

THE AGE OF MUHAMMADI

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Introduction

Shah Isma'il's (r. 1501-24) emphasis on educating his sons in the fine arts together with the activation of the royal library-atelier for the great *Shāhnāma* project promised an ever expanding horizon for the future of Persian painting. But Shah Tahmasb's (r. 1524-76) early disenchantment with painting,¹ followed by the precipitated death of his brothers cut short all such prospects. 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. And yet, Persian painting continued to flourish as new modes of expression were tested and attempts were made to brake the molds 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 Ozbeg occupation of 1588-98, he was probably considered a "defector" unworthy of being listed among Safavid royal painters.² Thus, his name is bypassed by Qazi Ahmad and only mentioned briefly by Iskandar Beyg as a member of a small group of secondary painters upon whom he did not wish to elaborate. While his merits as a painter are censored in Persian chronicles, an Ottoman source, the 1587 *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān* of Mustafa `Ali, praises one Muhammad or Muhammadi Beyg who executed multiple-figure scenes (*majālis*) and engaged in the production of lacquer book-covers, 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 c. 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 *Divān* of Hafiz,⁵ as proof of the artist's stay in that city even though the physical evidence contained in the manuscript provides indications to the contrary. Indeed, as argued elsewhere, the *Celebration of `Id* painting (AHT no. 59) from this *Divān* is glued over an original page of the manuscript, a sign that the painter was away from the production place of the manuscript, and also, Sultan-Muhammad who signed his name under the feet of his patron Shah Tahmasb, used the designation *`Iraqi* to point out that it was a product of the `Iraq atelier (i.e. Tabriz atelier) as opposed to the Herati one.⁶ Moreover, Robinson relied on a selective translation provided by Sakisian. The original text recognized Muhammadi Beyg 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 further complicate the issue, Mustafa `Ali mentions another artist by the name of Sultan-Muhammad Heravī an -unrecognized- master painter with "shining creations" (*bāhir al-`jād*) who had been a disciple of Mihrab Beyg. The latter was a painter from the library-atelier of Isma'il II⁸ but his works display 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, to work with.

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 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 very process of painters' 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 painters 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 a master status that a painter dared to venture outside the mainstream. Thus, either prior to, or in parallel with, his idiosyncratic style of painting, Muhammadi must have engaged in manuscript illustration. Three such paintings plus a single portrait (P2, P3, P4, P5 see below) were previously attributed by this author to Muhammadi.¹⁰ They were all rejected by Robinson who also argued that the dating of P4 should be c. 1590.¹¹ As we shall see, he was wrong on the rejection of the attributions but right on the dating even though he used the wrong argument.¹²

Of the generally accepted tinted drawings by Muhammadi, we shall rely on the following seven:

- TD1- *Sultan by a Stream*, AHT no. 94.¹³
- TD2- *Frontispiece*, TKS (R1012)¹⁴
- TD3- *Hunting scene*, TKS (H2166, fol. 20b top)¹⁵
- TD4- *Lion hunt*, British Museum¹⁶
- TD5- *Hamza Mirza entertained*, (MFA, 14.587), fig. 21
- TD6- *Pastoral scene*, Musée du Louvre, Inv. 7111¹⁷
- TD7- *Lovers by a stream*, (MFA, 14. 528), fig. 27¹⁸

to attribute a series of paintings to him and to trace his career from one patron to another.¹⁹

List of paintings attributable to Muhammadi:

- P1- *Yusuf tends his flock*, FGA (46.12 fol. 110b), fig. 2²⁰
- P2- *The throwing of the impostor*, AHT no. 90b, fig. 5²¹
- 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*, RAM, figs. 9-10²²
- P7- *A holy man and the king's envoy/Holy man and the prostitute*, RAM, figs. 11-12²³
- P8- *Sa'di bidding farewell to his companion*, RAM, figs 7-8
- P9- *Sa'di in a court of law*, Private collection, fig. 6²⁴

- P10- *Shahi offering a flower to the princess*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Suppl. Persan 1962, fol. 1v²⁵
- P11- *Gathering of dervishes*, TKS (H. 986, fol. 21b), fig. 6²⁶
- P12- *Prince and his retinue*, TKS (H986, fol. 36b)
- P13- *Prince feasting in an outdoor pavilion*, TKS (H986, fol. 111b), fig. 13²⁷
- P14- *Lovers in a pavilion*, Keir collection, Surrey²⁸
- P15- *The Prophet Moses carrying a sheep*, TKS (H1483, fol. 109a), fig. 24²⁹
- P16- *A turtle's flight*, GPB (Dorn 426, fol. 50)³⁰
- P17- *An old man with a maiden*, GPB (Dorn 426, fol. 64)
- P18- *The poet and the stout noble*, GPB (Dorn 426, fol. 74)
- P19- *Frontispiece*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (LA 159, 1a - 2b)³¹
- P20- *Encampment in the mountain*, The Minneapolis Institute of Art (43.31.2), fig. 25³²
- P21- *Seated ruler reflecting upon his drinking bouts*, private collection, fig. 26

