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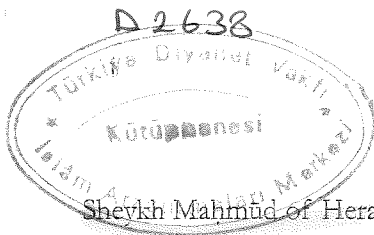
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Sheykh Maḥmūd of Herat

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Sheykh Maḥmūd of Herat is one of the most prominent and active calligraphers of the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.H. / 15<sup>th</sup> century A.D., of whom numerous works have survived. He was a skilled executor of the Nasta'liq style of writing, and was attached to the court of Pīr Budāq the Qara Qoyūnlū, and served as the copyist of his library in Shīrāz. There are several pieces by him in *the thulth*, *naskh*, and *nasta'liq* styles of calligraphy in two *moraqqa's* of Sultān Ya'qūb, which are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul.

The present paper includes a list of his dated works of which the places of execution are also known. These are pieces that have been executed between the years 863 and 871 A.H. (1459 and 1466 A.D.) in the cities of Herat, Yazd, Shīrāz, Baghdād, Sāva, Darjazīn, and Hamadān.

It appears that Sheykh Maḥmūd accompanied Pīr Budāq who returned from Herat to Shīrāz by way of Ṭabas and Yazd in 863 A.H. (1459 A.D.). He then left for Shūshtar in 865 A.H. (1461 A.D.), and arrived in Baghdād in 866 A.H. (1462 A.D.). Following Pīr Budāq's murder in 870 A.H. (1465 A.D.), he left Baghdād and wandered in the cities of Darjazīn, Hamadān, and Sāva between 870 and 871 A.H. (1465 and 66 A.D.). No trace of him is found after 871 A.H. (1466 A.D.).

The author also presents the accounts of a certain calligrapher by the name of Sheykh Maḥmūd from various sources and critically evaluates Professor Bayani's views concerning three individuals, namely, Sheykh Maḥmūd of Herat, Sheykh Maḥmūd-e Khafī-nevīs, and Maḥmūd -e Soḥānī. To this information, he adds a summary of the opinions of several western scholars about other calligraphers who were also named Maḥmūd.

The paper ends with a list of our calligrapher's various signatures in which he has signed his name as Sheykh Maḥmūd al-Heravī, Shekh Maḥmūd, Sheykh Maḥmūd al-Ja'farī, Sheykh Maḥmūd al-Kāteb, Sheykh Maḥmūd-e Pīr Budāqī, Maḥmūd, and Maḥmūd al-Kāteb.

in the arts of the book in the 1450s and 1460s, and the formation of Turkmen arts of the book, the emphasis has been on painting and its likely emergence in Baghdad during Pir Budaq's governorship between 1460 and 1466, if not before in Shiraz between 1456 and 1460.<sup>14</sup> Most of the manuscripts

by eight smaller circles (together they contain the text written in gold *thuluth*) is ringed by a diaper border, the whole set inside a rectangular panel with cartouches of different profiles set around the edges. The ground contrasts the unpainted color of the paper against blue used to fill in the ground of the cartouches. The unpainted paper ground is crosshatched and covered by a scroll of golden stalks and leaves and orange and green flowers. The blue cartouches contain gold palmettes whose interlinked profiles form enclosed fields filled with brown and black pigment. Two borders enclose the rectangular frame, the first composed of alternating blue and gold cartouches with floral scrolls, the outer one a continuous lapis lazuli border with palmettes. The entire central medallion of fol. 2a has been cut out and lost, with widespread damage to the remainder of the folio and also to fol. 1a. On fol. 1a, the area where Pir Budaq's name would have appeared has been intentionally erased. The portion of text that is legible reads: *bi-rasm khizāna[?] al-sultān [ibn al-sultān?] mālik riqāb al-umam zill Allāh fi al-arḍayn qahramān al-mā' wa al-ʿīn ʿaṣad [al-duryā wa al-dūr?] Abū al-Faḥḥ [...] Bahādur Khān khallada mulkahu. The Dīwān of Katibi only makes up the first portion of the manuscript and there is no colophon. Internal headings indicate varieties of styles of illumination, in both the "blue-and gold floral style" and "floral/palmette-arabesque style" described by Wright, *Look of the Book*, 105–17.*

Occasional references are made to aspects of this mid-century transition, and to Pir Budaq's role in it, but these ideas have not been held up to scrutiny or supported by such a wide number of documented manuscripts. For example, Richard suggests Pir Budaq's acquisition of Shaykh Mahmud in light of the 1458 occupation of Herat—without mentioning that Shaykh Mahmud copied a *Dīwān* of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi in 1456—and then attributes the direction of the Shiraz workshop (*kitābhāna*) to Shaykh Mahmud. Although we know of Shaykh Mahmud's presence in Shiraz from as early as 1456 through a signed manuscript and from 1458–59 through single-sheet specimens where he uses the sobriquet "Pir Budaq!," little is known

presented here predate the group of attributed illustrated manuscripts associated with Pir Budaq's Baghdad years. His library of finely made books is also important for what it reveals about mechanisms of artistic transmission, the dispersal of artists and calligraphers, and the new collectives that they formed. The uncertain political and economic climate of the 1450s and 1460s precipitated their movement between centers. Hence, habits and idioms of artistic production associated with distinct metropolitan centers were brought into new alignments and juxtapositions. Acquired through

about a *kitābhāna*—and if so at what scale of operation and capacity—or who directed it. See Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, 84.

