripts display "checkered" layout pages, often with interlinear illuminated motifs. Small illuminated sections from incomplete manuscripts were often removed for insertion into album pages, further mutilating the manuscript.

### **3.5. The project time span**

No dated colophon of this manuscript has survived and the illustrations do not incorporate any dates. Stylistic studies of illustrated manuscripts of the fourteenth century are difficult because securely dated manuscripts are few and mostly of provincial production. As the 1341 Injuid *Shāhnāmé* for the vizier Ghavāmoddin Hasan (see **fig. 53**) may suggest, the calligraphy and painting styles of such an important center as Shirāz was rather crude, and lagged much behind the Il-Khānid productions of Tabriz; and therefore unsuitable for dating purposes. In terms of imperial productions, the *Shāhnāmé* fragments of the Topkapu Saray album H2153 have generally been attributed to the Jalāyerid period.<sup>236</sup> Since they are stylistically less advanced than the magnificent 798/1396 *Divān of Khāju-ye Kermāni* of the British Library (Add. 18113), a dating of 1360-1390 seems plausible; at the same time they are more accomplished than the paintings of this grand Il-Khānid manuscript and thus push its dating towards the first half of the fourteenth century. On the early side, the dating is framed by the 714/1314 Nur Collection *Jāme`ottavārikh* (**fig. 52**), whose illustrations are drawn in a style much less developed than the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, and with a limited range of pigments. No other group of fragments or manuscripts offer much help for the dating of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, including a 755/1354 *Garshāsbnāmé* (Topkapu Saray, H. 674), rightly recognized as provincial by B. Gray.<sup>237</sup>

A more accurate dating can only rest on the internal evidence of the manuscript as well as historical considerations. As previously discussed, such an elaborate manuscript requires years of preparation and execution, in an atmosphere of stability and continuity, and a logistical support only available to an imperial ruler. Such considerations alone qualifies Abu-Sa`id as its inevitable patron; he is the only high powered ruler to enjoy a long and stable reign in the 40 years period following the death of Uljāytu. The analysis of the illustration themes in Part I above, also lead to the same conclusion, and the unfinished status of paintings such as **fig. 9**, and illustrations pertaining to the last years of Abu-Sa`id (such as **fig. 49**) suggest that the manuscript was in production until the very last days of his reign. What is more difficult to determine is the starting date. If Rashidoddin actually conceived the project, as may be suggested by the enigmatic paintings **figs. 50** and **45**, it may have started under Uljāytu and continued until Abu-Sa`id's death, perhaps with some periods of interruption. A painting from the Edinburgh *Jāme`ottavārikh*, *Rostam Killing Shaghād* (**fig. 58**)---very similar in composition to this *Shāhnāmé*'s **fig. 4**---can perhaps

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<sup>236</sup>. See for instance Gray (1979), 93--102.; Grube (1978), 22--47.

<sup>237</sup>. Gray (1979), 93--102, Grube (1978), 18--19.

reinforce this hypothesis. In this painting, Rostam wears a Chinese style tunic, slightly different than the robes in the Yuan dynastic portraits and seemingly fashionable at the Il-Khānid court (**figs. 4a,b**).<sup>238</sup> However, Rostam's helmet, lying on the ground next to him, is a strictly Chinese helmet apparently not found in any other Il-Khānid painting as per the extensive costume survey of E. Schroeder.<sup>239</sup> Rostam has a Chinese-style braided ponytail and furthermore, he wears an unusually long twisted horizontal mustache that seems to recall Qubilāy's in **fig. 4a**, or even more so Ogdāy's in **fig. 4c**, a portrait that was perhaps mistakenly understood by the artist to represent Qubilāy.<sup>240</sup> As in the *Shāhnāmé*, Rostam wears his traditional tiger skin tunic in another illustration of the Edinburgh manuscript.<sup>241</sup> And, as in the *Shāhnāmé*, it seems that these details were deliberately incorporated into Rostam's death scene in order to portray him as Qubilāy. One may then surmise that the idea of a potential parallelism between the *Shāhnāmé* and Mongol history was already present in Rashidoddin's atelier at the time of the *Jāme`ottavārikh* production circa 1314.

A final argument for an earlier conception of the Il-Khānid project is the aim of Mostowfi's *Shāhnāmé* "correction and completion" effort; an arduous task that was unlikely to have originated for love of Ferdowsi alone and without appropriate patronage. By his own words, Mostowfi had spent fifteen years to compile the *Zafarnāmé* which was terminated in the year 735/135, while at the very beginning of this same work, he indicated that his *Shāhnāmé* related activities had lasted six years, somehow insinuating that the former begun only after the completion of the latter.<sup>242</sup> It follows that his *Shāhnāmé* undertaking must have begun circa 714/1314, coinciding with our above suggested date for the initial development of the idea of dual representation of *Shāhnāmé* and Mongol history themes. While a corrected text befitted a manuscript to be produced for the imperial library, the extra effort to expand the text was not customary. If Mostowfi undertook to "complete" regular *Shāhnāmé* texts by adding some 10,000 verses, it was probably to increase the chances for matching the Iranian epic with Mongol history. Such may be the case for the Garshāsb verses---recognized nowadays as non-original---which provided an extra opportunity for illustration (see entry and notes for Fig.11). Therefore in both date and

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<sup>238</sup>. The robes in the Yuan dynastic portraits are stark white with long sleeves while the Edinburgh tunic of Rostam is slightly colored, with short sleeves.

<sup>239</sup>. Schroeder (1939), 120--21.

<sup>240</sup>. A possible source of confusion may be that all of the dynastic portraits of the Mongols were labeled as those of *qāāns*, and for the Il-Khānid painters of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, Qubilāy, with his lasting thirty four years of reign, was The *qāān*.

<sup>241</sup>. Talbot Rice & Gray (1976), 54.

<sup>242</sup>. Mostowfi (1405), 6 and 736.

purpose, Mostowfi's efforts seem to support the contention that the great II-Khānid *Shāhnāmé* project begun towards the end of Uljāyту's reign.

A 22 year production time span would compare favorably with that of the Shāh Tahmāsb *Shāhnāmé* running over a 20 to 30 year period.<sup>243</sup> Although the miniatures of the Safavid work are highly elaborate and three to four times more numerous than those of this manuscript, one should bear in mind that the Safavids disposed of dozens of trained artists while the only one mentioned by Dust-Mohammad for this manuscript is Ahmad son of Musā---qualified as the initiator of Persian miniature painting; not many other artists were available at such an early stage of Persian painting development.<sup>244</sup> Moreover, composition, pigment preparation and painting execution were still at an experimental stage, and not geared for a rapid production schedule. Unless further considerations can narrow this time span, a prudent approach would be to situate the project over the 1314-36 period, with possible interruptions after the demise of Rashidoddin.<sup>245</sup>

## **Part IV**

### **Purpose and concepts**

#### **4.1. Legitimacy and Persian traditions**

The aim of the II-Khānid vizier, be it Rashidoddin or Ghiāsoddin, in the creation of this work was to support the emperor as conqueror in a foreign land, and to create an aura of legitimacy that would address both Turco-Mongol and Persian constituencies. Facing similar problems after the Arab invasion of the seventh century, panegyrists of Persian dynasties who ruled as vassals to the caliph had devised a double lineage, from Arab nobility as well as *Shāhnāmé* heroes, for their rulers. Tāherids (r.205--259/822--77) were claimed to descend from the hero Rostam, while Buyids (r.322--447/934--1055) from the

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<sup>243</sup>. Budāq (1576), 331; Soudavar (1992), 200.