Stylistic Analysis

Tinted drawing is perhaps the most difficult and most demanding technique of 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 *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, with a 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 shall facilitate our task. In our search for Muhammadi's works, it naturally guides us to only look for paintings of the highest quality. As candidates for top-quality works will always be few, one may even use a process of elimination to reach a conclusion.³³ A second observation is that speed is of essence to dexterity in ink drawing and therefore signs of a quick hand must also be noticeable in Muhammadi's paintings. With these general observations in mind, we shall proceed to establish more concrete characteristics based on generally accepted works of Muhammadi. These characteristics are by no means exclusive. In the very repetitive style of Persian painting, they are to appear in the works of predecessors, contemporaries and

followers. What qualifies them as Muhammad's characteristics is their frequency, and differences in pattern with other painters. They are described hereunder and summarized in tables 1, 2 and 3:

- A. Water - a water stream is almost always present in Muhammadi's compositions to the extent that even in a sparse work such as TD7 (fig. 27) it appears at the very bottom of the painted area.
- B. Stone & leaves - Rock pieces with short fat leaves and flowers that spring from underneath, border his water streams and are scattered throughout the landscape.
- C. Goats - He is very fond of pastoral scenes with goats, one of which is usually depicted in white and black or palomino combinations.
- D. Deer - He seems to prefer lowland variety animals; consequently his mountain goats look like long horned versions of farm goats or plain-variety deer.
- E. Foxes - The fox is almost always present, whether in plain or 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. Tad-pole clouds - small isolated tad-pole like clouds can be considered as one of his signature motifs (see table 1).
- G. Thin baton - His Qizilbash batons are usually drawn very thin (fig. 6)
- H. Striped-turbans - Richly decorated turbans in stripe patterns start to appear in his work after 1580. The quickly drawn zigzagging line of his turban-tails is 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 - He favors green tufts with heavy leaves over the usual hairline tufts
- K. Blue and red flowers - As a painter with a quick-hand, he fills the landscape (or 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 a white or other contrasting contour lines.
- L. Bushes adorned with blossoms and flowers pop out from every rock formation.
- M. He uses heavy pointillism for the rendering of yellowing grass
- N. The dark green surfaces of many of his paintings have cracked over time

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 minimum scroll lines (or none at all), over blue, black or plain paper.

























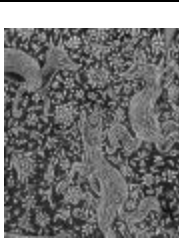


	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
TD1	•	•													
TD2	•	•			•		•								
TD3					•		•								
TD4	•	•			•	•									
TD5	•	•			•		•						•		
TD6	•	•	•												
TD7	•	•					•								
P1	•	•	•		•			•			•	•	•	•	•
P2	•	•	•	•	•			•			•	•	•	•	•
P3	•	•	•		•			•				•	•	•	•
P4	•	•										•	•	•	•
P5				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

Table 1

Ibrahim Mirza

Highly impressed by Muhammadi's "outstanding abilities," Robinson wrote in 1958 that "it may be,

	
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		

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*. His single contribution, *Yusuf tends his flock* (P2), puts him in the company of some of the greatest Safavid artists such as Aqa Mirak, `Abd al-`Aziz, Muzaffar `Ali, Mirza `Ali and Shaykh Muhammad all of whom influenced his

stylistic development. The most influential painters of this group were undoubtedly the latter two who joined the Mashhad library-atelier of Ibrahim Mirza after a short passage at the Mughal court.³⁵ Shaykh Muhammad's tumultuous and unbounded mountain setting in *Majnūn approaches 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 paintings³⁷ 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.³⁸ Indeed, a quick comparison between *Qays first glimpses Layli* attributed to Muzaffar `Ali (an attribution that we accept)³⁹ and fig. 2 demonstrates an opposite attention to weight and balance: whereas the goat of Muzaffar `Ali floats in mid-air and its hoofs fail to reach the steps incorporated in the rock formations, the goat of Muhammadi stands in perfect balance 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) with the exception that his foot rests on his shovel. It is a common resting position among the farmers of Iran, one that Muhammadi had keenly observed and translated into drawing. Most of Muhammadi's other characteristics, including the prominent water stream, the red and blue flowers (under the feet of Yūsuf), the pair of foxes and the signature tad-pole clouds are already present in this painting. This painting was probably added to the *Haft Awrang* after the completion of the calligraphy, perhaps c.1565-70, during the prince's semi-exile to 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 Tahmasb was succeeded by his son Isma`il who revived the royal library atelier.⁴⁰ 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 the princess Pari-khan Khanum, Tahmasb'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.⁴¹ It is to this same period that we attribute the exquisite little painting of the *Dīvān* of Amir Shahi (P9) with its tad-pole clouds, prominently displayed red and blue flowers, pointillism technique and its heavy tufts on the mountain side. The overall composition and the elegant figures once again betray the strong influence of Mirza `Ali.⁴²

Ibrahim Mirza and most 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 for loss of patronage and out of economical 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 (1578)" belongs to this period and was probably produced on the artist's own initiative and perhaps for "stock." Such must also be the case of several closely related tinted drawings such as TD2.

