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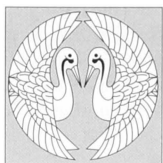
### Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice", a colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

### Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire", a colour drawing from the book 11 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

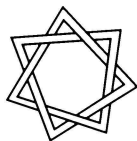
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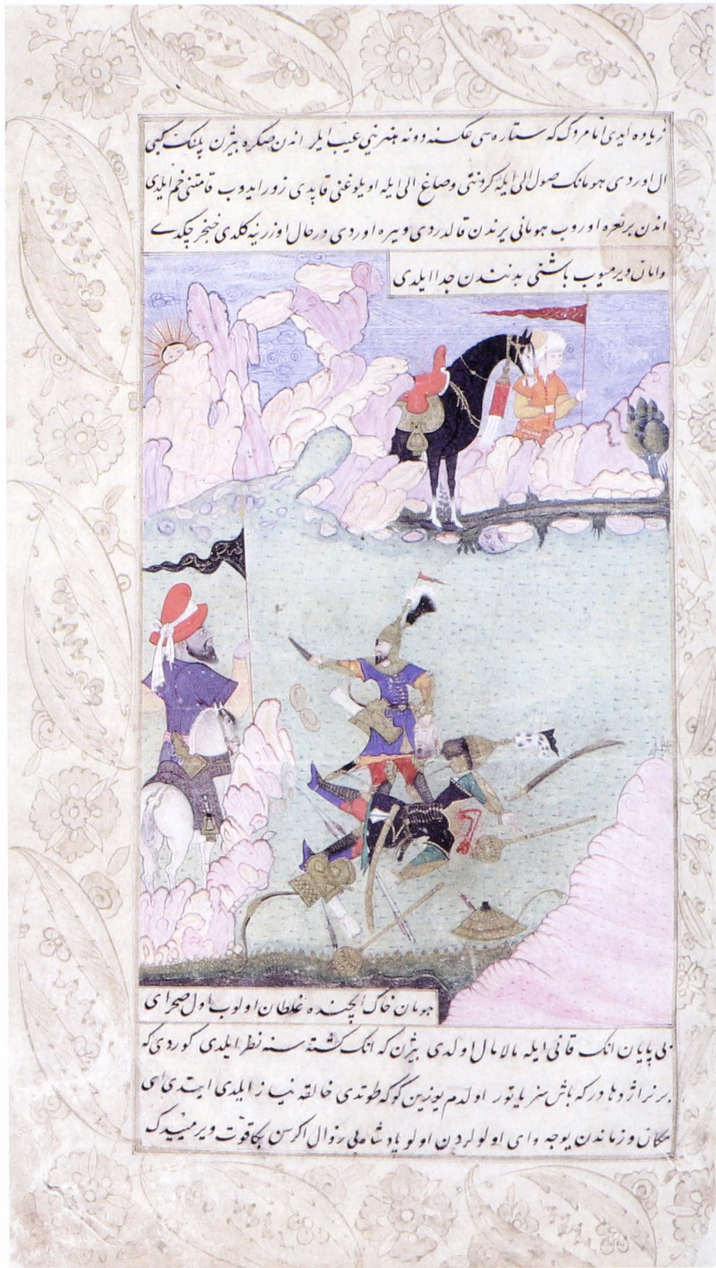


Plate 1

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# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

F. I. Abdullaeva

## A TURKISH PROSE VERSION OF FIRDAWSĪ'S *SHĀH-NĀMA* IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY \*

The collection of Oriental manuscripts in the St. Petersburg State University Library cannot compare with famous St. Petersburg manuscript depositories, such as the National Library of Russia and the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences). Islamic manuscripts in the University are now concentrated in the Oriental Department of the University Library which serves the needs of the Oriental Faculty of the University. The teaching of three Oriental languages — Arabic, Persian, and Turkish — had been provided since the foundation of the Imperial St. Petersburg University in 1819, and a significant amount of books and manuscripts in these languages began to come to the University from different sources.

In the middle of the nineteenth century manuscripts came from three large depositories: from the Imperial Kazan University, the Lycée de Richelieu in Odessa, and the 1st Gymnasium of Kazan. Manuscripts from these three places remain the most valuable part of the collection. All were registered in the lists of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, made by the University scholars. The first was compiled and published by C. Salemann (1849—1916), with the help of Baron V. R. Rosen (1849—1908) in 1888 [1], the second one was edited by Professor Alexander Romaskevich (1885—1942) in 1925 [2]; and the last, a catalogue of the newly arrived or newly discovered Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the University collection, was prepared by Professor A. Tagirdjanov (1907—1983) in 1967 [3].