<sup>244</sup>. Talbot Rice recognizes 6 different hands in the production of the Edinburgh *Jāmé`ottavārikh*, Talbot Rice & Gray (1976), 6--8. The works of these six masters show little acquaintance with coloration and pigment painting, and it is not clear how many of them could make the transition from the limited color scheme of the Edinburgh manuscript to the more elaborate painting requirements of the Abu-Sa`id projects.

<sup>245</sup>. It is interesting to note that by his own account, Mostowfi spent the years 720-35/1320-1335 to compile his *Zafarnāmé*; a period that completely overlaps our presumed production period of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*; Mostowfi (1405), 736r.

Sāsānian Bahrām-e Gur.<sup>246</sup> The Il-Khānid vizier's solution was even more clever: he projected the history of the Mongol dynasty onto the *Shāhnāmé*, by carefully matching historical events with illustrations, as if the Mongol rule was foretold by the Iranian epic history. The artifice was not dissimilar with later attempts to justify the victories of the Aq-qoyunlu Uzun Hasan (r.857--82/1453--78) as foretold by the Qorān.<sup>247</sup>

The *Shāhnāmé* also served the vizier as a "mirror for princes," inculcating the *il-khān* with virtues attributed to Persian legendary kings, and providing valuable arguments for the self-preservation of the vizier against the constant harassment of the Turco-Mongol *amirs*. A few verses quoted at an opportune time, would remind the *il-khān* of the indispensable nature of the Persian administration alongside the military elite:

سپاهی نبایید که با پیشه ور	به یک روی جوییند هر دو هنر
یکی کارورز و یکی گرزدار	سزاوار هر کس پدیدست کار
چو این کار آن جوید آن کار این	سراسر پر آشوب گردد زمین

Soldier and bureaucrat (*pishévar*) should not attempt each other's crafts.

One is laborer, the other wields the mace; the labor worthy of each is obvious.

When one attempts the labor of the other, the world is filled with strife.<sup>248</sup>

The creation of illustrated manuscripts for political purposes is not unique to Mongol times; subsequent statesmen, such as Amir `Ali-Shir Navāi (844--906/1441--1501) and the vizier Mirzā Salmān (d. 991/1583), as well as the Safavid prince Sām Mirzā (923--69/1517--1562), commissioned manuscripts---with double-meaning illustrations---to convey their loyalty to the king and expose their enemies.<sup>249</sup> But none compare in scope and complexity to the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. Not only its individual images were designed to convey specific messages, but general themes of the *Shāhnāmé* such as World Emperor, Division of the World Empire and the Divine Glory, were exploited to buttress Mongol legitimacy. These were themes that conformed to Mongol history and traditions, and provided a common ground between Mongol and Iranian epic history with a potential to be utilized as soon as the new masters' command of Persian literature permitted.

#### **4.1.1. World Emperor**

Changiz was a world conqueror who founded a world empire. His successors were called *qāāns* or Great Khāns. According to Mongol hierarchy, the *qāān* was the world

<sup>246</sup>. Bosworth (1977), 54--57.

<sup>247</sup>. Uzun Hasan's name and victory dates were equated through *abjad* numerical conversions with Qorānic words; Woods (1976), 115--16.

<sup>248</sup>. Ferdowsi (1988), 1:83; (translation by W. Thackston).

<sup>249</sup>. Soudavar (1992). pp.101-109 and 227--35.

emperor and other Mongol princes ruled as vassals to him. The *il-khāns*, whose very name meant "subservient *khāns*" (i.e. subservient to the *qāān* Qubilāy),<sup>250</sup> acknowledged the *qāān*'s suzerainty by striking his name on their coinage. For instance, coins minted in Shirāz emphasized the *qāān*'s supreme status with the addition of the explanatory epithet *pādshāh-e `ālam*, world emperor (**fig. 59**).<sup>251</sup> The supremacy of the *qāān* as world emperor was therefore reflected in the writings of early Persian Il-Khānid administrators such as the celebrated statesman, theologian and astronomer, Nasiroddin-e Tusi (597--673/1201--1274). In the opening sentence of his astronomical work, the *Zij-e Il-Khāni*, Nasiroddin wrote: "Almighty god gave power to Chingiz-Khan and entrusted to him the kingship of the whole face of the earth."<sup>252</sup> He then continued to name each of Changiz' successors, followed by the refrain "they sat on the throne of the whole world."<sup>253</sup> In the introduction to a treatise that mostly dealt with minerals and gems, the *Tansukhnāmé-ye Il-Khāni*, Nasiroddin once again explained the relationship between Mungkā Qāān and his brother Hulāgu: after exalting Almighty God who gave the "Emperor of the face of the Earth" the whole world "from the rise of the sun until the dawn of the sun," he lauded the *qāān* for his "most wise decision to assign to his brother, *Pādshāh-e Jahān* (Hulāgu), may God perpetuate his majesty and spread his justice, (the territories) west of the Oxus, as far as it may go."<sup>254</sup>

While the *qāāns* could readily be identified with the *Shāhnāmé*'s multiple world emperors, the *il-khāns*' initial subordinate status *vis-à-vis* the *qāān* did not allow for such identification.

The last of the Mongol Great Khāns, Qubilāy Qāān, died in 1294 and his successors wielded very little power over the Il-Khānids. Meanwhile, the accession of Ghāzān as an Islamic ruler created a new era in which the vizier Rashidoddin envisioned the Il-Khānid state as the center of the Islamic world.<sup>255</sup> Ghāzān was referred to as *pādshāh-e Islam*, emperor of Islam, with an ever-growing string of epithets.<sup>256</sup> Yet Ghāzān's

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<sup>250</sup>. For the etymology of the word *il-khān* see Mostaert & Cleaves (1952), 454.

<sup>251</sup>. Soudavar (1992), 32.

<sup>252</sup>. Boyle (1977), 245.

<sup>253</sup>. Boyle (1977), 246--47.

<sup>254</sup>. Tusi (1969), (39).

<sup>255</sup>. Rashidoddin's vision of the Il-Khānid state is for instance reflected in a letter to his nephew Khājé Ma`ruf in which he defines it as comprising the "Country of Iran" extending from the Oxus to Anatolia, the coasts of the Sind sea, all of Egypt, Armenia and Syria; Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 25. In another letter addressed to Sadroddin Mohammad Torké, the domains of the Muslim rulers of Syria, Yemen and India are all qualified as *soyurghāls*, hereditary tax-exempt fiefdoms bequeathed by the Mongols! *ibid.*, 211.