As the Safavid court gathered first around the queen, Mahd-i Uliā' (d. 1579), and subsequently, around the heir apparent, Hamza Mirza, courtly patronage of illustrated manuscripts must have resumed. A once exquisite manuscript of c.1580 that incorporates the *Gulistān* of Sa'di at the center, and the *Bustān* on margins, is probably from this period. Four of its dispersed pages (P6, P7, P8 and P9) are attributable to Muhammadi. Their landscape incorporate 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),⁴³ 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 head-gears at the bottom of fig.6 with those in fig. 13), and some like fig. 10 show once again Muhammadi's prowess at producing elaborate faces. Tinted drawings such as TD1, TD5, TD6 and especially *Dancing sufis* (FGA 46.15)⁴⁴ show that, unlike most other artists who make repeated use of set characters, Muhammadi constantly produced new figures.⁴⁵

The 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 Beyg he acquired all the trappings of Qizilbash warlords including "troops, drums and standards."⁴⁶ To further solidify his position he married his daughter to the crown-prince Hamza Mirza (1566-86), and by the time he defeated the rebellious Shamlu contingent 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 (*fatḥnāma*) without even mentioning the name of the Shah or the crown-prince.⁴⁷ 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 *Ṣifāt al-`āshiqān* (AHT no. 90) that was commissioned by Mirza Salman as present for Hamza Mirza.⁴⁸ Three painters were involved in its production: Shaykh Muhammad, Muhammadi and `Abdallah Shirazi. A closely related manuscript is the intriguing and convoluted *Dīvān* of Hafiz, TKS H986. Its core comprises eight miniatures and the text of the *Dīvān*, with a dated colophon (October 18, 1581) on folio 209b (fig. 16, "second colophon" hereafter). The core is preceded by a four-page introduction dated March 1586 (folio 4a, fig. 15, "first colophon" hereafter), and followed by a problematic one-page third colophon that praises a certain Sultan Sulaymam (fig. 17). A recent study identifies the patron of the manuscript as Sulayman Khalifa, the Qizilbash governor of Tun and Tabas.⁴⁹ We shall argue that the core was made for Mirza Salman, entered the royal library when his belongings were confiscated, and that the preface was added later on.

The first colophon of 1586 gives the calligrapher's name as Sultan-Husayn b. Qasim al-Tuni and specifies that it was penned in Tun. However, identifying the governor of Tun, Sulayman Khalifa, as the original patron raises many questions. How did the manuscript end up in Ottoman possession? Why did Sulayman Khalifa depart 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 to readily accept Sulayman Khalifa as the original patron of this manuscript. Had he been the real patron and assuming that the calligrapher would have added the epithet Sultan (an honorific title that was bestowed on many warlords at that time), the Qizilbash nobility title, Khalifa, which was an integral part of his father's and

grandfather's names, Suhrab Khalifa and Ansar Khalifa respectively, should have been kept. On the other hand, in the third colophon (undated), the calligrapher which begins with the praise of an unspecified patron referred to simply as Sultan - a title that in view of Mirza Salman's assumption of military powers suited him well - continues with a laudatory description of his accomplished qualities, and emphasizes that he had accompanied said Sultan on his travels. The colophon then continues with four lines of poetry that laud the patron's literary and oratory skills (skills that were essential for a vizier and that Turkish-speaking Qizilbash warlords usually lacked) and considers him as the one who brought value 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 cited example of the perfect vizier.⁵⁰ Also, while the immensely rich vizier could well afford to keep calligraphers and painters in his retinue when travelling, the governor of the impoverished province of Tun and Tabas could probably 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,⁵¹ and having not examined the manuscript at close hand it is hard to tell what happened to the colophon. Nevertheless, the identity of the painters also points out to the patronage of Mirza Salman. Folios 129a and 156a have been correctly attributed by Z. Tanindi to `Abdallah Shirazi,⁵² folios 54b and 170b (see fig. 14) are attributable to Mir Zayn al-`abidin,⁵³ and folios 21b (P10), 36b (P11) and 111b (P12) to Muhammadi despite inscriptions ascribing two of them to an unknown Bihzad or Bihzad-i Ibrahimi.⁵⁴ To the latter group must also be added a detached folio (P13) presently in the Keir collection. As two of these artists contributed to the *Şifāt al-`āshiqān* of Mirza Salman, his patronage of the *Divān* core becomes more likely.⁵⁵ Furthermore, in the list of gifts sent to the Porte c. 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 so defined *Divān* of Hafiz can be found among TKS manuscripts.⁵⁶ Therefore, we can assume that the later additions to the *Divān* - done in 1586, just prior to the manuscript 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 June 13, 1583 and all of his belongings including manuscripts were confiscated for the royal treasury.⁵⁷ Shortly after, Hamza Mirza's companion and chief painter, Farrukh Beyg, quit the Safavid court to join the Mughal prince Mirza-, akim in Kabul.⁵⁸ As suggested in a parallel study that traces Farrukh Beyg's Mughal career back to its Safavid origins, he had been commissioned by Hamza Mirza to complete an unfinished *Haft awrang* of Jami (TKS, H.1483) originally produced for Ibrahim Mirza.⁵⁹ Twenty nine of its paintings, including a double page frontispiece that depicts the marriage scene 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 the project after the departure of Farrukh Beyg, c.1583. The two artists' paths had crossed before: at the atelier of Ibrahim Mirza where, like Muhammadi, Farrukh Beyg contributed a single painting to the 1556-65 *Haft awrang: Bandits attack the caravan of `Aynia and Riya* (fol. 64.b).⁶⁰ Although both painters had a similar career early on and were influenced by the same artists, they each developed their own styles. The comparison of P15 that Muhammadi contributed to the Istanbul *Haft-awrang* (fig. 24) with a similar scene painted by Farrukh Beyg (fig. 23) for the same manuscript illustrates their diverging tendencies: Farrukh Beyg's composition has become more austere, his rock formations striated and more dramatic, his leopard spots are immaculately organized in dark pentagonal or hexagonal shapes, and he correctly differentiates plain deer, mountain goats and moufflons, while the painting by Muhammadi displays a joyful scenery sprinkled with flowers and blossoming tree branches, whitely mottled mushrooming rock-formations, a loosely spotted leopard⁶¹ 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 bear a testimony to this effect. The first is a tinted drawing of c. 1583-84 presently in Boston (TD5, see fig. 21). It depicts a young prince, seventeen or eighteen years old,

