

A Persian Epic, Perhaps for the Ottoman Sultan

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THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART owns a double-folio battle representation from a dispersed copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī dated A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91 (Figures 1, 2). Although the scene illustrates the Persian “Book of Kings,” scholars who have studied the folios consider them to be Ottoman.¹ This essay will attempt to demonstrate the close relationship of these folios to a group of Safavid Shirazi manuscripts, although they may well have been illustrated with an Ottoman patron in mind.

The identity and characteristics of the Shiraz school of painting during the sixteenth century were first recognized and published in 1949.² Since then, no detailed study has been conducted on the Safavid Shirazi illustrated manuscripts, although they outnumber all the others of the same period. The Shiraz style was mostly designated as provincial or commercial, or both, and while it is occasionally said that some sixteenth-century Shirazi manuscripts are of high quality, most scholars usually ignore them.

The Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (TSML) in Istanbul owns a large number of Safavid Shirazi manuscripts. A specific group among these is of very high quality and was produced on a lavish scale, from the point of view of both size and magnificence.³ There are also other examples of the same group scattered in collections in other parts of the world. Although more research is necessary to date them with accuracy, it has now been possible to date copies from 1572 to 1590. These manuscripts share a remarkable number of characteristics with the folios in the Metropolitan Museum.

It is possible to date the Metropolitan Museum’s pages relatively accurately, because the last two pages of text of the same dispersed manuscript and its endpiece are owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figures 6–9)⁴ and contain a colophon

with the name of the scribe, Muḥammad al-Qivām al-Shīrāzī. The margins of the last two pages of text of the *Shāhnāma* (Figures 8, 9) are embellished with ten lines of calligraphy written in decorative cartouches, composed and appended to the book by a later calligrapher-illuminator, Muḥammad ibn Tāj al-Din Ḥaidar *muzahhib* Shīrāzī, who gives an account of both the book and its original scribe. He also states that in A.D. 1583/A.H. 991 he himself completed, with the help of some unnamed patrons, the book begun in A.D. 1562/A.H. 970.⁵

There is some information available in the related literature about Muḥammad al-Qivām, the scribe of the original text of the Metropolitan’s folios. Almost twenty manuscripts bearing his name are known, providing a range of dates from 1533 to 1567, while the colophon of one states that it was written in Shiraz.⁶ We therefore understand that the text of this *Shāhnāma* was copied by this well-known scribe in 1562 in his hometown of Shiraz. However, it seems not to have been supplied with illustrations until the later date of 1583. This view is supported by the fact that not only is the text of the manuscript re-margined but also that the illustrations and the decorative cartouches of the panegyric are painted on these new margins. Moreover, the illustrations are painted on a separate sheet, which was cut to size and stuck on the entire area that was to be illustrated. This procedure again points to a later date for the miniatures, when the new margins were used to give these pages the magnificence and larger size that are also seen in the group of lavishly produced Safavid Shirazi manuscripts mentioned above.

In the original 1562 arrangement only the left-hand page (Figure 1) was provided with space between the text areas for a much smaller illustration, and the right-hand page (Figure 2) was not designed to have a miniature at all. However, when the program of illustration was conceived twenty-one years later, in conjunction with the new arrangement of the manuscript, it was intended to

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Figure 1. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Battle between Iranians and Turanians*. Turkey, A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 43.2 x 25.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952, 52.20.9a