It seems rather strange that the manuscript we would like to discuss in the present article [4] was mentioned only in the last list of 1967. It is also difficult to imagine that Salemann, who won his fame as an extra-thorough librarian, would have omitted it in his edition. Be that as it may, the earliest information on this codex in the University Library is contained in the 1967 catalogue by Professor Tagirdjanov. The MS has been registered under the title

*Tarjuma-yi nathrī-yi Shāh-nāma. Jild-i duvvum* (call number 1378) [5]. One can easily assume that it is the translation of the celebrated *Shāh-nāma* by Abū'l-Qāsim Firdawsī-yi Tūsī, popular at the Turkic courts to such extent that during the last Saljuqs, for instance, even the town walls of their capital were adorned with Firdawsī's verses [6].

It is well known that Turkish literature in the early Middle Ages was greatly influenced by literature of Persia and partly of Mawarannah. Turkish court poets had a good command of the Persian and Arabic languages and were well trained in Persian and Arabic poetry. Probably it was one of the reasons why Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* was translated into Turkish rather late, as compared, for example, with the brief Arabic version of the poem dated back to the beginning of the thirteenth century. This was made between 615/1218 and 623/1227 by the Arabic historian Qawām al-Dīn al-Bundārī, who dedicated his work to the Damascus ruler Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isā (d. 1227) [7].

As far as I know, there are two Turkish translations considered to be among the earliest ones so far survived [8]. A versified Turkish translation was made by Tātār 'Alī Efendī in 916/1510—11 for the Mamlūk Sultān Qansūh Ghūrī (r. 1501—17) [9]. According to Ch. Rieu, G. N. Meredith-Owens and others, the author of this version calls himself either Sharīf or Sharīfī [10], or Sharīf Amīdī [11], or Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Amīdī [12], or Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī [13]. He finished his work on Monday 2 Dhū'l-Hijja 916/2 March 1511.

The second Turkish version of *Shāh-nāma* (in prose) was observed by A. A. Romaskevich in his article published in a special volume on the occasion of the 1000th anniversary of Firdawsī. As Romaskevich believed, the translation had been executed in 1030/1621—22 by some Maḥdī, a court official of the Ottoman Sultan Osman II (1618—22) [14]. This information of Romaskevich was

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\* I would like to thank Eleanor Sims, Ernst Grube, Tim Stanley, Efim Rezwani, Adel Adamova, and Oleg Akimushkin for reading an earlier draft of this paper and making many helpful comments and valuable references. Their help has led to many improvements. They are, of course, in no way responsible for the paper's shortcomings. I am also grateful to Tamara Deryagina of the Oriental Department at the St. Petersburg State University Library and to Aleksey Pylev of the Department of Turkic Philology at the St. Petersburg State University for their help and cooperation.

most likely based on the MS in question from the St. Petersburg State University Library, but the scholar was not correct when mentioning both the name of the author of the writing and the date of its compilation.

In the introduction which our MS contains there is the name of the author of this translation of Firdawsī's poem. He calls himself Madhī (fol. 2b). This name is also mentioned on the last folio (373b) as the name of the composer of the work.

The copy has the dedication to Sultan Osman II. On fol. 124a the title of the book is mentioned as *Kitāb-i 'Uthmān-khān*. The "Story of Iskandar" is concluded by a poetical dedication to the same Sultan 'Uthmān-khān (fol. 174b):

شهنشاه عادل دل و دادگر اودر یادشاه زمان و زمین	خاتمه داستان اسکندر که عثمان خان عدالت ترین
---	--

The epilogue comprising the praise of Sultan Osman (fol. 373b) presents another evidence that the volume was finished in the reign of Osman II:

خاتمه کتاب در وصف شهنشاه زمان حضرت سلطان عثمان خان بن احمد خان	
که لطفکله شهنامه اولدی تام سوزوم اولدی بر بی زوال آفتاب اولور نامی عالمه خیریله باد اولور تیغ همظه کنشورستان ویرر هر فرمان ایدرسه رضا نه حکم ایسه انی اجرا ایدر اولور استاندنه عبد کمین	لک احمد ای کردگار انا کمالکله ایردی کماله کتاب بولوب سلطنتده بو شاه امتداد جهانکم سلطان عثمان خان او شاهنشه دادگر کیم قضا او شاهنشه بحر و بر کیم قدر او خاقان اعظم که فغفور چین

So we can assert that the author of the Turkish prose version of *Shāh-nāma* was a compiler named Madhī who made his work for Sultan Osman II in 1621—22, shortly before the tragic death of this ruler.