seated on a golden throne (i.e. a royal throne). It can



Fig. 23. Detail of TKS H1483, fol. 109a

only represent Hamza Mirza whose suzerainty had been reacknowledged by the Herati supporters of his younger brother `Abbas who had been previously elevated to the throne of Herat.⁶² A further detail strengthens this assumption. The musician closest to the prince holds an unusual instrument that is a cross-breed between the lute and the mandolin, called the *shaturghā*.⁶³ Iskandar Beyg recounts that Shams al-din-i Shaturghūhi (i.e. the player of *shaturghā*) was a constant companion of Hamza Mirza.⁶⁴ The second work is a portrait of `Ali Quli Khan Shamlu, prince `Abbas' guardian and commander of Herat (see fig. 20). An inscription by Muhammadi reads: "Was drawn by the order of the *Nawwāb Jahān-bāni* (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 Jahān-bāni* is a term that Iskandar Beyg and Qazi Ahmad consistently used when referring to Hamza Mirza. Furthermore, the seal mark of Shah `Abbas I engraved with the date of his first regnal year (995/1587), i.e. three years later

than

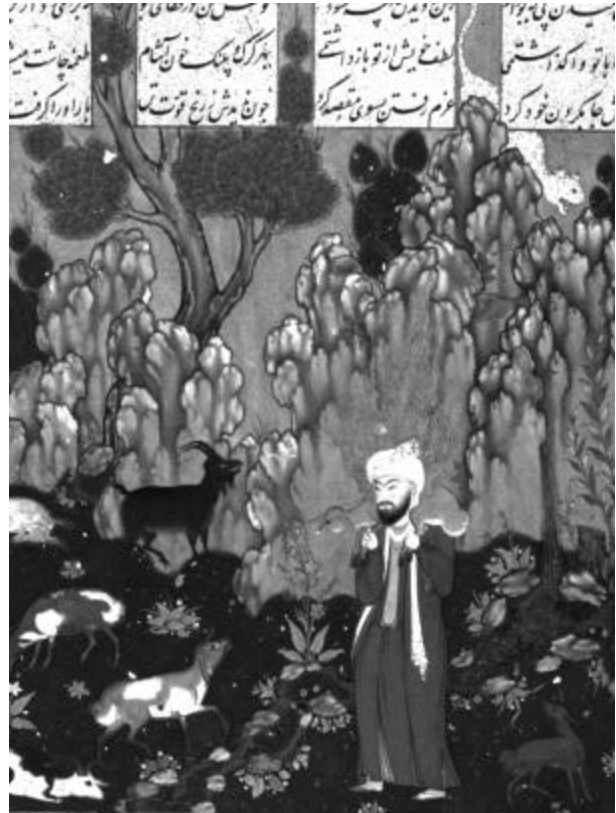


Fig. 24. Detail of TKS H1483, fol. 130b

the painting date, indicates that the drawing wasn't made for `Abbas but only entered in 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 services of Hamza Mirza as he embarked in the production of tinted drawings with a dominant background color, switching from green to yellow⁶⁵ to pale earth-tones.⁶⁶ His masterpiece in this mode of painting is undoubtedly a green-toned double page frontispiece subsequently inserted in a *Divān* of Hilali copied in 1554 (TD3).