The chief architect of a model attributing the emergence of Qaraqoyunlu-sponsored painting to Pir Budaq was B.W. Robinson, who went so far as to propose that manuscripts with paintings were produced during Pir Budaq's governorship of Shiraz (1456–60); he focused in particular on a copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* that evidences multiple styles of painting, some of them possibly contemporary to each other but also executed at different points in time between the 1450s and the 1500s in Shiraz (?), Tabriz, and Istanbul (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, H. 753). For the manuscript, see Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, 90–91. While the first folios are missing from the *Khamsa*, possibly including an *ex libris*, spaces left for illumination by the calligrapher were also not completed until a later date. For a review of illustrated manuscripts that Robinson attributes to Pir Budaq's patronage during the Shiraz and Baghdad years, see Robinson, *Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting*, esp. 29–33. Continuing this work, Priscilla Soucek attributed an illustrated copy of the *Shāhnāma* to Pir Budaq's patronage based largely on the stylistic similarity of its paintings to another attributed manuscript, the *Kalīla wa Dimna* in Tehran (discussed by Robinson, *Fifteenth-Century Persian Painting*, 23, 29–31). See Priscilla P. Soucek, "The Ann Arbor *Shāhnāma* and Its Importance," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. Robert Hillenbrand (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 267–81. More recently, Brend questioned the existence of illustrated manuscripts during the Shiraz period, pointing out the stronger evidence for Baghdad. See Brend, *Perspectives on Persian Painting*, 104.

conquest or ad hoc social exchanges that effected changes of ownership, books themselves offered palpable evidence of achievement, physical resources to be used, admired, and emulated. Pir Budaq's collection thus offers a good case study to chart crucial transitions in the making of the book in the 1450s and 1460s.<sup>15</sup>

### The Qaraqoyunlu Jahanshah and Pir Budaq: A Brief History

The Qaraqoyunlu confederation emerged from several Turkmen pastoralist groups that had first come west with the Mongol invasions of the 1200s. In the 1300s, their power base was located in northern Iraq, where they spent the winter months, and southeastern Anatolia, near Lake Van, where they passed the summer months. The paramount clan was the Barani (or Baharlu). The first Qaraqoyunlu ruler to make himself independent of the Jalayirid dynasty—Mongol in origin, one of the successor dynasties to the Ilkhanids—was Qara Muhammad (r. 1380–90); he was succeeded by the even more brazen Qara Yusuf (r. 1390–1400; 1406–18). These two rulers prosecuted several campaigns against contemporary Christian and Muslim dynastic groups in their bid for territorial expansion: while the Qaraqoyunlu eventually succeeded in overthrowing the Jalayirids, the confederation was repeatedly held in check by the Timurids, first by Timur and later by Shahrukh.<sup>16</sup>

Under the Qaraqoyunlu ruler Jahanshah, a short-lived equilibrium was initially retained between Timurids and Turkmens. To stave off

15 Jahanshah, Pir Budaq's father, is known to have been a patron of architecture and also a poet. For Jahanshah's *Dīwān*, see V. Minorsky, "Jihān-Shāh Qara-Qoyunlu and His Poetry (Turkmenica, 9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16, 2 (1954): 271–97.

16 The complex sequence of political events is narrated by R.M. Savory, "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the Death of Timur," *Der Islam* 40, 1 (1965): 35–65. For events associated with the Qaraqoyunlu, see *ibid.*, esp. 35–51.

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further Qaraqoyunlu expansion into western Timurid controlled lands, in 1436 Shahrukh made Jahanshah a vassal—appointing him governor of Azerbaijan to replace his rebellious brother Iskandar (who died in 1438). The balance of power between the Qaraqoyunlu and Timurid houses ended with Shahrukh's death in 1447. Jahanshah lost no time in marching on and capturing Sultaniyya, Hamadan, and Qazvin, steadily taking in Timurid territories. Further Qaraqoyunlu encroachments followed in quick succession after the death of the Timurid Sultan Muhammad (d. 1452), culminating with Jahanshah's annexation of Qum, Isfahan, Abarquh, and Shiraz in the months after August 1452 and Yazd in 1453. Joined by his son Pir Budaq on these campaigns, Jahanshah was further emboldened by the death in Mashhad of Abu al-Qasim Babur (d. 1457), another Timurid ruler of Shahrukh's lineage. After Abu al-Qasim Babur died, there was "no longer any central Timurid authority in Khurasan; each of the forts was in the hands of a Timurid commander (*sardār*), who rendered allegiance to no one."<sup>17</sup> With Jahanshah now in a stronger position to attack Khurasan and its capital Herat, the Timurid prince 'Ala' al-Dawla b. Baysunghur was forced to withdraw in the face of the Qaraqoyunlu army and Jahanshah entered the city on June 28, 1458. Pir Budaq joined him there a few months later, on October 27, 1458.<sup>18</sup> Jahanshah's position in Herat against the Timurids—his chief rival now Abu Sa'id (r. 1452–69), a descendant of Timur through Miranshah—was compromised by news that Husayn 'Ali, another son, had raised an army after escaping his imprisonment in Maku. In negotiations between Jahanshah and Abu Sa'id, the entire province of Khurasan was restored to Timurid

17 *Ibid.*, 47.

18 Khvāndamīr, *Habīb's-shāyir*, trans. Thackston, 2: 391. The most detailed account of the Qaraqoyunlu advance on Khurasan and the occupation of Herat is found in 'Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ishāq al-Samarqandī, *Maṭla'ī sa'dāyān wa majma'ī bahrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī, 2 vols. (Lahore: Kitābhāna-i Gilāni, 1360–68 [1941–49]), 2: 1161–83.

David J. Roxburgh, "Many a Wish Has Turned to Dust: Pir Budaq and the Formation of Turkmen Arts of the Book," *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture*, edit. David J. Roxburgh, Leiden 2014, s. 175–222. ISAM DN-252650.