<sup>256</sup>. *Pādshāh-e Islam* was previously used to address the Saljuq Soltān Sanjar (by Ghazzāli) and the *khārazmshāh* Atsez, see Ghazzāli (1954), 21, Vatvāt (1992); it replaced previous epithets such as *malek-e Islam* and *soltān-e Islam*; see Soudavar (1992), 52.

allegiance to Mongol traditions imposed a lid on administrative flattery: the title *qāan* remained the prerogative of the *khān* in China and not to be used for the *il-khān*. By the time of Uljāyту, an influenceable and indecisive person who underwent numerous changes of faith, Rashidoddin was able to further expand the *il-khān's* titles to include the epithet *qāan*,<sup>257</sup> and to posthumously use it for Ghāzān and his father Arghun, as well as Uljāyту.<sup>258</sup> When Nasiroddin-e Tusi used the term *pādshāh-e jahān* (world emperor) for Hulāgu, he had added a sentence defining *jahān* mainly as the Iranian territories, in order to distinguish the *il-khān's* "world" from the *qāan's*; but under Uljāyту, Rashidoddin could refer to his Il-Khānid masters as *pādshāh-e ālam* and *pādshāh-e jahān*, without any attempt to limit their "worlds" and avoid encroachment on the *qāan's* prerogatives.<sup>259</sup> Uljāyту was more permissive than his brother Ghāzān, in allowing Rashidoddin to pursue his goal to shift the center of the world empire to the Il-Khānid state, and identifying the Il-Khānids as the legitimate inheritors of the Persian-Islamic empire. Taking his lead from Rashidoddin, Kāshāni described the Persian empire (Iranzamin) as the "central linking element of continents, and the synopsis of the face of the earth."<sup>260</sup> The concept of the Persian empire's centrality implicitly negated Yuan tutelage of the *il-khān* and elevated him to the status of world emperor. Accordingly, Uljāyту's official red Chinese seal (*āl-tamghā*) named him as "august emperor," on par with the Yuan emperor, and no more as vassal.<sup>261</sup> This new vision of the Persian empire---and world order---paved the way for the *il-khāns* to be recognized as world emperors and world conquerors alongside the *qāans*, and facilitated the projection of Mongol history onto the *Shāhnāmé*.

Two stories of the *Shāhnāmé* were crucial to exploit the concept of World Emperor: the story of Alexander the Great and the story of Fereydun, both world emperors. Together they comprise 19 of the 58 extant miniatures, a very high percentage compared to any other illustrated *Shāhnāmé*.<sup>262</sup> The story of Alexander the Great is that of a world conqueror who, despite the burning of Persepolis, became a Persianized hero much praised in the

<sup>257</sup> See for instance Rashidoddin (1976), 1:2.

<sup>258</sup> See for instance Rashidoddin (1976) LH, 36 and 243.

<sup>259</sup> Rashidoddin (1976) LH, 243. The same practice was continued by Uljāyту's biographer, Kāshāni, who added epithets such as *soltān-e jahān* and *soltān-e ālam*, all meaning world emperor; Kāshāni (1969), 99.

<sup>260</sup> ... ایران زمین که بیضه و واسطه اقالیم و خلاصه روی زمین است. Kāshāni (1969), 3.

<sup>261</sup> Comparing the Chinese legends of Il-Khānid red seals, Mostaert and Cleaves observe that Ghāzān was referred to as *wang* (prince, king), a term that did not negate his status of vassal to the *qāan*, but Uljāyту was named as *huang ti* (august emperor), a term that the *qāan* wouldn't have used in a seal destined for one of his vassals. They therefore conclude that the seal must have been carved in Iran; Mostaert & Cleaves (1952), 485.

<sup>262</sup> The ratio is between 0.02 and 0.08 for fourteenth century "Small *Shāhnāmé*" manuscripts (see Simpson (1979), 351-403) and less than 0.10 for typical *Shāhnāmés* of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, see Soudavar (1992), 71 and 245.

*Shāhnāmé*. In the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* his image is first equated with that of Changiz (**fig. 1**), whom Rashidoddin calls *Jahān-setān* (World Conqueror),<sup>263</sup> and then extended to the three *pādshāh-e jahān*, Ghāzān, Uljāytu and Abu-Sa`id (**figs. 23, 29, 31, 37, 38**). In particular, Uljāytu's conquest of Gilān is emphasized in three illustrations of the Alexander cycle (**figs. 27--29**) in order to elevate him to the rank of world conqueror, in accordance with Rashidoddin's vision of the *il-khān* as "the founder of the principles of expansionism and the center of the circuit of world conquest."<sup>264</sup>

In the story of the world emperor Fereyduṅ who achieved world dominion by vanquishing the Arab usurper and tyrant Zāhhāk, there is an attempt to portray the Mongols as saviors who "delivered" Iran from the caliphate, and the harassment of the "heretic" Esmā`ilis (**figs. 6--9**) in conformity with the Mongol historians' use of the term *estekhlās* for Mongol conquests.

#### **4.2.2. Division of the World Empire**

Fereyduṅ divided his world empire among his three sons Salm, Tur and Iraj--- similar to the division of Changiz' empire among his four sons. Iraj was given the "choice" land of Iran, while Salm received the western kingdom of Rum and Tur the eastern kingdom named after him, Turān. Salm and Tur, jealous of their brother, murdered Iraj. Thus began the long conflicts between Iran and its neighbors, a reflection of Iran's historical warfare on its two frontiers. In particular, the conflict between Iran and Turān alluded to the inroads of Turco-Mongol invaders from across the Oxus river; if Mongols were recognized as Turānians, they were no longer foreign conquerors but distant cousins.<sup>265</sup> And if Changiz' world empire was equated with Fereyduṅ's, territorial battles became a Changizid inter-family disputes, and Mongol princes could legitimately rule on either side of the Oxus.

An admirable example is *Afrāsiāb Killing Nowzar* (**fig. 44**) which illustrates the capture of the Chaghatāyid prince Yesaur, temporarily settled in Iran, by another Chaghatāyid prince, Iljigedāy, son of the *khān* of Transoxiana. The latter is equated with Iran's archenemy, Afrāsiāb great grandson of Tur, while the former with Nowzar king of Iran, and grandson of Iraj. The juxtaposition of the two stories is possible because of the

<sup>263</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:2.

<sup>264</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 1:2. The sentence appears in the introduction to the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, probably written in 706/1306, the year of the Gilān campaigns and the year that Kāshāni claims that the *Jāme`ottavārikh* (i.e., volume one) was presented to Uljāytu; Kāshāni (1969), 54. Uljāytu is lauded again by Rashidoddin as *hazrat-e keshvar-goshāi*, His Highness the Conqueror, in a letter addressed to one of his nephews at a date that should be probably read as 709 (the printed date of 690 is obviously wrong and due to scribal error), Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 23--25.