Gifts sent with the young Haydar Mirza

In 1584, the Ottomans resumed hostilities and captured Tabriz. As the Qizilbash army counterattacked, they abandoned most of the city but held on to the citadel. Both sides had suffered casualties and were ready to sign a new peace treaty but a major bone of contention was the citadel of Tabriz. The Ottomans did not want to relinquish their control while Hamza Mirza,

who was willing to concede the majority of the Ottomans' territorial gains, insisted on getting it back.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ Hamza Mirza accepted to send his infant son Haydar Mirza but as he returned to plan for his son's departure and accompanying gifts, he was assassinated December 4, 1586. Since Murad III was a bibliophile and an avid collector,⁶⁹ the accompanying gifts were bound to include illustrated manuscripts. But the past gifts to the Ottomans had depleted the royal Safavid library,⁷⁰ and therefore gift preparation probably involved the refurbishment of older library manuscripts or recent acquisitions through confiscation. Because of a lack of talented calligrapher whose skills could complement those of Muhammadi and Farrukh Beyg, Hamza Mirza presumably reverted to the practice of refurbishing older manuscripts with added frontispieces and new lacquer bindings. One such binding, that we also ascribe to Muhammadi, covers a *Divān* of Amir Shahi copied by Shah Mahmud Neyshaburi in 1542 (TKS, R. 999, fig. 22).

Shah `Abbas I who was officially enthroned in 995/1587 kept the promise of his elder brother and upon arrival in Qazvin sent the young Haydar Mirza to the Porte together with "worthy presents"⁷¹ that certainly comprised works that Hamza Mirza had amassed for his own library, including the magnificent *Haft awrang* painted by Farrukh Beyg, and works that had been confiscated from Mirza Salman such as the above mentioned *Divān* 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 "Bihzad-i Ibrahimi" qualified the work as one painted by the Bihzad-like painter who was affiliated to the court of Ibrahim Mirza, and "Sultan-Muhammad Heravi" made allusion to the Herati painter who was comparable to Sultan-Muhammad. Sultan-Muhammad's name must have also been mentioned in conjunction with the contributions of his grandson, Mir Zayn al-`abidin, to said *Divān*.

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.⁷² 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 and advertisement.⁷³

Qulbaba Kukaltash

Muhammadi remained in Herat after the demise of Hamza Mirza, and after `Ali-quli Khan lost the prized guardianship of prince `Abbas.⁷⁴ The Ozbeg `Abdallah 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 Ozbegs and Muhammadi eventually entered the services of Qulbaba. 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 Ozbeg capture of Herat. They all display the typical Muhammadi striped turbans and landscape, while the silhouettes have grown more elongated.

To the Ozbeg period we can confidently ascribe Muhammadi's contributions to a sumptuous *Gulistān* of Sa`di (P21, fig. 26),⁷⁵ P3, P20, as well as an illustrated colophon page of c.1590 (P4). All of them display turbans wrapped around the pointed Ozbeg cap, and P3 and P20 which come from the same manuscript, have both Bukhara type stenciled margins on the back. Interestingly, P20 and P21 display the same Ozbeg ruler holding a book or being presented one (see figs. 21-22). It undoubtedly represents Qulbaba who maintained an active library in Herat, patronized intellectuals and artists and composed poetry.⁷⁶ 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 entry.⁷⁷ The composition thus



Fig. 25. Detail of P19

depicts `Abd al-mu'min outside the citadel receiving a pouch of money from an attendant as a parody for 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.⁷⁸

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 Beyg,⁷⁹ 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 *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 in order to induce a perception of movement in his drawings.⁸⁰ The thin branch of white lilies, a trademark of Riza's earlier



Fig. 26. Detail of P20

works, is a motif that Shaykh Muhammad first used in *Kneeling youth reading* (Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. K3427)⁸¹ and that Muhammadi subsequently adopted (see figs. 29, 30).⁸² 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 them as such in notations below drawings.⁸³ But the two were not equal in his mind: while he referred to Shaykh Muhammad with a respectful *mowlānā* epithet, he qualified Muhammadi as *ustād* (master), the penultimate praise that a painter could bestow on a predecessor.⁸⁴

Chastised in official Safavid chronicles for the sin of serving the Ozbegs in Herat, Mohammadi's high stature

in the milieu of Persian painters is nevertheless reflected in the glorifying terms that his contemporaries and followers used when referring to him: the master from Herat, the Bihzad of his age.

Abbreviations for museum and art institution names

AHT = Art and History Trust Collection, courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

BM = British Museum, London

FGA = Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

GPB = State Public Library, St Petersburg

MFA = Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

RAM = Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran

TKS = Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul

¹ Tahmasp's disenchantment with painting was previously attributed to religious fanaticism; see Dickson, M. B., and Welch, S. C., *The Houghton Shahnama*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1981, p. 45. For a new theory that attributes his sudden lack of interest in secular arts to a hereditary ophthalmic deficiency see Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pp. 51-52.

² A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, New York 1992, p. 237.

³ Mustafa `Ali (1926), p.64. The actual published Turkish text names the artist as Muhammad Beyg, with the caveat that one of the referenced manuscript texts 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*, vol. XXX, 1992, p.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 & Art of Old Painters of Iran*, London 1991, vol. 3, p.1103. Karimzadeh though, quotes a different passage of the *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān* but provides a quote from the modern scholar Fikrī Saljuqi in regards to Muhammadi's affiliation with Sultan-Muhammad.

