

THE AGE OF MUHAMMADI

The emphasis Shah Isma'il (r. 1501–24) placed on educating his sons in the fine arts, together with the activation of the royal library atelier for the great *Shahnama* project, promised an ever-expanding horizon for the future of Persian painting. But the early disenchantment of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–76) with painting, followed by the precipitate death of his brothers, cut short all such prospects.¹ Then, as the second generation of princes led by the talented patron-prince Ibrahim Mirza (1540–77) was about to revive the royal library ateliers, the house of the Safavids was hit by the devastating fratricide launched by Isma'il II (1576–78). By the time Isma'il II was in turn assassinated, only the blind prince Muhammad and a few very young princes were still alive. Nevertheless, Persian painting continued to flourish as new modes of expression were tested and new attempts made to break out of the mold of classical painting.

The initial assault was led by Mirza 'Ali and Shaykh Muhammad in the Mashhad atelier of Ibrahim Mirza. But it was the painter Muhammadi who channeled the revolutionary style of these two masters into a calligraphic mode that harmonized Persian painting with the flowing patterns of Persian poetry, a mode subsequently adopted and popularized by the celebrated Riza 'Abbasi.

SOURCES ON MUHAMMADI

Of Muhammadi the sources say little. Since he remained in Herat under the Uzbek occupation of 1588–98, he was probably considered a “defector” unworthy of being listed among Safavid royal painters.² Thus his name is passed over by Qadi Ahmad and only mentioned in passing by Iskandar Beg as a member of a small group of secondary painters upon whom he did not wish to elaborate. But, though his merits as a painter are not mentioned in Persian chronicles, an Ottoman source, the 1587 *Manaqib-i Hunarva-*

rān of Mustafa 'Ali, praises one Muhammad or Muhammadi Beg who executed multiple-figure scenes (*majālis*) and engaged in the production of lacquer bookcovers, with a biographical note contending that he was the son of the celebrated Sultan-Muhammad.³ Robinson seized upon this information to elaborate a scenario by which Muhammadi was the product of a joyous fling during a Herat sojourn of Sultan-Muhammad around 1527.⁴

Unfortunately, Robinson's scenario rests upon a false assumption and an incomplete translation. He considers Sultan-Muhammad's contribution to a Herati manuscript, the ex-Cartier *Dīvān* of Hafiz,⁵ as proof of the artist's stay in that city, even though the evidence contained in the manuscript provides indications to the contrary. Indeed, as argued elsewhere, the celebration of 'Id painting (AHT no. 59) from this *Dīvān* is glued over an original page of the manuscript, a sign that the painter Sultan-Muhammad was not present when the manuscript was being produced in Herat. Sultan-Muhammad, who signed his name under the feet of his patron Shah Tahmasp, also used the designation '*Irāqī* to point out that it was a product of the 'Iraq, i.e., Tabriz, atelier as opposed to the Herati one.⁶ In addition, Robinson relied on a selective translation provided by Sakisian. The original text recognized Muhammadi Beg as the son of Sultan-Muhammad, who “was himself the pupil of Aqa Mirak,”⁷ a claim that casts serious doubt on the reliability of the source. To complicate the issue even further, Mustafa 'Ali mentions another artist by the name of Sultan-Muhammad Heravi, an—unrecognized—master painter with “shining creations” (*bāhir al-ijād*) who had been a disciple of Mihrab Beg. The latter was a painter from the library atelier of Isma'il II,⁸ but his works show no clear connection to those of Muhammadi.

The sources thus give us conflicting and unreliable information. We are only left with a series of signed works by Muhammadi and drawings bearing

attributions or references to him with which to work.

APPRENTICESHIP IN MANUSCRIPT PAINTING

Muhammadi is mostly known through a series of tinted drawings and closely related monochromatic paintings with spots of contrast paint here and there. The group represents such a coherent and idiosyncratic style of painting that the attribution of multicolored manuscript illustrations to Muhammadi may at first glance seem impossible. Such considerations prompted Robinson to conclude in his extensive survey of Muhammadi's works that he "stood outside the mainstream of Persian painting" and "no fully coloured miniatures can be attributed to him."⁹ It is an unjustified claim that goes against the process of a painter's formation. In the very traditional milieu of Persian painting no individual could stand "outside the mainstream" without paying his dues. Manuscript painting was the premier activity of painters; this is how they earned a living, and this is what they were trained for. Apprenticeship meant copying the style of previous masters or perhaps incorporating elements of their paintings into newer compositions. It was only after reaching master status that a painter dared to venture outside the mainstream. Thus, either prior to, or along with, creating his idiosyncratic paintings, Muhammadi must also have been engaged in manuscript illustration. Three such paintings plus a single portrait (see P2, P3, P4, P5 below) were previously attributed by me to Muhammadi.¹⁰ They were all rejected by Robinson, who also argued that the dating of P4 should be ca. 1590.¹¹ As we shall see, he was wrong to reject the attributions but right on the dating, though for the wrong reasons.¹²

Of the generally accepted tinted drawings (designated as TD below) by Muhammadi, we shall rely on the following seven to attribute a series of paintings to him and to trace his career from one patron to another.¹³

TD1. Sultan by a stream. AHT no. 94.¹⁴

TD2. Frontispiece. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, R. 1012.¹⁵

TD3. Hunting scene. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 2166, fol. 20b top.¹⁶

TD4. Lion hunt. London, British Museum¹⁷

TD5. Hamza Mirza entertained. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.587 (fig. 21).

TD6. Pastoral scene. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7111.¹⁸

TD7. Lovers by a stream. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14. 528 (fig. 27).¹⁹

The list of paintings (P) attributable to Muhammadi is as follows:

P1. Yusuf tends his flock. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, 46.12, fol. 110b (fig. 2).²⁰

P2. Throwing out the impostor. AHT no. 90b (fig. 5).²¹

P3. The love of Majnun. AHT no. 93.

P4. Illustrated colophon. AHT no. 83.

P5. Seated princess. AHT no. 92 (fig. 29).

P6. Sa'di and the fallen pious man. Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum (figs. 9–10).²²

P7. A holy man and the king's envoy; the holy man and the prostitute. Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum (figs. 11–12).²³

P8. Sa'di bidding farewell to his companion. Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum (figs. 7–8).

P9. Sa'di in a court of law. Private Collection (fig. 6).²⁴

P10. Shahi offering a flower to the princess. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. pers. 1962, fol. 1v.²⁵

P11. Gathering of dervishes. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 21b (fig. 6).²⁶

P12. A prince and his retinue. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 36b.

P13. Prince feasting in an outdoor pavilion. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 111b (fig. 13).²⁷

P14. Lovers in a pavilion. Surrey, Keir Collection.²⁸

P15. The Prophet Moses carrying a sheep. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1483, fol. 109a (fig. 24).²⁹

P16. A turtle's flight. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, Dorn 426, fol. 50.³⁰

P17. An old man with a maiden. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, Dorn 426, fol. 64.

P18. The poet and the stout noble. St. Petersburg, State Public Library, Dorn 426, fol. 74.

P19. Frontispiece. Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, LA 159, 1a- 2b.³¹

P20. Encampment in the mountain. Minneapolis Institute of Art, 43.31.2 (fig. 25).³²

P21. Qulbaba sending a gift to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Private Collection (fig. 26).

STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

Tinted drawing is perhaps the most difficult and most demanding technique in Persian painting. It is basically an ink drawing highlighted by washes of paint that cannot hide mistakes. Unlike full-color painting, the artist has no room for error. He has to draw in one stroke. Looking at the depiction of the sultan by a stream (fig. 3), one can only marvel at the dexterity displayed in the positioning of the hunter, his dog, and his prey on a mountain ridge, each well proportioned, on solid footing, and in perfect balance, with no hesitancy in the drawing of lines. Such dexterity reveals an extraordinarily talented artist whose other works, including illustrated manuscript pages, must be of the highest quality as well. This observation will facilitate our task. In our search for Muhammadi's works, we need only look for paintings of the highest quality. As candidates for top-quality works will always be few, one can even use a process of elimination to reach a conclusion.³³

A second observation is that speed is essential to proficiency in ink drawing and therefore signs of a quick hand must also be noticeable in paintings attributed to Muhammadi. With these general observations in mind, we shall proceed to establish more concrete characteristics based on the generally accepted works of Muhammadi. These characteristics are by no means exclusive. In the very repetitive style of Persian painting, they also appear in the works of predecessors, contemporaries, and followers. What qualifies them as Muhammadi characteristics is their frequency and differences in pattern with other painters. They are described here and summarized in tables 1, 2 and 3:

- A. Water: A stream is almost always present in Muhammadi's compositions to the extent that even in a spare work such as TD7 (fig. 27) a stream appears at the very bottom of the painted area.
- B. Stones and leaves: Rocks, with short fat leaves and flowers that spring from underneath, border his streams and are scattered throughout the landscape.
- C. Goats: He is very fond of pastoral scenes with goats, one of which is usually depicted as black and white or in palomino combinations.
- D. Deer: He seems to prefer lowland animals; consequently his mountain goats look like long-horned versions of farm goats or ordinary deer.
- E. Foxes: A fox is almost always present, whether on

the plains or in mountain scenes, live or as drawings on walls (P20) and Chinese ceramics (TD2, P21), usually as a playful skinny pair with long wavy tails.