On fol. 373b there is a colophon where the name of the transcriber and the date of copying of the MS are given:

تحریرا فی اواسط شهر ربیع الاول من شهر سنه ثلثون و الف من الهجرة النبویه علیه افضل التحیه حرره الفقیر الحقیر ابراهیم الشهیر بجوری غفر ذنبه

— that is, the MS was finished in the middle of Rabī' I 1030/December—January 1620—21 by Ibrāhīm Jawrī (Turk. Cevrī).

The MS from the St. Petersburg University Library deserves special attention because of at least two reasons. The very fact that the illustrated codex comprises the Turkish translation of *Shāh-nāma*, dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Osman II, is interesting to a high degree. It is known that this sultan, who was the first to attempt to abolish the Janissary corps, inefficiency of which was evident as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, according to some accounts, to transfer the Ottoman capital to Egypt, was extremely unpopular among his court officials. His final execution in 1622 might be regarded as a result of this utmost unpopularity. The writings dedicated to this sultan are very few. The translation is among those few ones. Judging from the praise of Osman by the author of the translation, a *takhalluṣ* of the latter, Madhī (from *madh* — "praise"), was not accidental at all. Most likely, the author was one of those few high-ranking Ottoman officials who approved the politics and activities of this sultan.

That the author of the translation was a court official is proved also by the fact that the MS was transcribed by one of the most famous Turkish calligrapher Ibrahim

Cevrī (fol. 373b), and it is the second reason why the MS can present a special interest to the students of the Turkish manuscripts.

Certainly, Ibrahim Cevrī (d. 1654) is an outstanding figure in the history of the Turkish art and literature of the seventeenth century. He was born between 1595—1600 and received good education, judging from his early appointment as *kātib* (secretary) at the Imperial Chancery and his connection to the famous *Şūfīs*, *mawlawī* Shaykh Ismā'īl Anqarawī, as well as to a representative of the Melamī-Bayramī order, Sarı Abdullah Efendi. His link with *mawlawī* order is also confirmed by his learning the art of calligraphy from the *mawlawī darwish*.

Ibrahim Cevrī's life proves his being an extraordinary person. His work as a secretary was not long. It is known that as early as 1620, when he was about 20—25 years old, he copied the *Mathnawī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī for Head of the State Chancery (Dīwān-i Humāyūn), *ra'is al-kuttāb* Emir Çelebi Efendi. It must have been a great success, since Ibrahim Cevrī retired soon and became a professional transcriber who earned his living by copying manuscripts for most eminent Ottoman court officials. The account has survived that he could copy 1,000 *bayts* within one day and earn 1,000 *akçe*. He is known to have copied *Mathnawī* twenty-two times, and several writings in prose of great volume, such as *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, *Kunh al-akhbār* by 'Alī, and, as we can see, Madhī's translation of Firdawsī's poem.

Ibrahim Cevrī was not an ordinary copyist, he was a great master of calligraphy who invented a new script known as *shikasta-yi ta'līq* (Turk. *talīq kırması*). Manuscripts copied by him were highly appreciated, as seen, for example, from the fact that the Ottoman Sultan Selim III (1789—1808) presented a copy of *Mathnawī* transcribed by Ibrahim Cevrī to the famous poet and *mawlawī* Shaykh Ghālib (1757—1798).

It is worth noting that Ibrahim Cevrī was also a poet, an author of *Dīwān* (38 copies survived), of several poems (*mathnawī*). A great many of his writings and manuscripts copied by him are preserved in the manuscript collections throughout the world [15].

All this makes our MS of the Turkish translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* especially noteworthy. It is all the more so since the MS contains miniatures.