⁵ The manuscript is now split between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Sackler Museum at Harvard and AHT.

⁶ Soudavar, A., "TawT'a-yi uŋma wa Abu'l-Muŋaffar Shah Ṭahmasb Ṣafavi," in *Iranshenasi*, Washington D.C. 1997, vol. IX, no.1, pp. 56-57.

⁷ Mustafa `Ali, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, Istanbul 1926, p. 64. Sultan-Muhammad was by all accounts senior to Aqa Mirak.

⁸ A. Welch, *Artists for the Shah*, New Haven and London 1976, p. 213, figs. 63-64.

⁹ Robinson, *Muhammadi*, pp. 18 and 28. As for drawings that Robinson attributes to Muhammadi we reject those he lists as M26 and M16 as too weak and disjointed to be by this artist (several copies of M16 exist and all seem to be fake).

¹⁰ Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 217, 232, 237-39.

¹¹ B.W. Robinson, "An Amir Khusraw *Khamsa* of 1581," *IRAN*, London 1997, vol. XXXV, p. 40.

¹² Robinson's dating though rests on the appearance of white spots on its hill tops. The same spots, however, appear as early as 1582 *Ṣifāt al-`āshiqīn*, in works of both Muhammadi and `Abdallah Shirazi (AHT nos. 90a and b). As we shall see, the decisive argument is the Ozbeg affiliation. Our initial dating was based on the observation that execution wise, 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 For a color reproduction see Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 240.

¹⁴ F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, *Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul 1979), p. 49, no. 104.

¹⁵ Illustrated in A. Welch, "Painting and Patronage under Shah `Abbas I," *Iranian Studies*, 1974, vol. VII nos 3-4, p. 502

¹⁶ Illustrated in F.R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey*, (London 1968, reprint), pl. 143b.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ For a color reproductions see Robinson, *Persian*, p. 76.

¹⁹ 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 Cagman and Tanindi and Robinson (see note 14 infra). As for TD4, its strong affinity with TD3 suggests common authorship for the two.

²⁰ For a color reproduction see, M.S. Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang* (Washington D.C. 1997), p. 131

²¹ For color reproductions of P2-P5 see Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 233, 238, 218, 237

²² Illustrated in color in Melikian-Chirvani, A.S., "Les Peintres Calligraphes de l'Iran Musulman," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 314, Avril 1978, fig. 2.

²³ Illustrated in *Treasures of Persian art after Islam, The Mahboubian collection*, (n.a.) New York, 1970, no. 978

²⁴ Illustrated in color and full size E. 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 F. Richard, *Splendeurs persanes, Manuscrits du XIIe au XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1997), p. 164.

²⁶ For a color reproduction see Cagman and Tanindi, *Islamic*, fig. 36

²⁷ Illustrated in Cagman and Tanindi, *Remarks*, p. 136.

²⁸ Discussed in Cagman and Tanindi, *Remarks*, p. 136. 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*, pl. XVIIIc.

³⁰ For reproductions of the GPB paintings see M.M. Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik Poetry in XIV-XVII Centuries Miniatures*, Dushanbe, Tajikestan (1974), pp. 62-65.

³¹ For reproductions see Simpson, *Sultan*, pp. 242.

³² For a complete illustration see E.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 disqualifies *A fête champêtre* (B. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library*, London 1976, no. 210) despite many Muhammadi characteristics.

³⁴ B.W. Robinson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Paintings in the Bodleian Library*, London 1958, p.138.

³⁵ A. Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals: Art and Artists in Transition," *IRAN*, London 1999, vol. XXXVII, p. 54-55.