F. Tadpole clouds: small isolated tadpole-like clouds

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
TD1	•	•													
TD2	•	•			•			•							
TD3						•			•						
TD4	•	•			•		•		•						
TD5	•	•			•			•							•
TD6	•	•	•												
TD7	•	•							•						
P1	•	•	•	•	•				•			•	•	•	•
P2	•	•	•	•	•			•	•			•	•	•	•
P3	•	•	•	•	•			•				•	•	•	•
P4	•	•										•	•	•	•
P5												•			
P6	•	•										•	•	•	•
P7	•	•										•	•	•	•
P8	•	•										•	•	•	•
P9	•	•			•							•	•		
P10	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P11	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P12	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P13	•	•							•			•	•		
P14	•	•	•	•	•							•	•	•	•
P15	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P16	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P17	•	•								•		•	•	•	•
P18	•	•	•	•	•		•	•	•			•	•	•	•
P19	•	•							•			•	•	•	•
P20	•	•			•			•				•	•	•	•
P21									•			•	•	•	•

Table 1

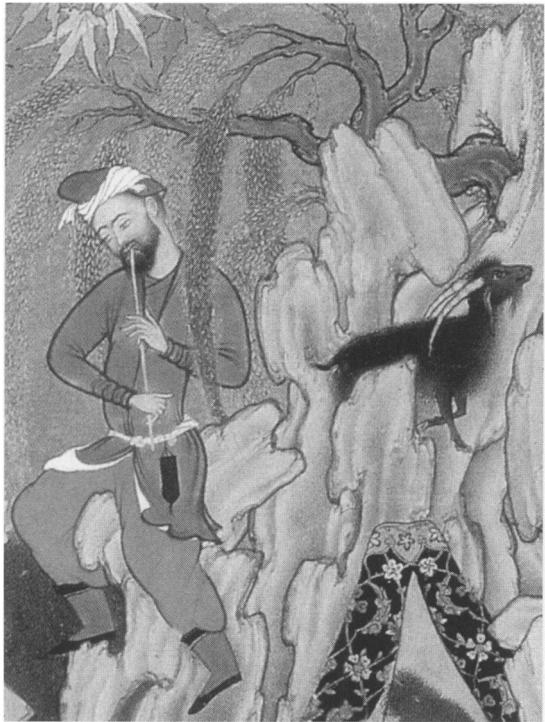


Fig. 1. Qays glimpses Layli (detail). Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 46.12-231a.



Fig. 2 Yusuf tends his flock. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 46.12, fol. 110b.



Fig. 3. Sultan by a stream. AHT no. 94.



Fig. 4. Detail of fig. 3.

B in P1	J in P1
H in TD7	O in P4

Table 2. Specimens of Muhammadi characteristics .

P1		
P4		
P2		

Table 3. Goats and foxes

can be considered as one of his signature motifs (see table 1).

- G. Thin batons: His Qizilbash batons are usually drawn to appear very thin (fig. 6)
- H. Striped turbans: Richly decorated turbans in striped patterns start to appear in his work after 1580.

The quickly drawn zigzagging line of the turban tails was subsequently copied by Riza 'Abbasi (see table 2).

- I. Leaves: His plane-tree leaves are meticulously depicted. Two small "fingers" are close to the stem; they frame three medium-sized fingers that sharply narrow after a midway step in (see table 1).
- J. Heavy tufts of grass: He favors green tufts with heavy blades over the usual hairline tufts.
- K. Blue and red flowers: As a painter with a quick hand, he fills the landscape (sometimes in unexpected areas such as the inside of the black tent in P4 or the background of P5) with scattered red and blue flowers, usually with white or other contrasting contour lines.
- L. Bushes and flowers: Blossoming bushes and flowers pop out from every rock formation.
- M. Pointillism: He uses heavy pointillism for rendering yellowing grass.
- N. Painted surface: The dark green surfaces of many of his paintings have cracked over time.
- O. Decoration: For canopies (e.g., P14), corner arches (e.g., P6), clothing or interlinear decoration (e.g., P2), he favors a gold arabesque pattern connecting simplified peonies with loose foliage and minimal scroll lines (or none at all), over blue, black, or plain paper.

IBRAHIM MIRZA

Highly impressed by Muhammadi's "outstanding abilities," Robinson wrote in 1958, "It may be, indeed, that in the 'progressive' miniatures of the Freer Jami we have some of his earliest work, and that he was forming his style about 1560, under the enlightened patronage of Ibrahim Mirza, in his native Khurasan."³⁴ It was an insightful proposition that Robinson should have pursued, for Muhammadi did indeed leave his mark on the Freer *Haft Awrang*. One contribution, the picture of Yusuf tending his flock (P2), alone puts him in the company of some of the greatest Safavid artists such as Aqa Mirak, 'Abd al-'Aziz, Muzafer 'Ali, Mirza 'Ali, and Shaykh Muhammad, all of whom influenced his stylistic development. The most influential painters of this group were undoubtedly the last two; they had joined the Mashhad library atelier of Ibrahim Mirza after a short stay at the Mughal court.³⁵

Shaykh Muhammad's tumultuous and unbound-



Fig. 5. Throwing down the impostor (detail). AHT no. 90b.



Fig. 6. Sa'di in a court of law. Private collection.



Fig. 7. Sa'di bidding farewell to his companion (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.

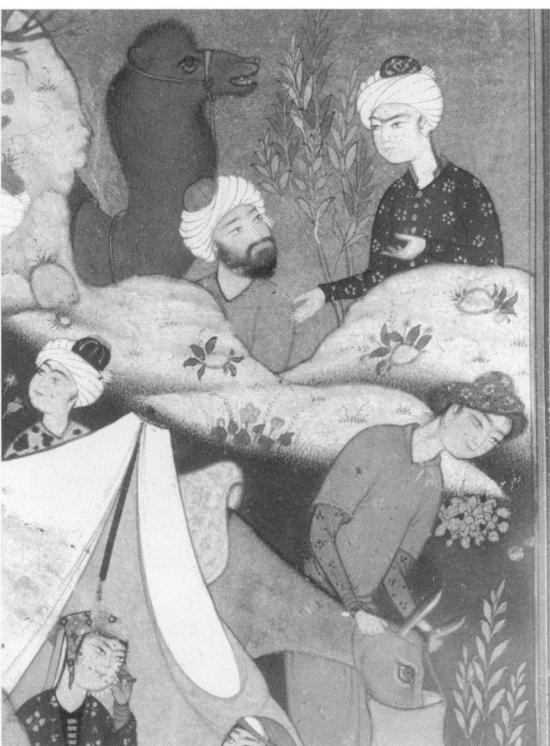


Fig. 8. Sa'di bidding farewell to his companion (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.

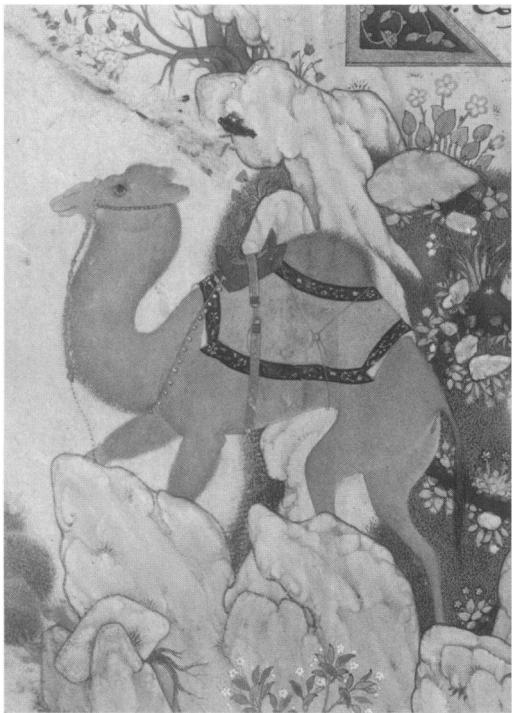


Fig. 9. Sa'di and the fallen pious man (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.