<sup>265</sup>. For earlier attempts to identify Turks with Turānians see Yarshater (1985).

common descent of the feuding princes. So effective were these interpretations that the historian Khandamir (880--942/1475--1535), writing some two centuries later, fully accepted the Iranization of Yesaur by referring to him as the valiant *Khosrow*, the very epithet of Sāsānian kings.<sup>266</sup>

### **4.2.3. Divine Glory**

Within the Persian political context, the most important aspect of a ruler's legitimacy was the perception that he possessed the *Farr-e Izadi*, the Divine Glory. Those who possessed the Divine Glory were to rule and to be obeyed.<sup>267</sup> Derived from ancient Iranian mythological symbolism, the concept of the Divine Glory had been revived in the Islamic era as an integral component of the Philosophy of Illumination developed by the philosopher Shahāboddin Yahyā-ye Sohravardi (549--587/1154--91). But, since Abu-Hāmed Mohammad-e Ghazzāli's (450--505/1058--1111) strong refutation of philosophy and philosophers in late eleventh century, Islamic theology had been dominated by the dogmatic Ash`arite doctrine which he had championed, and became hostile towards new philosophical concepts. Proponents of unorthodox ideas were virulently attacked and in the case of Sohravardi, he was branded as heretic (*zandiq*) and executed by the order of Salāhod-din-e `Ayyubi (Saladin, r.564--589/1169--93).<sup>268</sup> For a while after Sohravardi, Islamic theology, and political philosophy which was based and dependent on the latter, remained impervious to the concepts of the Philosophy of Illumination; viziers, administrators and courtly panegyrists did not dare refer to a "heretical" doctrine<sup>269</sup>

The climate of religious tolerance that was instituted under the Mongols relaxed Ash`arite orthodoxy, and philosophical studies were reintroduced in the curriculum of the Baghdad schools of theology such as the Nezāmiyyé and the Mostansariyyé. This new climate is perhaps best exemplified by a manuscript of the Commentaries to Sohravardi's Book of Intimations (*Sharh-e Talvihāt*) by Ebn-e Kamuné (d.683/1285), copied in the year 704/1304; commentaries that were formulated by the Jewish philosopher Ebn-e Kamuné, on the works of the "heretic" Sohravardi, and copied at the bastion of Ash`arite orthodoxy, the Nezāmiyyé of Baghdad---times had obviously much changed since Ghazzāli last taught

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<sup>266</sup>. Khādamir (1974), 3:201, where Yesaur's name is mis-spelled as Misiyur.

<sup>267</sup>. For a discussion of the Divine Glory and its relevance to the attitude of Persian administrators toward foreign conquerors see Soudavar (1992), 410--16.

<sup>268</sup>. Ziai (1992), 336--44.

<sup>269</sup>. Philosophy in general, became so vilified that the typically conformist and provincial Persian administrator and historian Shabānkārēi (active 14th century) would rank philosophers as apostates, along with "iconoclasts, heretics and Qarmatians;" Shabānkārēi (1984), 125.

at the Nezāmiyyé!<sup>270</sup> The same religious climate had allowed the physician, astronomer, mathematician and philosopher Qotboddin-e Shirāzi (634-710/1236-1310) to write one of the two main commentaries in Arabic to Sohrevardi's Philosophy of Illumination; it was completed in 694/1295 and dedicated to the vizier Jamāloddin-e Dastjerdāni (d.696/1296), Rashidoddin's predecessor.<sup>271</sup> Qotboddin was a disciple of Nasiroddin-e Tusi at Marāghé, and was held in high respect by *il-khāns* and viziers alike, including Rashidoddin who maintained correspondence with him on travels as far away as India.<sup>272</sup> His writings, as well as those of his disciples, introduced the notion of Divine Glory in II-Khānid chronicles.<sup>273</sup> Rashidoddin and Kāshāni both referred to the Divine Glory of their patrons in their writings. Rashidoddin, asserting his patron's predestined kingship, wrote that when the *il-khān* Ahmad Tegudār met the young prince Ghāzān he "perceived the Divine Glory in him."<sup>274</sup> Kāshāni used similar terms to characterize Uljāyту, "Divine Glory radiated from

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<sup>270</sup>. Manuscript 934 of the Malek Library, Tehran; see Afshār & Dānesh-pajuh (1973), 1:391 (I am indebted to H. Ziai for pointing this manuscript to me). The erudite scholar Ebn-e Kamuné had also written in 679/1280 a comparative study of Jewish, Christian and Muslim doctrines entitled *Tanqihol-abhās lel-melallel-salās* (Examination of the Inquiries into Three Faiths) which naturally attracted criticism from members of all Three Faiths, and culminated in a demonstration in front of the Mostansariyyé in 1284, demanding his punishment; Perlmann (1971), 839. For another example of increased activity in the domain of philosophy at the religious schools of Baghdad see for instance a copy of Nasiroddin-e Tusi's Commentary on Avicenna's *Al-Eshārāt vat-Tanbihāt* copied in 692/1292 at the Mostansariyyé (Sotheby's sale catalog dated 26th of April 1982, lot 136). The colophon of another copy seemingly dated 678/1279 and produced at the Nezāmiyyé (Sotheby's sale catalog dated 27th of April 1994, lot 55) has been tampered with: it was originally dated 778 and probably copied at the Mostansariyyé.

<sup>271</sup>. In the endless cycles of fortune and death for II-Khānid viziers, Dastjerdāni fell victim (695/1296) to the intrigues of the ever conniving vizier Sadroddin Ahmad-e Khāledi -ye Zanjāni who was himself killed two years later by the order of Ghāzān and replaced with Rashidoddin; see for instance Mostowfi (1960), 603--04.

<sup>272</sup>. Numerous anecdotes about Qotboddin's wits attest his close association with Uljāyту's inner circle including his favorite wife Qotlogshāh Khātun and his companion Amir Toqmāq; Eqbāl-e Āshtiāni (1971), 295--296 (see also note 131 supra). For his correspondence with Rashidoddin see Rashidoddin (1979) SA, 146--48. There were at times perhaps some jealousy and ill-will in between the vizier and Qotboddin, see for instance Walbridge (1992), 351, also Walbridge (1983), 27-28. He was receiving an annual stipend of 30'000 *derhams* (subsequently reduced to 12'000) from the II-Khānid treasury during Ghāzān; *ibid.*, 31--32. Qotboddin had been sent as ambassador to the Mamluk court of Egypt by Ahmad Tegudār to announce his enthronement as a Muslim *il-khān*, Rashidoddin (1976), 2:788. He had met Arghun in 680/1281 and explained a map of coastal Anatolia to him and his explanations much pleased the *il-khān*; *ibid.*, 2:822. In a later added story to the *Jāme`ottavārikh*, Arghun is said to have confided with Qotboddin about his reasons for continuing funding of alchemy research even though some of "the researchers were charlatans;" Rashidoddin (1959), 3:229.