The history of the MS is fairly mysterious. Its provenance is not quite clear. The leaves of the book are lacking any Oriental owners' seal. On the fly-leaf one can see an *ex-libris* with illegible but rather characteristic signature. The same signature we encounter in the MS from the Muslim collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences). This manuscript contains an Arabic military treatise under the title *Kitāb al-makhzūn fī jāmi' al-funūn* by Ibn Abī Khazzām (call number C 686) [16]. The treatise has similar *ex-libris* with the signature by the same hand: "Ex Bibliotheca Orientali Wenceslai" that belongs to Prince W. Rzewuski, a famous traveller and collector of Oriental rarities. It is known that in 1808 he brought from the East some very valuable items. It is most probably that among them was a manuscript comprising the above-mentioned treatise.

In the description of Turkish manuscripts of the Institut des Langues Orientales of St. Petersburg (at present these MSS are preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection) published by

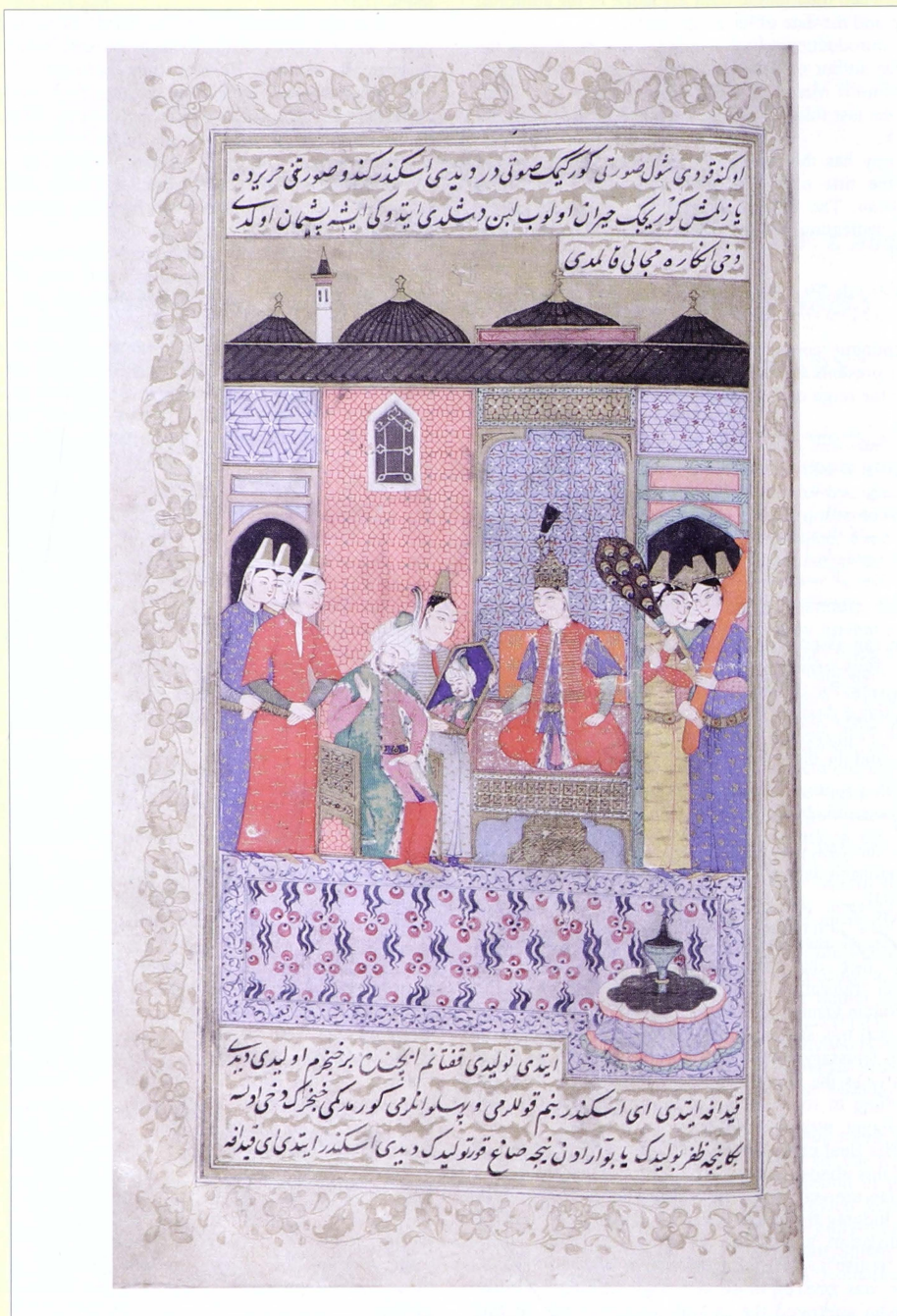




Plate 3

V. D. Smirnov in 1897 there is a mention of the MS of the Turkish translation of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* which at that time was found in Odessa [17]. According to the evidence of Smirnov, this MS was preserved in the collection of the Musée de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie [18]. The description of the copy made by Smirnov leads us to conclude that it is the same MS that we describe here, in this article. We can only guess at what time it was brought to St. Petersburg. Most probably it was sold or donated by the Museum to the Lycée de Richelieu in Odessa and afterwards, as a part of the Lycée collection, was transferred to the St. Petersburg University Library.

The MS represents only the second of the two volumes of the Turkish translation in prose. The codex contains the stories of Kay-Khusraw, Isfandiyyār, Gushtāsp, Farāmāz, Bahman, Dārāb, Dārā b. Dārāb, Iskandar, Shāpūr, Tāyir, Mānī ("Mānī-naqqāsh"), Yazdigird b. Shāpūr, Bahrām Ghūr, Fīrūz, Qubād b. Fīrūz, Khusraw Nūshirwān, Khurmuзд, Bahrām Chūbīna, Khusraw Parwīz, Khusraw and Shīrīn, and Yazdigird. Most likely the translator used the Persian text of *Shāh-nāma* which comprised numerous interpolations, the largest being the writing well-known as *Bahman-nāma*.

The structure of the work is as follows. First the author gives a versified passage from the main body of Firdawsī's text in Persian; and after that he gives his adaptation of the poem in Turkish, commenting on and decorating plentifully the text in prose with Turkish verse.