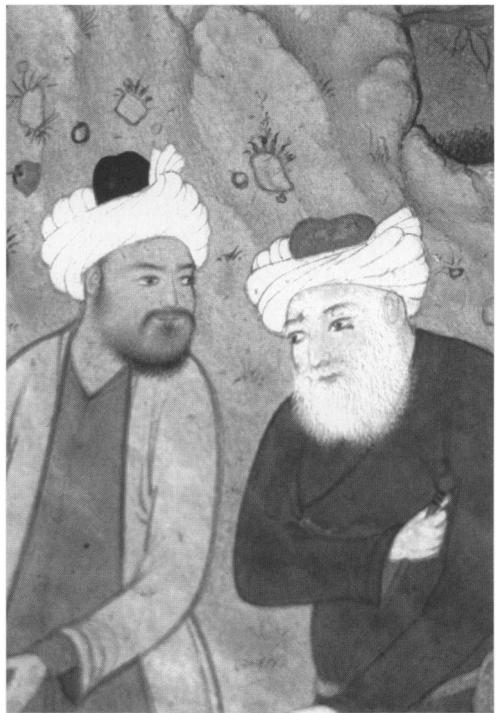


Fig. 10. Sa'di and the fallen pious man (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.

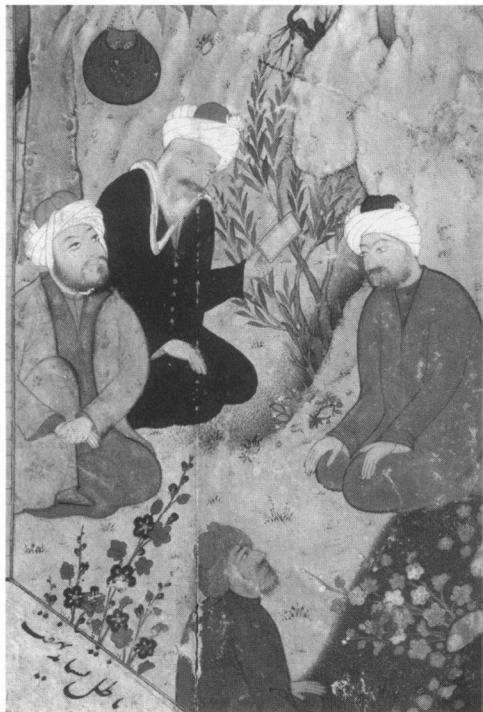


Fig. 11. A holy man and the king's envoy (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.



Fig. 12. The holy man and the prostitute (detail). Tehran, Riza 'Abbasi Museum.

ed mountain setting in the illustration of Majnun approaching the camp of Layli's caravan (fol. 253a of the Freer *Haft Awrang*) provided the framework for most of Muhammadi's outdoor paintings, and his forays into the realm of tinted drawings³⁶ enticed the younger artist into a domain that he later conquered and much expanded. Mirza 'Ali's paintings provided a model for restrained elegance and a sense of weight and balance that his colleague Muzaffar 'Ali, to whom P2 was previously attributed, never acquired.³⁷ Indeed, a quick comparison between the depiction of Qays first glimpsing Layli, attributed to Muzaffar 'Ali (an attribution that I accept),³⁸ and fig. 2 demonstrates an attention to weight and balance that is diametrically opposite: whereas Muzaffar 'Ali's goat floats in mid-air and its hoofs fail to reach the steps cut into the rock formations, Muhammadi's goat stands perfectly balanced on a rock top. A similar surefooted goat in stationary or descending mode is portrayed in at least three other paintings (see table 3). Yusuf's stance, leaning on a staff with a foot resting on a rock, is similar to the farmer's in TD1 (fig. 4) except that his foot rests on his shovel. It is a common resting position among the farmers of Iran, one that Muhammadi had observed and translated into drawing. Most of Muhammadi's other characteristics, including the prominent stream, the red and blue flowers (under the feet of Yusuf), the pair of foxes, and the signature tadpole clouds are already present in this painting. The painting was probably added to the *Haft Awrang* after the completion of the calligraphy, perhaps around 1565–70, during the prince's semi-exile in Sabzivar, when his stipend was curtailed and he could no longer afford to keep a full house of painters.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD

In 1574 Ibrahim Mirza won back the favor of the shah and returned to Qazvin. Two years later Shah Tahmasp was succeeded by his son Isma'il who revived the royal library atelier.³⁹ Muhammadi's name is not mentioned in association with Isma'il II's atelier. While still in the retinue of Ibrahim Mirza, and perhaps at the Qazvin court, he produced P5 (fig. 29), a painting which may well represent Princess Pari-khan Khanum, Tahmasp's influential daughter, who was the power behind the throne during the last years of her father's reign and who eventually engineered the

ascension of Isma'il II to the throne.⁴⁰ It is to this same period that we attribute the exquisite little painting of the *Dīvān* of Amir Shahi (P9) with its tadpole clouds, prominently displayed red and blue flowers, pointillist technique, and heavy tufts of grass on the mountaintop. The overall composition and the elegant figures once again betray the strong influence of Mirza 'Ali.⁴¹

Ibrahim Mirza and most of the other Safavid princes lost their lives in the systematic purge instituted by Isma'il II. He in turn was killed in 1577 and was succeeded by his elder brother, the blind Shah Muhammad. At this stage, princely patronage became nonexistent, and it is perhaps due to loss of patronage and out of economic necessity that Muhammadi reverted to the production of tinted drawings. A pastoral scene (TD6) with a signatory inscription which reads, "Pen of the poor prayerful Muhammadi the painter, dated 986 [578]," belongs to this period and was probably produced on the artist's own initiative, perhaps just to have in stock. Such must also have been the case for several closely related tinted drawings, such as TD2.

As the Safavid court gathered first around the queen, Mahd-i Ulia' (d. 1579), and subsequently around the heir apparent Hamza Mirza, courtly patronage of illustrated manuscripts must have resumed. A once exquisite manuscript of ca. 1580 that incorporates the *Gulistan* of Sa'di at the center, and the *Büstān* on the margins, is probably from this period. Four of its dispersed pages (P6, P7, P8, and P9) are attributable to Muhammadi. Their landscape incorporates all of his characteristics, but more interesting is the array of faces depicted in them. A few relate to previously attributed paintings such as P2 (compare the youth on the top right and the bearded man in fig. 8 with the prince in fig. 5 and the bearded man directly under him);⁴² others provide a link for further attributions (compare, for instance, the youth with the soft cap at the bottom of fig. 8 with a similar one in fig. 18 and the youths with Qizilbash headgear at the bottom of fig. 6 with those in fig. 13). Some (e.g., fig. 10) show once again Muhammadi's skill at elaborating faces. Tinted drawings such as TD1, TD5, TD6, and especially the picture of dancing sufis (Freer Gallery 46.15),⁴³ show that, unlike most other artists who make repeated use of set characters, Muhammadi constantly produced new figures.⁴⁴

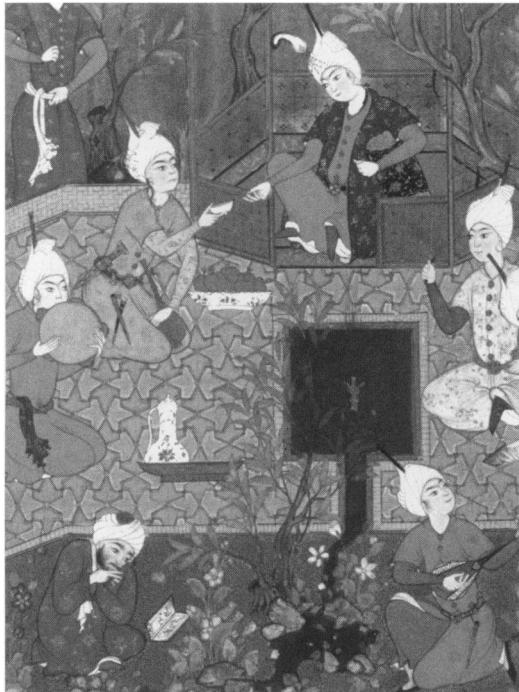


Fig. 13. Prince and his retinue (detail). Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 36b.