<sup>273</sup>. Another Qotboddin, Qotboddin Mohammad-e Rāzi who was a disciple of Qotboddin-e Shirāzi, might have been instrumental in propagating the concepts of the Philosophy of Illumination within the II-Khānid administrative circle in charge of the *Shāhnāmé* project, paving the way for interpreting the solar disk as a symbol of the king's Divine Glory. Qotboddin-e Rāzi's close association with the vizier Ghiāsoddin Mohammad is attested by his dedication of two of his important works to the vizier in 728/1327 and 729/1328; see Dānesh-pajuh's introduction to Rashidoddin (1979) SA, (34--35). It is to be noted that prior to the two Qotboddins, Ebn-e Kamuné had dedicated his *Resālatol-lom`a* (Treatise on Radiance) to the vizier Shamsoddin Mohammad-e Jovayni, a work that judging by its title and opening sentence, had probably a strong Sohrevardian tint; Modarresi-ye Razavi (1966), 266.

<sup>274</sup>. Rashidoddin (1976), 2:848.

his blessed face,"<sup>275</sup> and claimed that his victories emanated from the "power of the Divine Light that was bestowed on him by God Almighty."<sup>276</sup> It is perhaps no mere coincidence that the only two rulers depicted with a solar disk in the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* are the two *il-khāns* with textual references to their Divine Glory, namely Ghāzān and Uljāyту (figs. 20, **21, 24, 25, 31, 35, 36, 50**).<sup>277</sup>

The Philosophy of Illumination proposed a cosmogony in which God the Creator was conceived as a point of light from which emanated rays that bestowed the Divine Glory to its recipients. The Divine Glory was thus light in essence and needed to be represented by a light symbol: the solar disk---placed behind the head---was adopted as a reflection of the ruler's Divine Glory.

The Philosophy of Illumination had an irresistible appeal for the formulation of a new legitimacy concept of rulership in the Islamic lands in the post-caliphate era, and would surface each time legitimacy was sought and an atmosphere of religious tolerance prevailed. Its attraction as a political theory stemmed from the unrestricted possibility of light-rays bestowing rulers of new dynasties with divine confirmation and authority, without sanction from a caliph or any other religious authority.<sup>278</sup>

The Mughal court of India, under the rule of the emperor Akbar, provides another example of recourse to the Philosophy of Illumination for political legitimacy. For Akbar, like his Teymurid predecessors, was in want of legitimacy.<sup>279</sup> He favored religious tolerance and, like Uljāyту who presided over religious debates amongst Muslim Shāfē`i, Hanafi and Shi`ite scholars, Akbar held discussions with Muslim scholars as well as Buddhists and Jesuits; and it was in India, and during Akbar's reign, that the only Persian commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination was written (1008/1600).<sup>280</sup> His vizier and confidant Abol-fazl, justified Akbar's authority in pure Sohravardian terms,<sup>281</sup> and visualized the king's Divine Glory as a light symbol: "the sunburst (*shamsé*) [that adorns] the royal throne is the Divine Glory itself."<sup>282</sup> And thus the Divine Glory---depicted as a

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<sup>275</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 24.

<sup>276</sup>. Kāshāni (1969), 19.

<sup>277</sup>. It seems that the solar disk is omitted in illustrations that offer multiple interpretations. Such is the case for **fig. 22** in which Alexander represents Ghāzān, Changiz and Qutolé.

<sup>278</sup>. The unrestricted nature of the light-rays in the Philosophy of Illumination undermined one of Ghazzāli's most important conditions for the designation of a Muslim leader, the *nasab-e Qoraysh* (having a Qoraysh lineage), see for instance Laouste (1970), 247.

<sup>279</sup>. Soudavar (1992), 410.

<sup>280</sup>. The Persian commentary on the Philosophy of Illumination is entitled *Anvāriyyé* (World of rays); Heravi (1979).

<sup>281</sup>. Soudavar (1992), 410 and 415.

<sup>282</sup>. `Allāmi (1985), 1:2--3.

radiating disk---was adopted once again as a symbol of the ruler's legitimacy in a political atmosphere similar to the one prevailing under the Il-Khānids (see **fig. 25b**). Iconographically, the solar disk almost vanished from Persian painting after the completion of this Il-Khānid *Shāhnāmé* only to reemerge under the Mughals of India. In between, no political figure was enlightened or strong enough to withstand the pressure of the orthodox religious establishment against a symbol potentially associated with a "heretical" doctrine.<sup>283</sup>

For lack of textual reference to Abu-Sa`id's Divine Glory, he was not depicted with a solar disk. However, the unexpected "dusty wind" that turned defeat into victory for Abu-Sa`id in **fig. 38**, may be considered as a sign of divine assistance and confirmation, similar in effect to the Divine Glory. The multiple varieties of divine confirmations in the *Shāhnāmé* related to Mongol traditions of nomadic beliefs by which military victories, as well as *in extremis* escapes from death or defeat, were interpreted as signs of divine favor and protection,<sup>284</sup> and thus provided further compatibility between the Iranian epic and Mongol history.

### **4.3. Legitimacy of the house of Uljāytu**

Like the later *Zafarnāmé* of Sharafoddin-e Yazdi (c.1425), which not only sought to establish Teymur's right to rule according to Islamic legitimizing principles but also supported the paramount position of the house of Shāhrokh among Teymur's descendants, the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* focused on the legitimacy of the house of Uljāytu within the general context of Mongol legitimacy. *Alexander Coming out of the Land of Darkness* (**fig. 1**)

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<sup>283</sup>. The solar disk which entered Buddhist iconography through its passage in the eastern Iranian world, may have been originally conceived as the Buddha's Divine Glory (even though the symbol itself was probably adopted from Mithraic iconography), but lost any such connotation after its comeback to Iran via Central Asia following the Saljuq invasions. It became a frequently used ornamental device to give a better definition of human heads (not necessarily of rulers) depicted on ceramics, metalworks and even manuscripts. But once associated with the concept of Divine Glory as developed in the Philosophy of Illumination, it was prone to be branded as "heretical" and discarded as a kingly symbol. Such may also be the fate of "sun faces" introduced in the coinage of Ghāzān an Uljāytu, and abandoned afterwards; see Mitchener (1977), 252--53. It may be noted that in his *Meshkātol-avnār* treatise, the theologian Ghazzāli endeavored to reveal the "secrets of Divine lights;" see for instance Mokri (1982), 110--38. Also, Ghazzāli, or perhaps a pseudo Ghazzāli (since the editor, Homāi, casts serious doubts on the authenticity of the section pertaining to the Divine Glory, (Ghazzāli (1988), (27--35)), recognized the Divine Glory as an attribute of kingship (ibid, 81), but failed to interpret the Divine Glory of kings as a reflection of Divine lights. It was the Sohrevardian concept of Divine Glory bestowed by light-rays emanating from God and empowering its recipient with a right to rule, *without the necessity of additional confirmation by a caliph or other religious authorities*, that allowed representation of the ruler's authority as a light symbol.