Three leaves in the codex are missing (between fols. 32 and 33, 110 and 111, 215 and 216). The last folio contained probably a miniature referring to the section entitled *داسپان ملوک طوایف*. In all, there are 373 folios in the MS. The size of the folios: 36.0 × 23.0 cm, and the surface occupied by the text measures 29.0 × 14.9 cm.

There are 23 lines per page. The text written in large-size *nasta'liq* is framed with gold and black rules. The margins of the pages containing miniatures are covered with floral designs made in gold and silver. The text is written in Indian ink, the key words are in cinnabar.

The paper is of two kinds: thick, white Oriental paper of high quality and thin, creamy and yellow-tinted European paper (for the restored passages). To protect the illustrations, thin blue, green, brown and white paper with pousseaux, verger and a water-mark (the filigree emblem of a trefoil with letters "N", "Z", and a castle with banner) was inserted into the volume.

The binding is European, of cherry-brown leather mounted on cardboard. During restoration, the leather of the previous binding, also European, was patched on the outer side of the covers with a border of gilt-stamped floral motifs border.

Incipit:

بنام خدای زمین و زمان که بخشید بر خسروان عزوشان ...

Excipit:

وجودی سعادتله موجودی اول کنش کیبی هنم سختی مسعود اول ...

The MS is remarkable with its fine miniatures. In all, there are 29 miniatures and an *'unwān* performed by a professional hand, unfortunately, anonymous. It is even possible that the miniatures were made by several artists. Since this copy was most likely intended to be presented to the Sultan himself, it may be assumed that the miniatures were

created by the artists from the workshop of one of the most prominent painters of Sultan Osman II's reign where Naqqāsh Hasan, Aḥmad Naqqāshī, Qalandār Pasha and Mīr Sa'īd Muḥammad (Mehmet) worked [19].

The tradition of illustration of Firdawsī's poem was several centuries old by the early seventeenth century. During this period some illustrations became almost obligatory for all artists, independently of their school or their individual attitudes. For instance, such episode as "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman" (cf. e. g. a miniature on the same subject in the MS from the Dorn collection in the National Library of Russia [20]) was pictured quite traditionally. Rustam was shown in an unnatural pose, with the leopard helmet on his head (see miniature in our MS on fol. 94a). The miniature illustrating an episode with Isfandiyyār slaughtering the dragon (cf. e. g. a corresponding miniature from *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, published by Sotheby's and Aboulala Soudavar [21]) was also almost identical in numerous copies of Firdawsī's work.