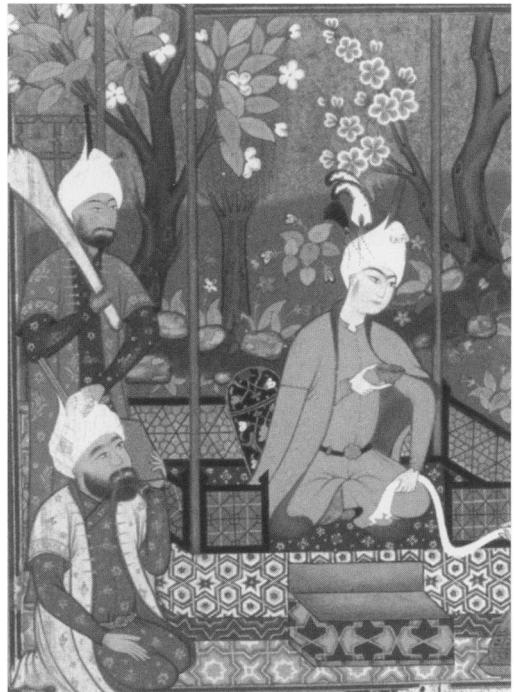


Fig. 14. Young prince in a kiosk. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 170b.

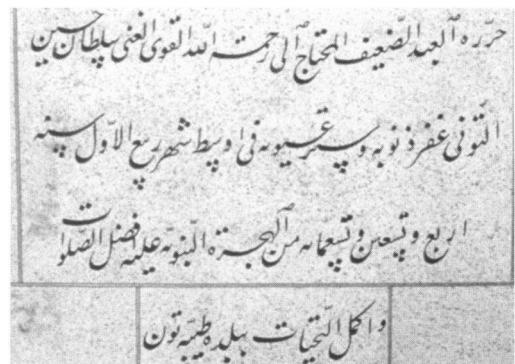


Fig. 15. First colophon. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 4a.

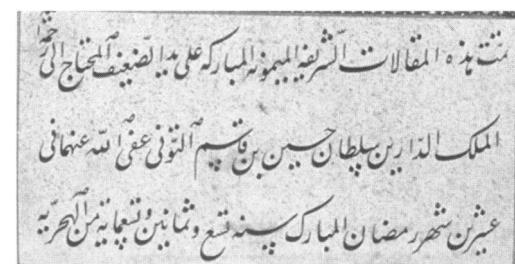


Fig. 16. Second colophon. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 209b.



Fig. 17. Third colophon. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 210a.

VIZIER MIRZA SALMAN

The reign of Shah Muhammad propelled into prominence the vizier Mirza Salman (d. 1583) who, after successfully leading the Qizilbash troops against the Tatars in Shirvan, extended his hegemony from the administration to the army. In the words of Iskandar Beg, he acquired all the trappings of Qizilbash warlords including “troops, drums and standards.”⁴⁵ To solidify his position further, he married his daughter to Crown Prince Hamza Mirza (1566–86), and by the time he defeated the rebellious Shamlus of Herat—who had defied the shah’s authority—and elevated his younger son ‘Abbas (the future Shah ‘Abbas I) to the throne of Khurasan, he assumed the kingly prerogative of issuing victory letters (*fathnāma*) without even mentioning the name of the shah or the crown prince.⁴⁶ It was thus quite fitting for this ambitious vizier to set up his own library atelier and commission illustrated manuscripts.

One such manuscript is the 1582 *Sifāt al-‘āshiqīn* (AHT no. 90) commissioned by Mirza Salman as a present for Hamza Mirza, with paintings by Shaykh Muhammad, Muhammadi, and ‘Abdallah Shirazi.⁴⁷ A closely related manuscript is the intriguing and convoluted *Dīvān* of Hafiz (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986). Its core comprises eight miniatures and the text of the *Dīvān*, with a colophon dated 20 Ramadan 989 (October 18, 1581) on folio 209b (fig. 16, referred to hereafter as the “second colophon”). The core is preceded by a four-page introduction dated Rabi’ I 994 (March 1586) (folio 4a, fig. 15; hereafter referred to as “first colophon”) and followed by a problematic one-page undated third colophon that praises a certain Sultan Sulayman (fig. 17). A recent study identifies the patron of the manuscript as Sulayman Khalifa, the Qizilbash governor of Tun and Tabas.⁴⁸ I shall argue that the core was made for Mirza Salman, entered the royal library when his belongings were confiscated, and the preface added later.

The first colophon, that of 1586, gives the calligrapher’s name as Sultan-Husayn b. Qasim al-Tuni and states that it was penned in Tun. Identifying the governor of Tun, Sulayman Khalifa, as the original patron, however, raises many questions. How did the manuscript end up in Ottoman possession? Why did Sulayman Khalifa part with a manuscript that he had commissioned, even though he remained governor of Tun well into the reign of Shah ‘Abbas and his belongings were never confiscated? Why did he wait

five years to add just four unillustrated pages to it? More generally, the examples of Qizilbash warlords as enlightened patrons are too few readily to accept Sulayman Khalifa as the original patron of this manuscript. Had he been the real patron and assuming that the calligrapher added the epithet *sūltān* (an honorific title that was bestowed on many warlords at that time), *khalīfa*, the Qizilbash title of nobility that was also one of the names of his father and grandfather (Suhrab Khalifa and Ansar Khalifa respectively), would have been kept. On the other hand, in the third (undated) colophon, the calligrapher who begins with the praise of an unspecified patron referred to simply as *sūltān*—a title that in view of Mirza Salman’s assumption of military powers suited him well—continues with a laudatory description of his accomplishments, and emphasizes that he had accompanied the sultan on his travels. The colophon then continues with four lines of poetry that laud the patron’s literary and oratorical skills (skills that were essential for a vizier and that Turkish-speaking Qizilbash warlords usually lacked) and considers him as the one who brought distinction to “Solomon’s empire.” This ties in well with Mirza Salman, who is constantly referred by the sources as “the Asaf of his age,” Asaf being the vizier of Solomon and the most frequently cited example of the perfect vizier.⁴⁹ In addition, while an immensely rich vizier could well afford to keep calligraphers and painters in his retinue when traveling, the governor of the impoverished province of Tun and Tabas probably could not.

A possible scenario is that the name in the colophon initially read Sultan Salman—which also rhymes with the preceding sentence, *al-malik al-mannān*—but two dots were added under the *lām-mīm* ligature to change it to Sultan Sulayman. But since the praising sentence following this name is wrongly formulated,⁵⁰ and since I have not examined the manuscript at close hand, it is difficult to tell what happened to the colophon. Nevertheless, the identity of the painters also points to the patronage of Mirza Salman. Folios 129a and 156a have been correctly attributed by Tanindi to ‘Abdallah Shirazi;⁵¹ folios 54b and 170b (see fig. 14) are attributable to Mir Zayn al-‘Abidin,⁵² and folios 21b (P10), 36b (P11) and 111b (P12) to Muhammadi, despite inscriptions ascribing two of them to an unknown Bihzad or Bihzad-i Ibrahimī.⁵³ To the latter group must also be added a detached folio (P13) now in the Keir Collection. As two of these artists contributed to the *Sifāt al-‘āshiqīn* of Mirza Salman,