³⁶ For samples of Shaykh Muhammad's tinted drawings see for instance, E. 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 For a general discussion of Mirza `Ali's stylistic development see Dickson, and Welch, *The Houghton*, pp. 129-53. For signed works of the artist and further attributions see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 170-75; and Soudavar, "Between the Safavids and the Mughals," pp. 55-56.
- ³⁸ 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*.
- ³⁹ We had previously identified the painter of folios 59a, 188a, 275a, that S.C. Welch had attributed to Ghadimi, as `Abdullah Shirazi; Soudavar, *Arts*, pp. 229 and 258. Having recently examined folio 100b we can now confirm that this one too is by the same hand.
- ⁴⁰ 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 Beyg-i Munshi-yi Turkaman, *Tārīkh-i `ālam arā-yi `abbāsi*, ed. Afshar I., 2nd edition, Tehran 1350/1971, vol. 1, p. 175.
- ⁴¹ This painting was previously dated c. 1565 by this author Soudavar, *Art*, 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.
- ⁴² A closely related painting is GPB Dorn 429-fol. 37, which combines strong features of both Mirza `Ali and Muhammadi; see Ashrafi, *Persian-Tajik*, p. 59. Having not seen the actual painting it is impossible for us to decide between the two.
- ⁴³ Compare also the bearded man in our fig. 12 with the one at the bottom of P3.
- ⁴⁴ Illustrated in E. Atil, *The Brush of the masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Washington 1978), p. 46.
- ⁴⁵ Only two other artists amongst Muhammadi's contemporaries rise to this level of portraiture. One is Shaykh Muhammad whose abilities and activity was fairly diminished by this time, and the other is Farrukh Beyg who could depict elaborate portraits but had a limited repertoire. Differences in facial and turbans details also allow us to distinguish one hand from the other. For instance, Shaykh Muhammad turbans are bulkier than Muhammadi's, loosely wrapped and with a longer tail end. As for Farrukh Beyg, 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*, p. 57.
- ⁴⁶ Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 288.
- ⁴⁷ Qadi Ahmad-i Qomi, *Kholāsat al-tawārīkh*, ed. E. Eshraqi, Tehran, 1980, vol. 2, p. 740.
- ⁴⁸ Soudavar, *Art*, p. 227-28.
- ⁴⁹ F. Cagman and Z. Tanindi, "Remarks on some Manuscripts from the Topkapi Palace Treasury in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Relations," *Muqarnas*, vol. 13, Leiden 1996, pp. 134-35
- ⁵⁰ See for instance Qomi, *Kholāsat*, vol. 2, p. 702 and the colophon of the 1581 *Şifāt al-`āshiqīn* which names him as the one with dignity of Asaf; Soudavar, *Art*, p. 227.
- ⁵¹ The sentence after the name Sulayman now reads "Allāh (1) yukhallid *z*ilāli djamālihi ... wa (2) ihfiz ... "The first wish formula is awkward and becomes grammatically wrong in conjunction with 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 ..."
- ⁵² Cagman and Tanindi, *Remarks*, p. 136.
- ⁵³ Our attribution of these two illustrations is based on the strong affinity that they display with another painting attributed to the same artist, *Zahhak Enthroned* (AHT no.99), especially in the treatment of heavily bearded figures, highly curved ostrich feathers and dense grass tufts; see Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 250-51.
- ⁵⁴ The justification of this attributions rests on landscape characteristics (see table 1), and the similarity of faces as argued on page 3 (compare also some of the bearded men in P11 with the one in TD6). The inscription on P11 reads `amal-i Bihzad Ibrahimī - and on P12 `amal-i Bihzad.
- ⁵⁵ The painter of fol. 85b which unlike the rest of the illustrated pages has no margin illumination and may be a later addition is yet to be determined.
- ⁵⁶ For a list of manuscripts sent c. 1587 see for instance, I. Hakki Danismend, *Zayl Osmanli Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Istanbul, 1947, vol. III, p. 117 (I am indebted to L. Uluc for providing me this reference).
- ⁵⁷ Qomi, *Kholāsat*, vol. 2, p. 746.
- ⁵⁸ Soudavar, *Between*, p. 59. Mirza-Hakim was the brother of Akbar Padshah.
- ⁵⁹ Soudavar, *Between*, pp. 56-59.
- ⁶⁰ This painting was previously attributed to Shaykh Muhammad by S.C. Welch. For the reattribution reasoning see Soudavar, *Between*, p. 57.
- ⁶¹ Leopards with the same head and loose spots appear in P2, P19, TD3 and TD1.
- ⁶² Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol.1, p. 289
- ⁶³ For a description of *shuturghū*(*shudurghū*) see `Abd-al Qadir Maraghi, *Maqāṣid al-alḥān*, ed. T. Binesh, Tehran 1356/1977, p. 130 (I am indebted to Dr. M. Khoshzamid for this reference).
- ⁶⁴ Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol.1, p. 191.
- ⁶⁵ For yellow tone paintings see a color reproduction of TD7 (fig. 27) in Robinson, *Persian Drawings*, pl. 46; and *Three Ladies Relaxing* from the Nour collection reproduced in Robinson, *Muhammadi*, pl. XI.
- ⁶⁶ See color reproduction of *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.
- ⁶⁷ Hamza Mirza argued that "the Qizilbash cemetery (*gārkhāna*)" was in Tabriz and that he was obligated to get it back, Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 345.
- ⁶⁸ Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, pp. 344-46.
- ⁶⁹ Cagman and Tanindi, *Remarks*, p. 132.
- ⁷⁰ The most important manuscript gift was probably the group sent by Isma`il II to Sultan Murad; Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 164 and 250. Cagman and Tanindi, *Remarks*, p. 144.
- ⁷¹ Qomi, *Kholāsat*, vol. 2, p. 893.
- ⁷² Chances are that the members of the Persian delegation were as ignorant about painters as their Ottoman counterparts, for, access to libraries and paintings was a privilege that very few beside royalty shared.
- ⁷³ 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 didn't reach Istanbul before 1590; see Kütükoğlu, B., *Osmanlı-Iran Siyāsi Münāsebetleri (1578-1612)* Istanbul 1993, p. 196. However, having not seen the actual manuscript, and in application of a recently formulated advice (see Soudavar, A., "The concepts of *al-aqdāmo aṣāh* and *yaqīn-e sābeq* and the problem of semi-fakes," *Studia Iranica*, vol. 28, fasc. 2, pp. 255-69) I am hesitant to throw out a plausible theory for the sake of