<sup>284</sup>. Saunders (1971), 20; Kahn (1984), 62. Allsen has pointed out that for the Mongols, *in extremis* escape from defeat or death was a more important sign of heavenly favor than outright victory (personal communication). It is interesting to note that the ancient form of the concept of Divine Glory, *farnah* or *xvarnah*, has been viewed as a "pan-Iranian legacy associated with an archaic and essentially tribal ideology," and its propagation sometimes attributed to the Scythian invasions (Gnoli (1990)); if true, it would explain the similarity of the Persian and Mongol concepts of divine confirmation through a common tribal origin from the steppes of Central Asia.

stressed the noble descent of Uljāyту's mother; *Bahrām-e Gur Talking to Narsi* (**fig. 25**) emphasized the legitimate transfer of kingship from Ghāzān to Uljāyту; and *The Marriage of Fereyduن's sons* (**fig. 30**) conveyed the consolidation of this transfer by depicting the fusion of the houses of Ghāzān and Uljāyту, through marriage of Ghāzān's only surviving child with Uljāyту's son.

## Part V

### The Legacy

#### 5.1. The project consequences

The use of historians and poets along with talented calligraphers and painters for the creation of this manuscript reveal the importance of the enterprise, and its effective status as successor to the *Jāme`ottavārikh* project, in the Abu-Sa`id era. The high status of this project was perhaps the main justification for conferring the name *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* on this special version of Ferdowsi's versified epic rather than an original work on the exploits of Abu-Sa`id such as Mostowfi's monumental *Zafarnāmé*, an impressive work that is almost equivalent to a versified *Jāme`ottavārikh* and rivals in many ways the *Shāhnāmé* of Ferdowsi.<sup>285</sup>

As a manuscript with political overtones, the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* was surely designed to propagate its political message among the power elite. Throughout the long process of research and production, courtiers must have been aware of this imperial enterprise and the important resources allocated to it; and vassals may have wanted to duplicate it at their own court. The frequent visits of the Injuīd Mahmud Shāh (d.736/1336) and his son Mas`ud Shāh (d.743/1344), to the Il-Khānīd court might explain the sudden interest in *Shāhnāmé* production at the Inju court after 1330.\* Of the series of four "small *Shāhnāmés*", generally considered as the earliest illustrated *Shāhnāmé* manuscripts, the "Gutman" *Shāhnāmé*

<sup>285</sup> Mostowfi explains that since he thought Rashīdoddīn's *Jāme`ottavārikh* deserved a better presentation, he undertook to versify the vizier's work (Mostowfi (1405), 735 :

بجامع تواریخ کردش بنام بیاری دانش به رای رزین چو زیبا عروسی برنگ ونگار بدی لباسش شکستش نمود بپوشیدم این شعر شعر بزر	چو شد دفتر حال شاهان تمام من آن نثر را نظم کردم چنین چو بود آن گزین دفتر نامدار ولی جامه درخورد حسنش نبود من این جامه بیرونش کردم زبر
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\* Four *Shāhnāmé* manuscripts are generally attributed to the Inju period; for a brief discussion see Simpson (1979), 7-13.

(Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1974.290) has been recently argued to be of a circa 1341 production.<sup>286</sup> There is a strong possibility that the other three "small *Shāhnāmés*," previously dated to circa 1300, can be dated to circa 1330 through calligraphic considerations alone. The sudden outburst of illustrated *Shāhnāmé* production in the II-Khānid and post II-Khānid era, in a land where no such courtly tradition existed before, could only be sparked by the example of a major imperial undertaking, namely the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*.

## **5.2. The Jalāyerid interpretations**

Several fragments of *Shāhnāmé* scenes included in an album (Topkapu Saray Museum, Istanbul H.2153) that was probably assembled for the Aq-qoyunlu Soltān Ya`qub (r.883-896/1478-90), have compositions that strongly relate to the illustrations of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. Stylistically they seem to belong to the early Jalāyerid period, probably from the reign of Shaykh Oveys (r.757--76/1356--74). Two of them (H2153, fols. 8a, 113a) depict identical stories of the *Shāhnāmé* (**figs. 22-22a, 42-42a**), three others (H2153, fols. 55a, 112a, 118a) can be interpreted as representations of Mongol history (**figs. 13, 30, 45**), the remainder (H2153, fols. 22b, 28b, 134a) display similar painting characteristics and were probably produced concurrently.<sup>287</sup> Although **figs. 22a** and **42a** are inspired by their *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* counterparts (**figs. 22, 42**), their composition has been purposefully altered: in the first, the triple representation of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* has been reduced to two, and in the second, additional details such as the fire under the victims provide a more accurate version of the historical event. Since the width of these illustrations (approx. 28cm) are very similar to the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* paintings, they were either produced as improvements to replace the original version,<sup>288</sup> or they were painted for a new version of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* of similar size. In either case, they were produced in full recognition of their Mongol historical symbolism, perhaps with modified compositions to suit the Jalāyerid claims of dynastic legitimacy. In the same vein, Jalāyerids might have eliminated illustrations insulting to their lineage and replaced it with text pages; this may yet be another explanation for the "checkered" pages devised by the later calligraphers D and E.

There is also a third possibility, that in an exercise to match the wits of the II-Khānid team of the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*, the Jalāyerids found additional similarities between the

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<sup>286</sup> Swietochowski et al. (1994), 77.

<sup>287</sup> For illustrations see Atasoy (1970), pls. 1--8.

<sup>288</sup> A well known example of "improvement" on an early manuscript is the repainting of the *Shāh Tahmāsb Khamsé* of Nezāmi by the order of Shāh Soleyman; see for instance Soudavar (1992), 374.

*Shāhnāmé* stories and Mongol history, and inserted them in the original version of the manuscript or in a new version; the black ink drawing of Soltān Ahmad Jalāyer cited by Dust-Mohammad may have been added in one such occasion.

## Conclusion

Throughout centuries of political upheavals and domination by foreign conquerors, the cast of Persian viziers and administrators was able to maintain the continuity of Persian traditions by judiciously incorporating the cultural ethos of their new masters into existing traditions, and impressing upon the power elite the synthesis formed by the merger of the old and new. Essential to such a scheme were the abundant themes offered by the monumental versified Persian epic, the *Shāhnāmé*. Heroic and magical themes, hunting and battle tales, all suited the Mongol taste and were eventually translated into illustrations for the grand Il-Khānid *Shāhnāmé* manuscript, that, following Dust-Mohammad, may be referred to as the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé*. Intended for the enjoyment of a sophisticated patron, the *Abu-Sa`idnāmé* constituted a political manifesto in support of the legitimacy of the Mongols, as well as self-justification for the vizier Khājé Ghiāsoddin Mohammad---and/or perhaps his father Rashidoddin---to serve a foreign conqueror. Most importantly, the production of this impressive *Shāhnāmé* firmly established the tradition of illustrated manuscript production at the Persian royal libraries, eventually resulting in the creation of a unique mode of artistic expression, namely, Persian miniature painting.