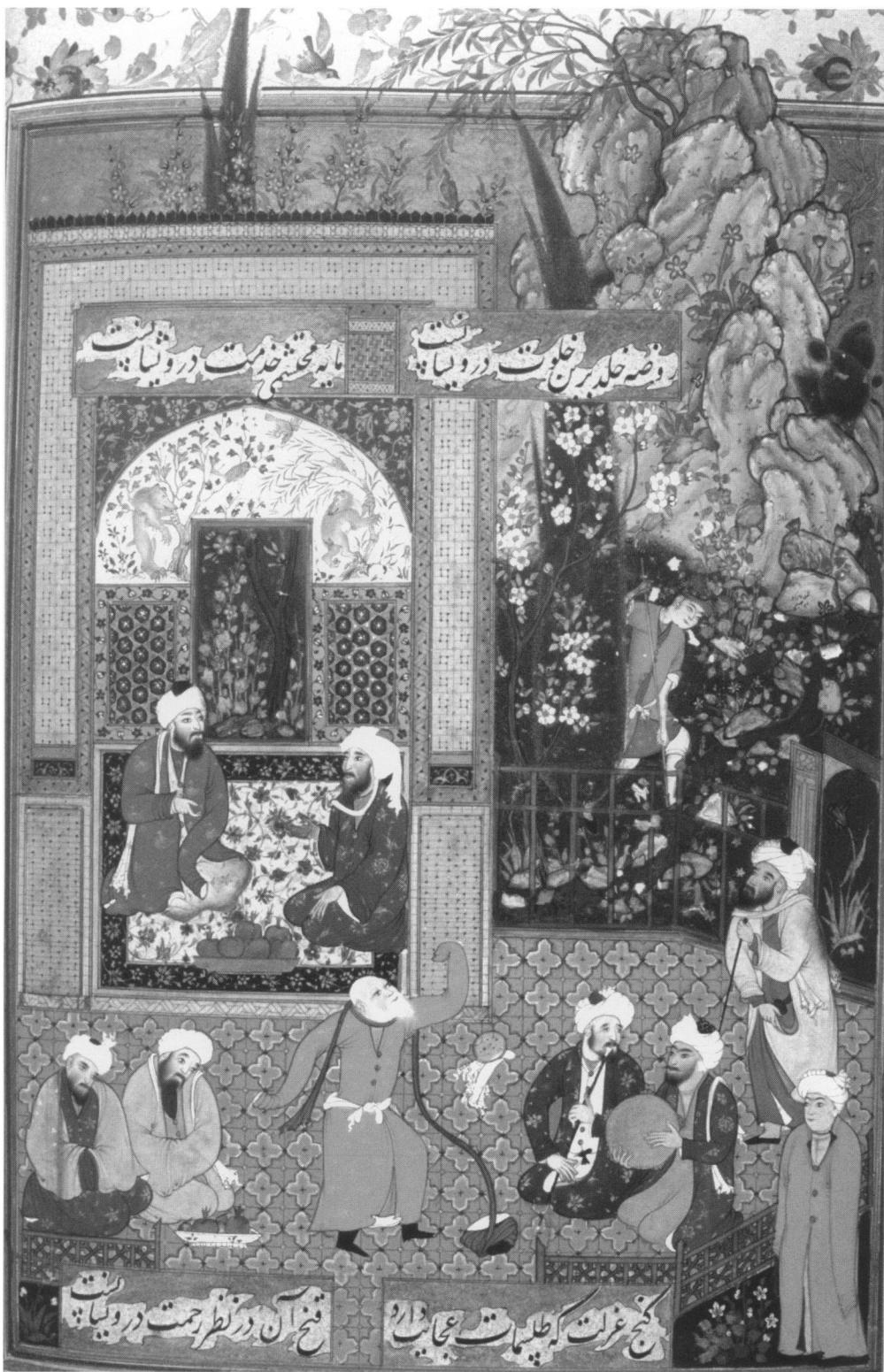


Fig. 18. Gathering of dervishes. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 986, fol. 21b.



Fig. 19. Hunting scene (detail). Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 2166, fol. 20b top.

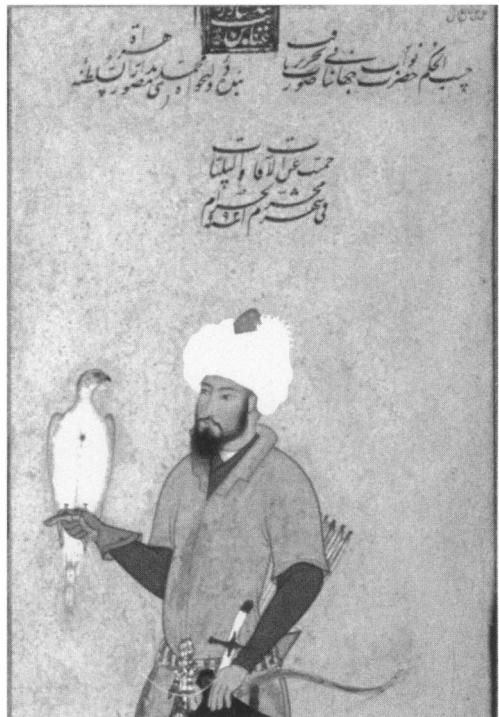


Fig. 20. Portrait of 'Ali-Quli Khan (detail). Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 2166, fol. 20b bottom.



Fig. 21. Hamza Mirza entertained (detail). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.587.



Fig. 22. Hamza Mirza entertained (detail). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14.587.



Fig. 23. The seeker of truth and the reclusive sage (detail). Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1483, fol. 109a.

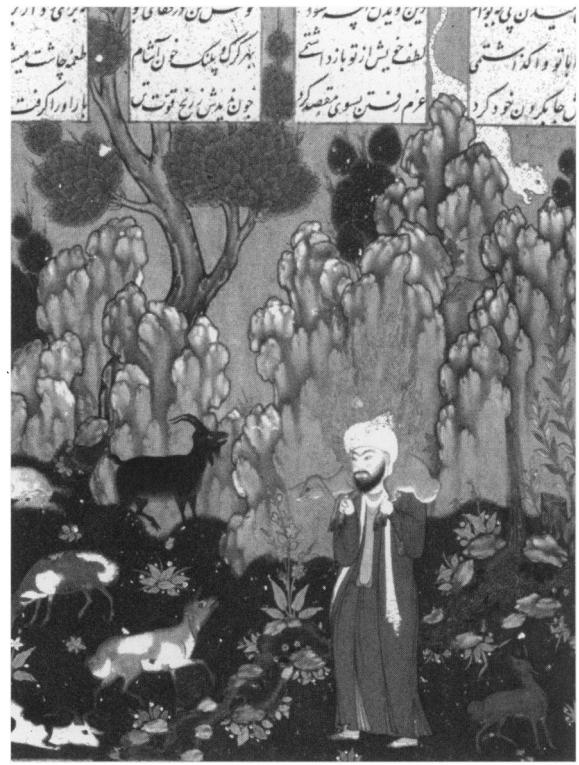


Fig. 24. The Prophet Moses carrying a sheep (detail). Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1483, fol. 130b.

his patronage of the *Divān* core becomes more likely.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the list of gifts sent to the Sublime Porte about 1587, Ottoman chroniclers noted an “illustrated and illuminated” *Divān* of Hafiz written “by a master calligrapher” which in all likelihood pertains to our enigmatic manuscript, since no other *Divān* of Hafiz that answers this description can be found among Topkapi Palace Library manuscripts.⁵⁵ Therefore, we can assume that the later additions to the *Divān* made in 1586, just prior to the manuscript’s arrival in Istanbul, were probably done to enhance the value of the manuscript in the eyes of the Ottomans rather than to praise a true patron. Finally, as we shall see, the inclusion of works by both Mir Zayn al-‘Abidin and Muhammadi in a manuscript sent to the Porte may offer a clue to the confusing statements of Mustafa ‘Ali.

HAMZA MIRZA

Mirza Salman was assassinated by the Qizilbash amirs on 13 June 1583, and all of his possessions, includ-

ing his manuscripts, were confiscated for the royal treasury.⁵⁶ Shortly after, Hamza Mirza’s companion and chief painter Farrukh Beg quit the Safavid court to join the Mughal prince Mirza-Hakim in Kabul.⁵⁷ As suggested in a parallel study that traces Farrukh Beg’s Mughal carrier back to its Safavid origins, he had been commissioned by Hamza Mirza to complete an unfinished *Haft Awrang* of Jami (Topkapi Palace Library, H. 1483) originally produced for Ibrahim Mirza.⁵⁸ Twenty-nine of its paintings, including a double-page frontispiece that depicts the marriage of Hamza Mirza to Mirza Salman’s daughter, were attributed to him. However, one painting, folio 109a, was attributed to Muhammadi. This disproportionate ratio of 29:1 suggests that Muhammadi was perhaps summoned to complete the project after the departure of Farrukh Beg around 1583.

The paths of the two artists had also crossed earlier, at the atelier of Ibrahim Mirza, where, like Muhammadi, Farrukh Beg contributed a single painting to the 1556–65 *Haft Awrang*, depicting bandits attacking the caravan of ‘Aynia and Riya (fol. 64b).⁵⁹

Although both painters had similar early careers and were influenced by the same artists, each developed his own style. The comparison of P15, which Muhammadi contributed to the Istanbul *Haft Awrang* (fig. 24), with a similar scene painted by Farrukh Beg (fig. 23) for the same manuscript illustrates their diverging tendencies: Farrukh Beg's composition became more austere, his rock formations striated and dramatic; his leopard spots are immaculately organized in dark pentagonal or hexagonal shapes; and he correctly differentiates plain deer, mountain goats, and moufflons. The painting by Muhammadi, on the other hand, displays a joyful scene sprinkled with flowers and blossoming trees, mottled mushrooming rock formations, a loosely spotted leopard,⁶⁰ and an array of domestic and lowland animals.