Despite a number of investigations dedicated to Turkish painting has appeared recently [22], Ottoman painting, rare in western and especially in Russian collections, has not received sufficient reflection. We cannot but share the opinion of Ernst Grube that the very special qualities of the Ottoman style of painting set it apart from any other school in the Islamic world. It differs greatly from both the lyrical grace of the Persian miniatures and the detailed perfection of Mughal painting. Notable also is the fact that Byzantine painting, as well as European, in particular, Italian one, had but insignificant effect on the Ottoman art of painting since the time of Gentile Bellini's visit to Istanbul around 1477 [23], or between 1479 and 1481 [24]. Although the influence of Italian painting was considerable during Mehmet II's rule (r. 1451—1481), it was strong in the genre of portrait painting alone.

The Persian style most noticeably influenced the Ottoman painting beginning from the early sixteenth century and attained its zenith to the end of the century. The channel of this influence was not only the Persian artists and numerous Persian manuscripts brought to Istanbul by Selim I (r. 1512—1520) as a result of his campaigns against Safavid Iran. The models for Ottoman artists were also luxurious Persian manuscripts presented to Ottoman sultans. It is known that the splendid illuminated *Shāh-nāma* (the famous Edmond Arthur Houghton *Shāh-nāma* [25], dating back to ca. 1522—1540 [26]) was sent in 1566—67 by Shāh Tahmāsp (1524—1576) to Selim II (r. 1566—1574) as a gift on the occasion of the Sultan's ascending the throne. A Safavid delegation of 320 officials and 400 merchants arrived then in the Ottoman capital with presents laden on thirty-four camels. A list of the gifts was made by Ottoman officials. The Qur'ān (supposedly copied by Imām 'Alī; d. 661) and a copy of the *Shāh-nāma* decorated with 258 miniatures (its copying had taken twenty years) were shown as the most precious items of these gifts [27].

In February 1594, Sultan Murād III (r. 1574—1595) had got amongst the other gifts from 'Abdallāh II, who was sent as an ambassador of Uzbek-khān, another fine copy of the *Shāh-nāma* dated by 1564—65 and illustrated with twenty-eight miniatures made in the Bukharian style of that time. In September 1619, Shāh 'Abbās (1587—1629) sent to Sultan Osman II several manuscripts richly decorated



with miniatures, together with other valuable gifts, such as elephants, a panther, and rhinoceros [28].

Copies of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* performed by Turkish artists have been catalogued by M. And. A major part of them is now preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum (8 MSS), in the Library of the Istanbul University (3 MSS), in the British Library (1 MS), in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd (1 MS), in the New York Public Library, the Spencer Collection (1 MS) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (1 MS), and in the Uppsala University Library (1 MS). In all, there preserved six hundred miniatures [29]. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) possesses two more copies of the versified Turkish translation of *Shāh-nāma* dating back to the seventeenth century (call numbers: B 3690 — first volume, E 8 — full copy). In both of them Sharif Amidī is named as the author of the writings. MS E 8 has two miniatures made by rather dainty hand [30]. They are not mentioned by M. And.

As was mentioned, our MS contains 29 miniatures the list of which we are giving here. They are typical of the seventeenth-century Ottoman miniature painting that absorbed many elements of various schools of Persian painting. In Dr Akimushkin's opinion, all the miniatures of the manuscript were produced in the manner close to the Shīrāz commercial style. Some of them, however, represent the style suffered a great influence of Tabrīz, or rather Qazwīn. The miniatures related to this last one are marked in our list with a "Q" (the figures in the brackets are given to single out the peculiarities of the miniatures inside this group, reflecting probably the individuality of the artists):

- 1) fol. 6a — "Bizhan killing Hūmān";
- 2) fol. 12b — "Gūdarz killing Pīrān" (Q 3);
- 3) fol. 20b — "Kay-Khusraw killing Shīda";
- 4) fol. 50b — "Gushtāsp leading captured Ilyās to Qaysar" (Q 3);
- 5) fol. 61a — "Battle between Iranians and Turanians";
- 6) fol. 78b — "Battle of Isfandiyyār with the Dragon";
- 7) fol. 94a — "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman" (Q 2);
- 8) fol. 116a — "Rustam and Zivāra fallen in the wolf trap. Rustam killing Shigad who has hidden behind a platan";
- 9) fol. 135b — "Bahman ordering to finish off Farāmarz shoot by the arrows" (Q 3);
- 10) fol. 146a — "Pashutan persuading Bahman to free Zāl";