## APPENDIX 1

### Manuscript Reconstruction and Illustration Program

folio #	G & B or TKS*	cal ligr	suppo rt**	Fig	Illustration title	ruler
3	H2153, f112a			<b>43</b>	Daqiqi Killed by his Slave	Abu-Sa`id
5	1	A		<b>6</b>	Zahhāk Enthroned	Hulāgu
6	2	A		<b>2</b>	Fereydun Asking About his Lineage	Juchi
7	3	A	42	<b>7</b>	Fereydun Capturing Zahhāk	Hulāgu
7	4	A	112	<b>8</b>	Fereydun Leading Zahhāk to Mount Damāvand	Hulāgu
9	H2153, f118a			<b>30</b>	The Marriage of Fereydun's Sons	Uljaytu
10	5	A			Fereydun Testing his Sons	
11	6	A			Salm and Tur Killing Iraj	Tegudār
12	7	A		<b>10</b>	Fereydun Preparing to Greet Iraj and Seeing his Coffin	Hulāgu
12	8	A	42	<b>33</b>	Fereydun Going to Iraj's Palace and Mourning	Uljaytu
15		A				
17	9	A		<b>46</b>	Zāl Climbing to Rudābé	Abu-Sa`id
19	10	A			Sindokht Becoming aware of Rudābé's Actions	
20		F				
22	11	A	36	<b>47</b>	Zāl Approaching Shāh Manucehr	Abu-Sa`id
22	12	A	114	<b>16</b>	The Mobads Interrogating Zāl	Arghun
25	13	A		<b>44</b>	Afrāsiāb Killing Nowzar	Abu-Sa`id
26	14	A		<b>18</b>	The Reign of Zav, Son of Tahmāsb, Was Five Years	Gaykhātu
26	15	A	(28)	<b>11</b>	The Reign of Garshāsb Son of Zav Was Nine Years	Hulāgu
27		D				
28		D				
32	16			<b>28</b>	Kay-Kāvus and his Paladins Killing the Divs of Māzandarān	Uljaytu
36		D				
42		D				
43		D				
44		D				
45		D				
46		D				
47		D				
48		D				
50		D				
51		D				
?	H2153, f55a			<b>13</b>	Kay-Khosrow in the Palace of Āzargoshasb	Abāqā

folio #	G & B or TKS*	cal ligr	suppo rt**	Fig	Illustration title	ruler
111		E				
112		E				
113		E				
114		E				
115		E				
142r		A				
142v		B				
143	17	B			Esfandiār Approaching Goshtāsb	
144	18	B		<b>22</b>	Bahman Meeting Zāl	Ghāzān
145		D				
149	20	B	(27)		Rostam and Esfandiār Testing Each Other	
149	19	B	(35)		Esfandiār's sons Being Killed by Rostam's Brother and Sons	
150		D				
152	21	B		<b>12</b>	Rostam Shooting an Arrow in Esfandiār's Eye	Abāqā
153	22	B		<b>26</b>	The Bringing of Esfandiār's Bier	Ghāzān
155	23	B	(30)	<b>4</b>	Rostam Slaying Shaghād	Qubilāy
155	24	B	(41)	<b>48</b>	Picture of Rostam and Zavāre's Biers	Abu-Sa`id
156	25	B			Farāmarz Pursuing the Kābolis	
158	26	B		<b>32</b>	Dārāb Sleeping in the Vault	Ul jāytu
159	27	B		<b>9</b>	Rashnavād Battling the Rumis	Hulāgu
163		D				
164	28	B		<b>50</b>	Alexander Enthroned	Ul jāytu
165	29	B			King Kayd of India Telling his Dream to Mehrān	Ul jāytu
167	30	B		<b>29</b>	Alexander Battling the <i>Fur</i> of India; Picture of the Iron Horses and Soldiers	Ul jāytu
168	31	B		<b>38</b>	Killing of the <i>Fur</i> of India in the Hands of Alexander	Abu-Sa`id
171	32	B		<b>5</b>	Alexander Reaches the City of Brahmans	Teymur Qāān
172	33	B	150		Alexander Fights the Habash monster	
172	34	B			Alexander and his Warriors Fighting a Dragon	
173		D				
174	35	B	(115)		Alexander Arriving at the Mountain of Esrāfil	
174	36	B	179	<b>1</b>	Alexander Coming out of the Land of Darkness	Changiz
175	37	B		<b>31</b>	Alexander Building the Iron Rampart	Ul jāytu
175	38	B	(111)	<b>23</b>	Alexander Arriving at the Talking Tree	Ghāzān
178	39	B		<b>37</b>	The Picture of the Bier of Alexander	Ul jāytu
179		D				
180	40	B		<b>39</b>	Golnār Coming to Ardashir's Pillow and Sleeping by his Side	Abu-Sa`id
181	41	B	(33)	<b>40</b>	Ardashir Battling (Bahman son of) Ardavān	Abu-Sa`id
181	42	B		<b>41</b>	Ardavān Captured by Ardashir	Abu-Sa`id
184	43	B	45	<b>49</b>	The Picture of Ardashir with his Wife Throwing down the Poison Cup	Abu-Sa`id
184	44	B	46	<b>35</b>	The Vizier Pleading his Case with Ardashir	Ul jāytu
190	45	B			Bahrām-e Bahramiān Enthroned	Bāydu
195	46	C		<b>42</b>	Picture of Māni Hanging from a Tree	Abu-Sa`id
197	47	C		<b>43</b>	Bahrām-e Gur Hunting with Āzādé	Abu-Sa`id

folio #	G & B or TKS*	cal ligr	suppo rt **	Fig	Illustration title	ruler
204	48	C		<b>3</b>	Bahrām-e Gur in the Treasury of Jamshid	Ogdāy
208	51	C			Bahrām-e Gur Hunting Onagers	Ghāzān
209	49	C			Bahrām-e Gur Killing a Dragon	
210	50	C		<b>20</b>	Bahrām Staying in the Farmer's House as the Farmer's Wife Milked the Cow	Ghāzān
212	52	C		<b>25</b>	Bahrām-e Gur Talking to Narsi	Ghāzān
214	53	C			Bahrām-e Gur Killing a Wolf and Cutting off its Head	
229	54	C		<b>24</b>	Picture of Nushirvān the Just	Ghāzān
230	55	C		<b>34</b>	Nushirvān Rewarding the Young Bozorgmehr	Ul jāy tu
231	56	C		<b>15</b>	Nushirvān Eating the Food Brought by the Sons of Mahbod	Arghun
233	57	C		<b>36</b>	Khosrow Writing to the Khāqān	Ul jāy tu
234	58	C		<b>17</b>	Mehrān Setād Selecting a Chinese Princess	Arghun

\* This column either displays the GB number---corresponding to Grabar & Blair (1980) illustration numbering or the TKS number which provides the references of the album page at the Topkapu Saray Museum.

\*\* This column provides the folio number of a support page on which a split and trimmed illustration has been pasted. If in parenthesis, the number refers to a folio glued on the reverse side of the illustration page.