Hamza Mirza seems to have retained the services of Muhammadi after the *Haft Awrang*, even though the artist chose to remain in Herat. Two of his works testify to this effect. The first is a tinted drawing of ca. 1583–84 now at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (TD5, fig. 21). It depicts a young prince, seventeen or eighteen years old, seated on a golden, i.e., a royal, throne. It can only represent Hamza Mirza whose suzerainty had been acknowledged once again by the Herati supporters of his younger brother 'Abbas, who had earlier been elevated to the throne of Herat.⁶¹ A further detail strengthens this assumption. The musician closest to the prince holds an unusual instrument, a cross between a lute and a mandolin called a *shuturghu*.⁶² Iskandar Beg recounts that Shams al-Din-i Shuturghuhi (i.e., the player of the *shuturghu*) was a constant companion of Hamza Mirza.⁶³ The second work is a portrait of 'Ali Quli Khan Shamlu, Prince 'Abbas's guardian and commander of Herat (see fig. 20). An inscription by Muhammadi reads, "[This] was drawn by the order of the *Nawwāb-i Jahān-bānī* (His Imperial Majesty) [by] the slave who seeks high fortune [for His Majesty], the painter Muhammadi, at the capital city of Herat, in the year 992 [1584]." *Nawwāb-i Jahān-bānī* is a term that Iskandar Beg and Qadi Ahmad consistently used when referring to Hamza Mirza. Furthermore, the seal of Shah 'Abbas I engraved with the date of his first regnal year (995 [1587]), i.e., three years later than the painting date, indicates that the drawing was not made for 'Abbas, but only entered into his possession on the occasion of his accession to the throne, when he inherited the royal treasury of his elder brother.

Muhammadi's creativity seems to have peaked in the service of Hamza Mirza as he embarked on the

production of tinted drawings with a dominant background color, switching from green to yellow⁶⁴ to pale earth tones.⁶⁵ His masterpiece in this mode of painting is undoubtedly a green-toned double-page frontispiece subsequently inserted into a *Dīvān* of Hilali copied in 1554 (TD3).

GIFTS SENT TO SULTAN MURAD III

In 1584, the Ottomans resumed hostilities and captured Tabriz. As the Qizilbash army counterattacked, the Ottomans abandoned most of the city but held onto the citadel. Both sides had suffered heavy casualties and were ready to sign a new peace treaty, but a major bone of contention was the citadel. The Ottomans did not want to relinquish their control of it, while Hamza Mirza, who was willing to concede the majority of the Ottomans' territorial gains, insisted on getting it back.⁶⁶ The commander Farhad Pasha brokered a face-saving peace treaty by which Hamza Mirza would send one of his sons as hostage to Sultan Murad III, who in turn would nominally appoint him governor of Tabriz.⁶⁷ Hamza Mirza agreed to send his infant son Haydar Mirza, but as he returned to plan for his son's departure and prepare the accompanying gifts, he was assassinated (4 December 1586).

Since Murad III was a bibliophile and an avid collector,⁶⁸ the accompanying gifts were bound to include illustrated manuscripts. But earlier gifts to the Ottomans had depleted the royal Safavid library,⁶⁹ so gift preparation probably involved the refurbishing of older library manuscripts or recent acquisitions through confiscation. Because of the lack of a talented calligrapher whose skills could complement those of Muhammadi and Farrukh Beg, Hamza Mirza presumably reverted to the practice of refurbishing older manuscripts with added frontispieces and new lacquer bindings. One such binding, which I also ascribe to Muhammadi, covers a *Dīvān* of Amir Shahi copied by Shah Mahmud Nayshaburi in 1542 (Topkapi Palace Library, R. 999; fig. 22).

Shah 'Abbas I, who was officially enthroned in 1587, kept the promise of his elder brother, and upon arriving in Qazvin sent the young Haydar Mirza to the Porte together with "worthy presents"⁷⁰ that certainly comprised works that Hamza Mirza had amassed for his own library, including the magnificent *Haft Awrang* painted by Farrukh Beg and works that had



Fig. 25. Encampment in the mountain. Minneapolis Institute of Art 43.31.2. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Webber.

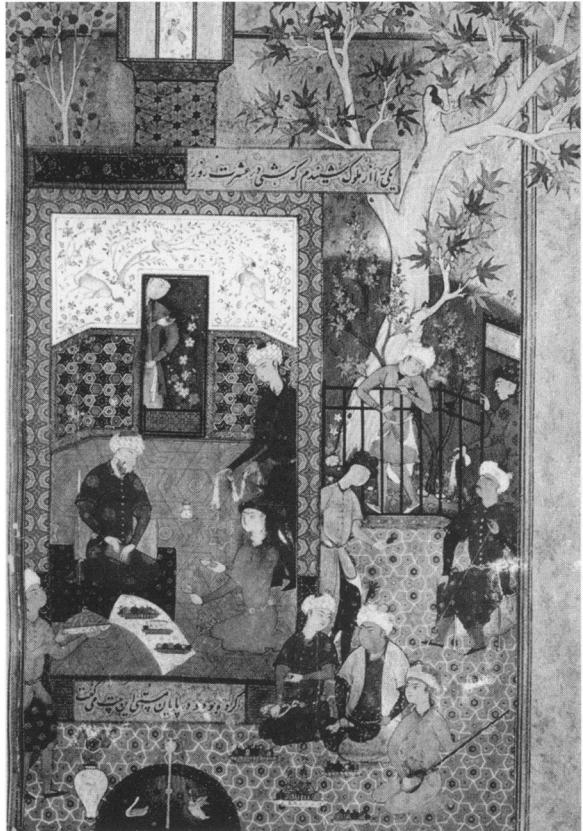


Fig. 26. Qulbaba sending a gift to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Private collection.

been confiscated from Mirza Salman, such as the above-mentioned *Dīvān* of Hafiz. Since Muhammadi's fame had not reached the Ottoman court, the Persian delegation must have felt compelled to explain his high status by comparing him to masters of high repute such as Bihzad and Sultan-Muhammad. Thus the inscription "Bihzād-i Ibrahīmī" qualified the work as one painted by the Bihzad-like painter who was affiliated to the court of Ibrahim Mirza, and "Sultan-Muhammad Heravi" alluded to the Herati painter who was compared to Sultan-Muhammad. Sultan-Muhammad's name must also have been mentioned in conjunction with the contributions of his grandson Mir Zayn al-'Abidin to the *Dīvān*.

On the receiving end, the Ottoman officials were probably confused about the information that the Safavids bombarded them with, and transposed Sultan-Muhammad's relationship with Mir Zayn al-'Abidin onto Muhammadi.⁷¹ We may now understand why

the information provided by Mustafa 'Ali on the type of Muhammadi works, namely *majālis* and lacquer bindings, was correct but his biographical details were erroneous: one was derived from direct observation, while the other had been affected by confusing Safavid explanations.⁷²

QULBABA KUKALTASH

Muhammadi remained in Herat after the demise of Hamza Mirza, and after 'Ali-Quli Khan lost the prized guardianship of Prince 'Abbas.⁷³ The Uzbek 'Abdal-lah Khan (r. 1583–98) captured Herat in 1588 and appointed, over the objections of his son 'Abd al-Mu'min (r. 1598), his trusted friend and foster brother Qulbaba Kukaltash, governor of that city. 'Ali-Quli Khan was killed as he surrendered to the Uzbeks and Muhammadi eventually entered the services of Qul-



Fig. 27. Lovers by a stream. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 14. 528



Fig. 28. Woman with a veil. AHT no. 109.



Fig. 29. Seated princess (detail). AHT no. 92.



Fig. 30. Youth with a bow and arrow (detail). Private collection.

baba. Qulbaba should have known better. Muhammadi's four previous patrons had all been killed, and Qulbaba shared the same fate: he was killed in 1598 by the order of 'Abd al-Mu'min.

Three illustrations from yet another Jami manuscript now in the St. Petersburg Public Library (P16, P17, P18) perhaps belong to the interim period between the demise of Hamza Mirza and the Uzbek capture of Herat. They all display the typical Muhammadi landscape and striped turbans, but the silhouettes have grown more elongated.