- 11) fol. 157b — "Barzīn Āzar defeating the Black Man" (Q 3);
- 12) fol. 170a — "Bahman perishing in the Dragon's throat" (Q 3);
- 13) fol. 193a — "Iskandar defeating Fūr";
- 14) fol. 196a — "Iskandar at the court of Qaydafa";
- 15) fol. 205a — "Iskandar listening to Isrāfil";
- 16) fol. 233a — "Shāpūr destroying the Qaysar's camp" (Q 1);
- 17) fol. 239a — "Bahrām Ghūr hunting";
- 18) fol. 243a — "Bahrām Ghūr's enthronement after his killing the lions";
- 19) fol. 258a — "Bahrām and Shingil watching *chawgān* players";
- 20) fol. 276a — "Nūshirwān assaulting the Rūm citadel";
- 21) fol. 289a — "Arrival of the Khāqān's daughter to Nūshirwān";
- 22) fol. 296b — "Buzurjmīhr at the court of Nūshirwān guesses the riddle of the Rūm envoy";
- 23) fol. 309a — "Hurmuzd appointing Bahrām Chūbīna the commander of the battle with the Shāh Sāva";
- 24) fol. 315a — "Bahrām Chūbīna defeating Sāva" (Q 4);
- 25) fol. 329b — "Bahrām Chūbīna being pursued by Khusraw Parwīz who kills his horse with the Gustakhim's arrow" (Q 1);
- 26) fol. 338a — "Angel Surūsh saving Khusraw Parwīz";
- 27) fol. 346b — "Bahrām Chūbīna's fighting with the Kappī lion" (Q 2);
- 28) fol. 356b — "Khusraw and Shīrīn";
- 29) fol. 368a — "Shepherd of Khusraw killing Yazdigird"

This article is not aiming to give a full scholarly analysis of the miniatures presented in the manuscript. Our aim was much more modest — that is, to call attention of specialists to this most valuable illustrated Ottoman copy of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* preserved in the St. Petersburg University Library. Taking into account that Ottoman illustrated manuscripts are not numerous and every item is of great interest to the scholars, we decided to give a description of the MS in this article. We hope that this brief presentation will attract the attention of all those interested in the field.

#### Notes

1. C. Salemann, V. Rosen, *Catalogus codicum manusciporum qui in Bibliotheca Universitatis Litterariae Petropolitanae adservantur* (St. Petersburg, 1888).
2. A. A. Romaskevich, *Spisok persidskikh, turetsko-tatarskikh i arabskikh rukopisei biblioteki Petrogradskogo Universiteta* (List of the Persian, Turkish-Tatar, and Arabic Manuscripts in the Petrograd University Library), *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov pri Aziatskom muze Rossiskoi Akademii nauk*, I (Leningrad, 1925).
3. A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadjiksikh rukopisei vostochnogo otdela biblioteki LGU* (Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts from the Oriental Department of the Leningrad State University) (Leningrad, 1967).
4. Manuscript (call number 1378) from the St. Petersburg State University Library, henceforth *MS 1378*.
5. Tagirdzhanov, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
6. *Literatura Vostoka v srednie veka. Turetskaia literatura* (Literature of the Orient in the Middle Ages) (Moscow, 1979), p. 343.
7. J. Mohl, *Le livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi* (Paris, 1838), i, p. XCII; M. A. Zajackowski, *Turecka Wersja Sah-name z Egiptu Mameluckiego* (Warsaw, 1965); N. Lugal, *Şehname tercümesi* (Istanbul, 1956), p. XX; Storey mentions another name for the author of the Arabic translation: al-Faṭḥ b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bundārī — see Russian edition of C. A. Storey's work (Moscow, 1972), vol. II, p. 746.



8. It is interesting that in the Persian manuscript of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, discovered by Professor Piemontese in the Central National Library of Florence, dating back to 30 Muḥarram 614/9 May 1217, there are above-linear glosses and translation into Ottoman Turkish. This incomplete at the beginning and at the end copy appeared in Rome at the time of Pope Gregory XIII (1502—1585), then it was transferred to Florence where it had been preserving, under the title of *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pārsī*, for several centuries, see Jalāl Khāliqī Muṭṭāq, "Mu'arriḫī wa arzyābi-yi barkh-i az dastnawishā-yi Shāh-nāma", *Irān-nāma*, sāl-i siwum, pp. 380—1.