## APPENDIX 2

### Reworks of the manuscript

Trying to explain the pastiche aspect of the support pages for illustrations that were split, Grabar and Blair conclude that the copying of the support page and the pasting of the painting, were of recent make and done for Demotte in Paris.<sup>289</sup> By relying on the evidence of an 1839 Russian watermark on the margin papers and one reportedly on the text area of one of the special-layout pages (folio 20, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin),<sup>290</sup> Blair further concludes that all these pages were commissioned by Demotte to either transform illustrated pages into bifolios or substitute as back support for folios---with miniatures on both sides---that were split in two.<sup>291</sup> These conclusions raise more questions than they tend to answer. Where would Demotte find an accomplished calligraphers, let alone three (D, E and F), in early twentieth century Paris, as well as eighty year old Russian paper? Why would he commission new pages when he had a stack of non-sellable text pages of manuscript?<sup>292</sup> Couldn't he simply paste the split miniatures on available text pages from this manuscript, or others in his possession, as he had used the borders of a seventeenth century *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* manuscript for his stock of Mughal paintings?<sup>293</sup> Even if he had commissioned the pages to be copied from original ones,<sup>294</sup> why couldn't he use the right text for the illustrations instead of texts that belonged to completely different sections? If the purpose of creating a "checkered" bifolio was simply to have an attractive and sellable support for the split illustration, why would the copier write the folio number once, then cross it out and add a second number (see **fig. 57**).

A more plausible explanation for the 1839 watermark is that the manuscript was remargined and rebound in Iran, for Nāseroddin Shāh Qājār(r.1264--1313/1848--96) who once owned it, as attested by a 19th century photo plate by A. Sevrugin, now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, showing the bound manuscript at his court.<sup>295</sup> Nāseroddin Shāh was a refined patron with skills in both calligraphy and painting. He is known to have

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<sup>289</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 12.

<sup>290</sup>. Blair (1986), 129. Blair discovered the Russian origin of the paper at a later stage (personal communication).

<sup>291</sup>. Blair (1986), 130.

<sup>292</sup>. Precious texts, sometimes with elaborate margins, were deemed to have no commercial value and simply discarded by Demotte; see for instance Soudavar (1992), 275.

<sup>293</sup>. Falk (1976), 171.

<sup>294</sup>. Blair (1986), 129.

<sup>295</sup>. Blair (1986), 128 and personal communication from M.S. Simpson.

acquired and regrouped many scattered works from Nāder Shāh's Indian booty (1739) such as the Golshan Album (Golestān Palace Library in Tehran, Nos. 1663-64) which he acquired in 1263/1847, prior to his accession to the throne.<sup>296</sup> At that time, Russia was Iran's main supplier of manufactured goods, and the use of an 1839-marked Russian paper for Nāseroddin as crown-prince in Tabriz is more likely than for Demotte in twentieth century Paris.

Grabar and Blair claimed that no text existed underneath the pasted illustrations. Their claim seems to have been based on the fact that text could not be detected when the pages were held against light. It eventually led to a far fetched theory by which Demotte or an "arranger" in twentieth century Paris, had given his calligrapher model pages from another section of the manuscript, on which he had "simply crossed out a block in the center, in the same size as the miniatures to be pasted on" and instructed him to copy them "exactly, leaving blank the crossed-out area!"<sup>297</sup> It is hard to find any material incentive for the Parisian dealer to engage in such an elaborate scheme. Moreover, the calligraphy of the support pages were not designed to stop at the imaginary crossed-out blocks: in numerous cases, a word--or even a letter---is truncated at the edge of the pasted miniatures. A study undertaken at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston showed that the total thickness of the paper where a painting was pasted on a support page, was not much different than the rest of the page, and cuts around the contour of illustrations had not only truncated the letters on the face of the support page but had slit the page all the way through the back; in other words the page had been thinned out, and a layer had been dug out, to create an insertion frame for the miniature to be pasted in, as if it originally belonged there.<sup>298</sup> This observation may explain the reason for the selection of the "laid" paper pages (by calligraphers D and E) for support of the split miniatures: they were easier to layer-out than the original pages that got so mutilated when their double illustrations were split apart.

The Boston pages revealed that the 1839 watermark was on the margin paper and not the text area which has a substantially older paper with much signs of abrasion and aging of the ink. Furthermore, upon examination of a photocopy of folio 20, it was clear that this page was substantially different from other special-layout pages by not having intercolumnar border lines and more importantly, because of different calligraphy by the hand of the Qājār period calligrapher F. Thus, pages by D and E, no longer associated with

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<sup>296</sup>. The *shāh's* handwriting in the album reads: "This album belongs to Nāseroddin (son of) Mohammad Shāh, the warrior of holy wars, may God eternalize his kingdom and his rule, by the will of God, during Jomādā 2:1263;" Ātābāy (1974), 10.

<sup>297</sup>. Grabar & Blair (1980), 8.

<sup>298</sup>. I am much indebted to Julia Bailey of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston who, along with the museum's paper conservator, Jacki Elgar, kindly agreed to reexamine their museum's *Shāhnāmé* pages for this study.

an 1839 watermark, may now be considered---on the basis of calligraphy style and paper appearance---as old as fourteenth century. Bearing in mind Dust-Mohammad's comments on Soltān Ahmad Jalāyer's insertion of a drawing in the *Abu-Sa'idnāmé*, as well as numerous Jalāyerid paintings that fit into this manuscript, it may be that calligrapher D and E were involved in a major reorganization of the manuscript in Jalāyerid times. The checkered pages may have then be added for a number of reasons: 1- elimination of paintings considered as offending to the Jalāyerids 2- unfinished pages originally marked for illustration by the Il-Khānid atelier, 3- insertion of newly found matches between the *Shāhnāmé* and Mongol history suiting Jalāyerid aspirations. In all these cases, less than a page-full amount of verses would have remained prompting the adoption of a checkered format to give the manuscript a finished look. Since pages by D and E have slightly different paper textures, they may correspond to two phases of Jalāyerid reworks, one associated with the first set of numbers inscribed on the pages and the other with the second set of numbers; one perhaps performed under Shaykh Oveys and the other, under his son, Soltān Ahmad Jalāyer.

In conclusion, it seems that the manuscript was altered several times since its creation in early fourteenth century, some perhaps, not long after the abrupt cancellation of the project at Abu-Sa'id's death. A more precise chronology of alterations/restorations may only be established by a scientific analysis of the paper and ink used in each phase of rework.

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**FIGURE LIST**

Fig. 1.	<i>Alexander Coming out of the Land of Darkness</i> Courtesy, The Keir Collection, Richmond, England.
Fig. 2.	<i>Fereydun Asking About his Lineage</i> , Art and History Trust Collections.

Fig. 2a.	<i>Bābur Kissing the Hand of Shāh Esmā`il I</i> . Signed by `Ali-Qoli Beyg Jebādār. Iran, Esfahān, c. 1665. Art and History Trust.
Fig. 3.	<i>Bahrām-e Gur in the Treasury of Jamshid</i> . Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 35.24.
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