To the Uzbek period we can confidently ascribe Muhammadi's contributions to a sumptuous *Gulistān* of Sa'di (P21; fig. 26),⁷⁴ P3, P20, as well as an illustrated colophon page of ca. 1590 (P4). All of them display turbans wrapped around the pointed Uzbek cap, and P3 and P20, which come from the same manuscript, both have the Bukhara type of stenciled margins on the back. P20 and P21 display the same Uzbek ruler holding a book or being presented with one (see figs. 21–22). It undoubtedly represents Qulbaba, who maintained a library in Herat, patronized intellectuals and artists, and composed poetry.⁷⁵ But P21 is enigmatic: while Qulbaba is the focal point of the painting and is depicted in a dominant position, a young prince seated on a golden throne is relegated to the margins. The enthroned young prince can only represent Qulbaba's nemesis, 'Abd al-Mu'min who, as heir apparent and his father's only son, was called Khorda Khan (Junior Khan) and officially was the ruler of Balkh. After several unsuccessful attempts at persuading his father to give him the throne of Herat, 'Abd al-Mu'min decided to take it by ruse: to enter Herat as a guest and overthrow Qulbaba. But the latter, having guessed the intentions of his foe, sent him welcoming gifts but closed the doors of the citadel and refused him entry.⁷⁶ The composition thus depicts 'Abd al-Mu'min outside the citadel receiving a money pouch from an attendant as a parody of Sa'di's story about the ruler who sent money to an ungrateful dervish sleeping outside his palace. The odd composition of this painting thus reconfirms our initial assumption that the seated ruler, whose portrait was depicted in the process of exchanging books with his courtiers in two different paintings, represents Qulbaba Kukaltash.⁷⁷

MUHAMMADI'S LEGACY

In a period marked by political turmoil and unstable patronage, Muhammadi stands out as the uncontested master who not only influenced the work of contemporaries such as Farrukh Beg,⁷⁸ but greatly inspired the style of the next generation of painters, that of Riza 'Abbasi and his followers. By comparing the nearly out-of-balance position of the women with a veil (AHT 109; fig. 28) with the women in TD7 (fig. 27), one can readily see Muhammadi's influence on Riza's experimentation with tilting figures in his drawings to suggest movement.⁷⁹ The thin spray of white lilies, a trademark of Riza's earlier works, is a motif that Shaykh Muhammad first used in his picture showing a kneeling youth reading (Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. K3427)⁸⁰ and which Muhammadi subsequently adopted (see figs. 29, 30).⁸¹ It symbolizes Riza's debt to his predecessors, a debt that the free-spirited and individualistic artist explicitly recognized when he copied their works and acknowledged their source in notations below his drawings.⁸² But the two were not equal in his mind: while he referred to Shaykh Muhammad with a respectful *mawlana* epithet, he qualified Muhammadi as *ustād* (master), the penultimate praise that a painter could bestow on a predecessor.⁸³

Chastised in official Safavid chronicles for the sin of serving the Uzbeks in Herat, Muhammadi's great stature among Persian painters is nevertheless acknowledged in the glorifying terms—the master from Herat, the Bihzad of his age—that his contemporaries and followers used when referring to him.

Houston, Texas

NOTES

1. Tahmasp's disenchantment with painting was previously attributed to religious fanaticism; see Martin Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 1:45. For a new theory that attributes his sudden lack of interest in secular arts to a hereditary ophthalmic deficiency, see Abolala Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition," *Iran* 37 (1999): pp. 51–52.
2. Abolala Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York, 1992), p. 237.
3. Mustafa 'Ali, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān* (Istanbul, 1926), p. 64. The actual published Turkish text names the artist as Muhammad Beg, with the caveat that one of the manuscript

- texts referred to used the name Muhammadi. Sakisian chose the latter as correct; A. Sakisian, *La Miniature persane* (Paris, 1929), p. 123.
4. B. W. Robinson, "Muhammadi and the Khurasan Style," *Iran* 30 (1992): 18. Robinson, who acknowledges in his article that both Stchoukine and Gray had rejected this Ottoman information as unverified by Persian chronicles, gives also as reference M. A. Karimzadeh Tabrizi, *The Lives and Art of Old Painters of Iran*, 3 vols. (London, 1991), 3:1103. Karimzadeh, however, quotes a different passage of the *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, but provides a quotation from the modern scholar Fikri Saljuqi regarding Muhammadi's affiliation with Sultan-Muhammad.
 5. The manuscript is now split between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Sackler Museum at Harvard, and the Sackler Gallery, Art and History Trust Collection (AHT).
 6. Abolala Soudavar, "Towti'a-yi uzma wa Abu'l-Muzaffar Shah Tahmasp Safavi," in *Iranshenasi* 9, 1 (1997): 56–57.
 7. Mustafa 'Ali, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, p. 64. Sultan-Muhammad was by all accounts senior to Aqa Mirak.
 8. Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah* (New Haven and London, 1976), p. 213, figs. 63–64.
 9. Robinson, "Muhammadi and the Khurasan Style," pp. 18 and 28. As for drawings that Robinson attributes to Muhammadi, those he lists as M26 and M16 are too weak and disjointed to be by this artist (several copies of M16 exist and all seem to be fake).
 10. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 217, 232, 237–39.
 11. B. W. Robinson, "An Amir Khusraw *Khamsa* of 1581," *Iran* 35 (1997): 40.
 12. Robinson's dating rests on the appearance of white spots on its hilltops. The same spots, however, appear as early as the 1582 *Sifat al-'ashiqin*, in works of both Muhammadi and 'Abdallah Shirazi (AHT no. 90a-b). As we shall see, the decisive argument is the Uzbek affiliation. Our initial dating was based on the observation that in execution, P4 was slightly rougher than the illustration of the 1582 manuscript. As it turned out, the lesser quality was due to old age rather than immaturity of the artist.
 13. Except for TD4, all of the selected tinted drawings are generally accepted to be by Muhammadi: TD1 and TD6 are inscribed and signed by the artist in his characteristic solid *nasta'liq* script; TD3, TD5 and TD7 display a written attribution inscribed by a reliable connoisseur whose hand appears on many other Muhammadi drawings; TD2 has been attributed to Muhammadi by Cağman and Tanındı and Robinson (see below nn. 15 and 18) As for TD4, its strong affinity with TD3 suggests common authorship for the two.
 14. AHT = Art and History Trust, courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Wahington D.C. For a color reproduction, see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 240.
 15. F. Cağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1979), p. 49, no. 104.
 16. Illustrated in Anthony Welch, "Painting and Patronage under Shah 'Abbas I," *Iranian Studies* 7, 3–4 (1974): 502.
 17. Illustrated in F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (rpt., London, 1968), pl. 143b.
 18. For color reproductions see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawings, from the 14th Century through the 19th Century* (Boston, 1965), pl. 40; A. M. Kevorkian, and J. P. Sicre, *Les Jardins du Dasir* (Paris, 1983), p. 227.
 19. For color reproductions, see Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, p. 76.
 20. For a color reproduction, see M. S. Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 131
 21. For color reproductions of P2–P5, see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 233, 238, 218, 237.
 22. Illustrated in color in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Les Peintres calligraphes de l'Iran musulman," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 314 (April, 1978), fig. 2.
 23. Illustrated in *Treasures of Persian Art after Islam: The Mahboubian Collection* (New York, 1970), no. 978
 24. Illustrated in color and full size in Ernst Grube, *Islamic Painting from the 10th to the 18th Century in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus* (New York, n.d.), no. 70, pl. XVII.
 25. Illustrated in Francis Richard, *Splendeurs persanes: Manuscrits du XIIe au XIle siècle* (Paris 1997), p. 164.
 26. For a color reproduction, see Cağman and Tanındı, *Islamic Miniature Painting*, fig. 36.
 27. Illustrated in F. Cağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts from the Topkapi Palace Treasury in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Relations," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 136.
 28. Discussed in ibid. For a reproduction, see B. W. Robinson, "Persian and Pre-Mughal Indian Painting," *The Keir Collection: Islamic Painting and the Art of the Book* (London 1976), pl. 24.
 29. See Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pl. XVIIIc.
 30. For reproductions of the St. Petersburg paintings, see M. M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII-Century Miniatures* (Dushanbe, 1974), pp. 62–65.
 31. For reproductions, see Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, pp. 242.
 32. For a complete illustration, see Ernst J. Grube, *The Classical Style in Islamic Painting: The Early School of Herat and Its Impact on Islamic Painting of the Later 15th 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lugano, 1968), pl. 80.
 33. Quality considerations, for instance, disqualify the *fête champêtre* (Basil W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library* [London, 1976], no. 210) despite its many Muhammadi characteristics.
 34. B. W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library* (London, 1958), p. 138.
 35. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pp. 54–55.
 36. For samples of Shaykh Muhammad's tinted drawings, see, for instance, Esin Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington, D.C., 1978), p. 49, and the imperial hunt on p. 14 which is also attributable to him.
 37. Other Muhammadi characteristics, such as the plane tree or the reclining youth in P18 and P20, can be traced to prototypes created by Mirza 'Ali for fol. 52a of the Freer *Haft Awrang*. For a general discussion of Mirza 'Ali's stylistic development, see Dickson and Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh*, 1: 129–53. For signed works of the artist and further attributions see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 170–75; and Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pp. 55–56.