9. N. Atasoy, "1510 tarihli Mamlūk Şehnâmesinin Miniaturleri", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, (Istanbul, 1968), pp. 49—69; N. Atasoy, "Un manuscrit Mamluk illustré du Şahnâme", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, I (1969), pp. 151—8 and plates I—XIV; E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam. Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, 1981), pp. 19—20. In the Sotheby's catalogue of 1969 one leaf with a miniature "Rustam mounts Rakhsh" from the manuscript of the Turkish version of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* (copy dating from the second half of the sixteenth century) is represented, see Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Highly Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures. The Property of the Kevorkian Foundation*. December 1, 1969, lot 104.

10. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), p. 153; G. N. Meredith-Owens, *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1969); Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India*. The British Library Collections (London, 1983), p. 147.

11. Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, (Istanbul, 1338/1919—20), p. 256.

12. L. V. Dmitrieva, *Katalog turetskikh rukopisei* (Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts) (Moscow, 1980), p. 69.

13. Atasoy, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

14. A. A. Romaskevich, "Ocherk istorii izucheniia Shāhnāma" ("A survey of the history of studies on the *Shāh-nāma*") in *Ferdowsi. 934—1934* (Leningrad, 1934), p. 28.

15. About İbrahim Cevri, see H. Ayan, "Cevri İbrahim Çelebi", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1993), vii, pp. 460—1; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. III, pt. II (Ankara, 1954), p. 561.

16. A. Alikberov, E. Rezwan, "İbn Abî Khazzām and his "Kitāb al-Makhzūn": the Mamlūk military manual", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I/1 (1995), pp. 21—8.

17. W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscripts Turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (St. Petersburg, 1897).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

19. M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1987), p. 32; Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

20. It is worth noting that the composition of the miniature "Rustam warding off the stone thrown at him by Bahman", painted by Pīr Muḥammad al-Ḥāfiẓ between 1642—1645, which is considered to be a fine sample of the Isfahan school, — cf. L. T. Giuzal'ian, M. M. D'iakonov, *İrānskie miniatury v rukopisnakh Shakh-namē leningradskikh sobraniĭ* (Iranian Miniatures in the Manuscripts of *Shāh-nāma* from the Leningrad Collections) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1935), table 44 — is entirely identical in details to our miniature. See also M. M. Ashrafī, *Persidsko-tadzhikskaia poēzia v miniaturakh XIV—XVII vekov. Persian-Tajik Poetry in the XIV—XVII Centuries Miniatures (from USSR Collections)* (Dushanbe, 1974), p. 119.

21. Sotheby's, December 9, 1975, lot 352; A. Soudavar with a contribution by Milo Cleveland Beach, *Persian Courts. Selection from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York, 1992), p. 164.

22. And, *op. cit.*; Atasoy, *op. cit.*; N. Atasoy, F. Cagman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974); *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts* (London, 1981), and others.

23. E. Grube, *Islamic Paintings from the 11th to the 18th Century in the Collection of Hans P. Kraus* (New York, 1973), p. 205.

24. W. Lillys, R. Reiff, E. Esin, *Oriental Miniatures (Persian, Indian, Turkish)* (London, 1965), p. 77.

25. Modern provenance: Baron Edmond de Rothschild; inherited by his son, Maurice, grandson, Edmond Arthur Houghton, Jr.

26. B. Gray, *Persian Painting*, 2nd edn. (London, 1977), p. 138; Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 134; Soudavar, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

27. Soudavar, *op. cit.*, p. 164 and 250.

28. Titley, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

29. And, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

30. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, pp. 69—70.

## Illustrations

**Plate 1.** "Bīzhan Killing Hūmān", miniature from the *Tardjuma-yi Shāh-nāma*, a manuscript (call number 1378) in the St. Petersburg State University Library collection, fol. 6a, 21.5 × 15.0 cm.

**Plate 2.** "İskandar at the Court of Qaydafa", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 196a, 24.0 × 15.5 cm.

**Plate 3.** "Bahrām Ghūr Hunting", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 239a, 26.1 × 15.0 cm.

**Plate 4.** "Arriving of the Khāqān's Daughter to Nūshirwān", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 289a, 29.4 × 20.8 cm.

**Plate 5.** "Buzurjmīhr at the Court of Nūshirwān Guesses the Riddle of the Rūm Envoy", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 296b, 29.3 × 19.4 cm.