- an unverified date, especially when other possibilities can be envisaged in support of this theory. Like Qazi Ahmad who wrote a first version of *Gulistan-i hunar* and modified it some 10 years later, Mustafa `Ali may have written a first version in 1587 and updated it later on. More importantly, the *Divān* 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 earlier than their arrival in Istanbul.
- ⁷⁴ Welch wrongly states that Prince `Abbas was abducted to Mashhad in 1581 (A. Welch, "Painting and Patronage Under Shah `Abbas I," *Iranian Studies*, vol. VII, 1974, p.469), a mistake that Robinson repeats; Robinson, *Muhammadi*, p. 20. According to Qazi Ahmad he was abducted in 994/1586, Qomi, *Kholāsat*, vol. 2, p.795.
- ⁷⁵ The sale catalog indicates six paintings but reproduced only one, Boisgirard, Hotel Georges V, Sale of Oct. 30 1975, lot 479. Muhammadi may have painted more than one of them. For a description of the manuscript see also B. Schmitz, *Miniatures Painting in Harat, 1570-1640* (Ph.D. thesis, NYU, 1581), part 2, ms. LVIII and pl. 285.
- ⁷⁶ Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 553. For a painting signed by Turabi stating that it was painted at the 'library-atelier of Qulbābā Kūkaltāsh" see A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Les Peintres Calligraphes de l'Iran Musulman," *Connaissance des Arts*, no. 314, April 1978, fig. 4.
- ⁷⁷ Iskandar Beyg, *Tārīkh*, vol. 1, p. 551.
- ⁷⁸ 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`amās* and multiple layered allegories, see Soudavar, "*Towāli`a-yi uflmā*," pp. 51-79; also, Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, cat. nos. 36 a-c, 56 a-b and 90 a-c.
- ⁷⁹ Soudavar, *Between*, pp. 55 and 60.
- ⁸⁰ Soudavar, *Art*, pp. 261 and 267.
- ⁸¹ See for instance S. Canby, *The rebellious reformer, The drawings and paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London 1996), p. 229, fig. 20.
- ⁸² See also the exquisite *Youth holding a bow and arrow* referred to supra note 66.
- ⁸³ Welch, *Painting*, p. 501; Canby, *The rebellious*, pp. 44 and 198.
- ⁸⁴ Canby, *The rebellious*, pp. 44 and 198. Riza also used the epithet *ustād* when referring to Bihzad; see Robinson, *Keir*, pl. 88.

Captions:

- Fig. 1 - Qays glimpses Layli (det.), Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (46.12-231a).
- Fig. 2 - Yusuf tends his flock, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. (46.12 fol. 110b)
- Fig. 3 - Sultan by a Stream, AHT no. 94.
- Fig. 4 - Detail of Fig. 3
- Fig. 5 - The throwing of the impostor, AHT no. 90b
- Fig. 6 - Sa`di in a court of law, Private collection
- Fig. 7 - Sa`di bidding farewell to his companion (det.), Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran
- Fig. 8 - Sa`di bidding farewell to his companion (det.), Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran
- Fig. 9 - Sa`di and the fallen pious man, Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran
- Fig. 10 - Sa`di and the fallen pious man, Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran

- Fig. 11 - A holy man and the king's envoy (det.) Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran
- Fig. 12 - Holy man and the prostitute (det.), Riza `Abbasi Museum, Tehran
- Fig. 13 - Prince and his retinue (det.), Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, fol. 36b)
- Fig. 14 - Young prince in a kiosk Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, 170b)
- Fig. 15 - First colophon, Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, fol. 4a)
- Fig. 16 - Second colophon, Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, fol. 209b)
- Fig. 17 - Third colophon, Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, fol. 210a)
- Fig. 18 - Gathering of dervishes, Topkapi Palace Museum (H986, fol. 21b)
- Fig. 19 - Hunting scene (det.), Topkapi Palace Museum (H2166, fol. 20b top)
- Fig. 20 - Portrait of `Ali-quli Khan (det.), Topkapi Palace Museum (H2166, fol. 20b bottom)
- Fig. 21 - Hamza Mirza entertained (det.), (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 14.587)
- Fig. 22 - Binding of Topkapi Palace Museum R999
- Fig. 23 - The seeker of truth and the reclusive sage (det.), Topkapi Palace Museum (H1483, fol. 109a)
- Fig. 24 - The Prophet Moses carrying a sheep (det.), Topkapi Palace Museum (H1483, fol. 130b)
- Fig. 25 - Encampment in the mountain, The Minneapolis Institute of Art (43.31.2)
- Fig. 26 - Qulbaba sending a gift to `Abd al-mu`min, Private collection.
- Fig. 27 - Lovers by a stream, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (14.528)
- Fig. 28 - Woman with a veil, AHT no. 109
- Fig. 29 - Seated princess (det.), AHT no. 92
- Youth with a bow and arrow (det.). Private collection.