38. I had earlier identified the painter of fol. 59a, 188a, 275a, that S. C. Welch had attributed to Ghadimi, as 'Abdullah Shirazi; Soudavar, *Arts of the Persian Courts*, pp. 229 and 258. Having recently examined folio 100b, I can confirm that this one is also by the same hand.
39. It is interesting to note that for Persian chroniclers the library of Ibrahim Mirza did not qualify as royal since Isma'il II is credited with "reviving" the royal library; see, for instance, Iskandar Beg-i Munshi-yi Turkaman, *Tārikh-i 'alām ārāyi 'abbāsi*, ed. I. Afshar, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Tehran 1350/1971), 1:175.
40. I had earlier dated this painting to ca. 1565 (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 237). The new dating is mostly based on the assumption that highly elaborate single drawings of Safavid princesses—such as the ex-Cartier "Seated Princess" (Sackler Museum, Cambridge 1958.60)—must be actual portraits. Too few exist to believe that they were prototypes of Persian beauties and constituted a distinct genre of painting. On the other hand, it is quite likely that the ex-Cartier princess represents Tahmasp's sister Soltanum, and the present one represents his daughter. They were each influential in their own time (perhaps because they were "the eyes of Tahmasp"), but as women they could not aspire to replace him and were thus more trustworthy than his rebellious brothers.
41. A closely related painting is St. Petersburg, State Public Library, Dorn 429, fol. 37, which combines strong features of both Mirza 'Ali and Muhammadi; see Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry*, p. 59. Not having seen the actual painting, it is impossible for me to decide between the two.
42. Compare also the bearded man in fig. 12 with the one at the bottom of P3.
43. Illustrated in Atıl, *Brush of the Masters*, p. 46.
44. Only two other artists among Muhammadi's contemporaries rose to this level of portraiture. One is Shaykh Muhammad, whose abilities and activity were diminished by this time, and the other is Farrukh Beg, who could depict elaborate portraits but had a limited repertoire. Differences in facial and turban details also allow us to distinguish one hand from the other. For instance, Shaykh Muhammad's turbans are bulkier than Muhammadi's, which are loosely wrapped and with a longer tail. As for Farrukh Beg, the eyes that he depicts are almond shaped and curled with a closed contour line, while Muhammadi's upper and lower contour lines usually remain separated at the two ends; Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," p. 57.
45. Iskandar Beg, *Tārikh*, 1:288.
46. Qadi Ahmad-i Qumi, *Khulāsat al-tāwarikh*, ed. I. Ishraqi, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1980), 2: 740.
47. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 227–28.
48. Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," pp. 134–35.
49. See, for instance, Qumi, *Khulāsat*, 2:702, and the colophon of the 1581 *Sifāt al-āshiqīn*, which names him as the one with the dignity of Asaf; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, p. 227.
50. The sentence after the name Sulayman now reads "*Allāh (1) yūkhallid zilāli jamālihi . . . wa (2) ihfiz. . . .*" The first wish formula is awkward and grammatically wrong when connected to the latter part of the sentence, because the "*Allāh*" that it contains cannot serve the second wish verb. He should have written "*Allāhuma khallid . . . wa ihfiz. . . .*"
51. Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," p. 136.
52. Our attribution of these two illustrations is based on the strong affinity that they display with another painting, of Zahhak enthroned, attributed to the same artist (AHT no. 99), especially in the treatment of heavily bearded figures, tightly curled ostrich feathers, and dense tufts of grass; see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 250–51.
53. The justification for this attribution rests on landscape characteristics (see table 1), and the similarity of faces as argued on page 62 (compare also some of the bearded men in P11 with the one in TD6). The inscription on P11 reads '*amali Bihzād Ibrāhīmī*' and on P12 '*amali-i Bihzād*'.
54. The painter of fol. 85b, which unlike the rest of the illustrated pages has no margin illumination and may be a later addition, has yet to be determined.
55. For a list of manuscripts sent ca. 1587, see, for instance, I. Hakkı Danismend, *Zayıl Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi* (İstanbul, 1947), 3:117 (I am indebted to Lale Uluç for providing me with this reference).
56. Qumi, *Khulāsat*, 2:746.
57. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," p. 59. Mirza-Hakim was the brother of Akbar Padshah.
58. Ibid., pp. 56–59.
59. This painting was previously attributed to Shaykh Muhammad by S. C. Welch. For the reattribution reasoning, see Soudavar, *ibid.*, p. 57.
60. Leopards with the same head and loose spots appear in P2, P19, TD3 and TD1.
61. Iskandar Beg, *Tārikh* 1:289.
62. For a description of *shuturghu* (*shudurghu*), see 'Abd-al Qadir Maraghi, *Maqāṣid al-ahān*, ed. T. Binesh (Tehran, 1356/1977), p. 130 (I am indebted to Dr. M. Khoshzamir for this reference).
63. Iskandar Beg, *Tārikh*, 1:191.
64. For yellow-tone paintings, see a color reproduction of TD7 (fig. 27) in Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 46; and the picture of three ladies relaxing, from the Nour collection, reproduced in Robinson, "Muhammadi," pl. XI.
65. See color reproduction of a youth holding a bow and arrow (fig. 30) in Christie's *Islamic Art, Indian Miniatures, Rugs and Carpets, Sale of 19 October 1993*, London, lot 105.
66. Hamza Mirza argued that "the Qizلبash cemetery (*gurkhāna*)" was in Tabriz and that he was obligated to get it back, Iskandar Beg, *Tārikh*, 1:345.
67. Iskandar Beg, *Tārikh*, 1:344–46.
68. Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," p. 132.
69. The most important manuscript gift was probably the group sent by Isma'il II to Sultan Murad; Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 164 and 250. Çağman and Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts," p. 144.
70. Qumi, *Khulāsat*, 2:893.
71. Chances are that the members of the Persian delegation were as ignorant about painters as were their Ottoman counterparts, for access to libraries and paintings was a privilege that very few beside royalty had.
72. The reputed 1587 date of Mustafa 'Ali's treatise may seem

- to contradict our theory, because the Safavid envoys who may have left in 1587 probably did not reach Istanbul before 1590; see B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmâni-Iran Siyâsi Münâsebetleri (1578-1612)* (Istanbul, 1993), p. 196. However, not having seen the actual manuscript, and applying recently formulated advice (see A. Soudavar, "The Concepts of *al-aqdamo a'ahh* and *yaqin-e sâbeq* and the Problem of Semi-Fakes," *Studia Iranica* 28, no. 2 (1999): 255–69), I hesitate to discard a plausible theory for the sake of an unverified date, especially when other possibilities can be envisaged in support of this theory. Like Qadi Ahmad who wrote a first version of *Gulistân-i hunar* and modified it some ten years later, Mustafa 'Ali may have written a first version in 1587 and updated it later on. More important, the *Divân* of Hafiz manuscript may have been given to the Ottoman delegation while Hamza Mirza was still alive and was conducting negotiations with Farhad Pasha. Alternatively, Mustafa 'Ali may have seen the Safavid delegation before they arrived in Istanbul.
73. Welch wrongly states that Prince 'Abbas was abducted to Mashhad in 1581 (Anthony Welch, "Painting and Patronage under Shah 'Abbas I," *Iranian Studies* 7 [1974]: 469), a mistake that Robinson repeats (*Muhammadi*, p. 20). According to Qadi Ahmad he was abducted in 994 (1586), Qumi, *Khulâsat*, 2:795.
74. The sales catalogue indicates six paintings but reproduces only one, Boisgirard, Hotel Georges V, Sale of 30 October 1975, lot 479. Muhammadi may have painted more than one of them. For a description of the manuscript, see also Barbara Schmitz, "Miniature Painting in Harat, 1570–1640," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981, pt. 2, ms. LVIII and pl. 285.
75. Iskandar Beg, *Târikh*, 1:553. For a painting signed by Turabi stating that it was painted at the "library-atelier of Qulbaba Kukaltash," see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Les Peintres calligraphes de l'Iran musulman," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 314 (April 1978), fig. 4.
76. Iskandar Beg, *Târikh*, 1:551.
77. It is interesting to note that we have once again a Herati manuscript with multiple layers of meaning. For other examples of such manuscripts and the Heratis' penchant for *mu'ammâs* and multiple-layered allegories, see Soudavar, "Towti'a-yi uzmâ," pp. 51–79; also, Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, cat. nos. 36 a–c, 56 a–b and 90 a–c.
78. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pp. 55 and 60.
79. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, pp. 261 and 267.
80. See, for instance, Sheila Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1996), p. 229, fig. 20.
81. See also the exquisite "Youth holding a bow and arrow" referred to above, n. 65.
82. Welch, "Painting and Patronage under Shah Abbas," p. 501; Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer*, pp. 44 and 198.
83. Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer*, pp. 44 and 198. Riza also used the epithet *ustâd* when referring to Bihzâd; see Robinson, *Keir Collection*, pl. 88.