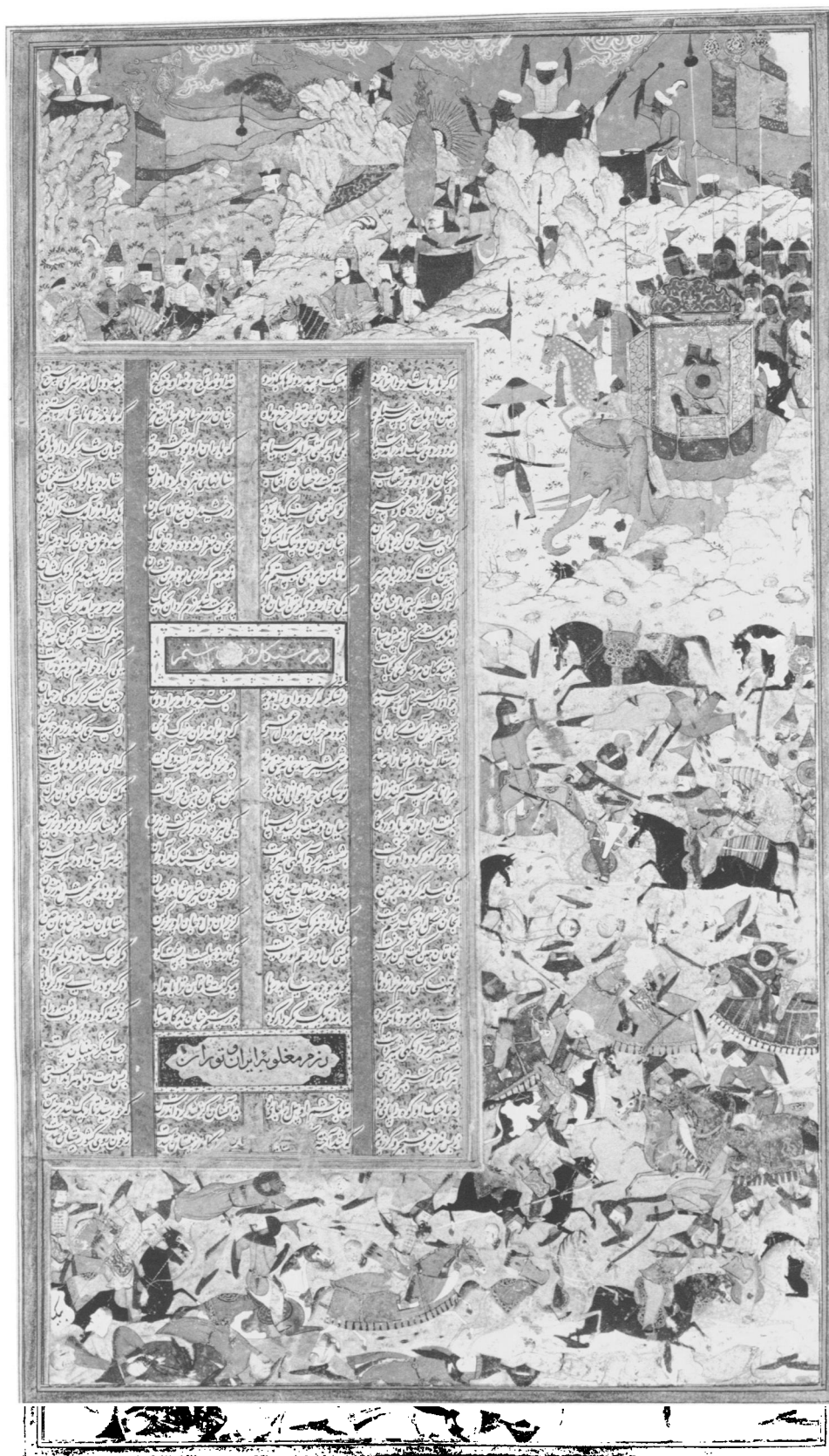


Figure 2. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Battle Between Iranians and Turanians*. Turkey, A.D. 1562–83/A.H. 970–91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 43.2 x 25.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1952, 52.20.9b

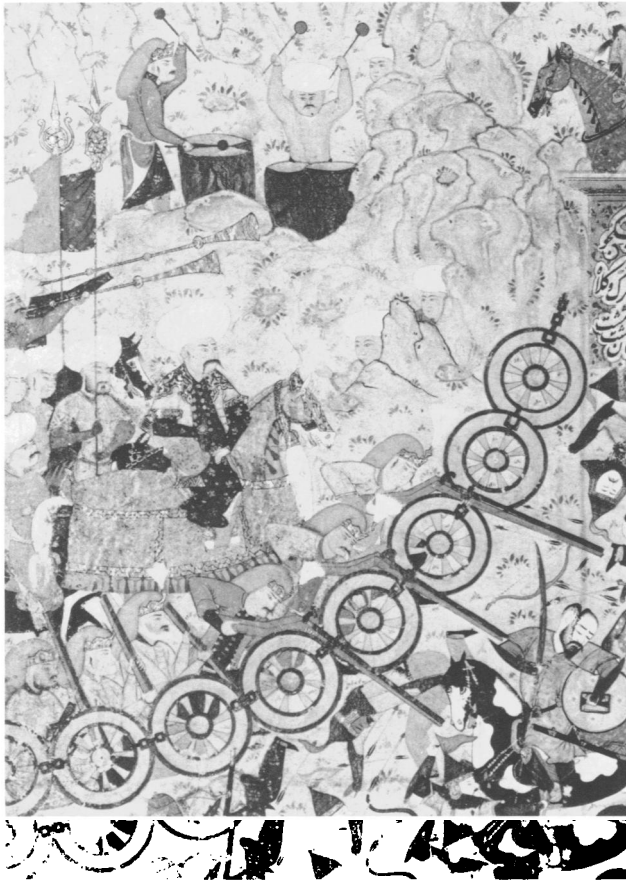


Figure 3. Detail of the army on left side in Figure 1



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1



Figure 5. Detail of the army on right side in Figure 2

cover the space between the text areas of the left-hand page, as well as the margins of both pages. Therefore, the painter would have had to paint it on two different kinds of paper, since the text paper is not the same as the paper used in the margins. Using a third kind of paper to fit all the areas to be illustrated was an ingenious solution.

Possibly because of this rearrangement, the format of the illustrations on these pages is highly unusual. Among the many extant Shirazi paintings, either within the Topkapi collection or published, there are no miniatures that are painted only in the three margins as occurs on the right-hand page (Figure 2). Although strictly marginal painting does occur in Shiraz, these have neither the same manner nor the same quality of the Metropolitan's example. The format of the left-hand page (Figure 1) is also relatively rare. No miniatures with a clear attribution to Safavid Shiraz with this format have been published. On the other hand, it is frequently seen in the above-mentioned group of lavishly produced Shirazi manuscripts in the TSML in Istanbul (Figures 10, 12, 14).⁷ The illustrator of the Metropolitan's pages therefore seems not only to have devised



Figure 6. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, endpiece. Turkey, A.D. 1562-83/A.H. 970-91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 47.5 x 33 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14.691 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

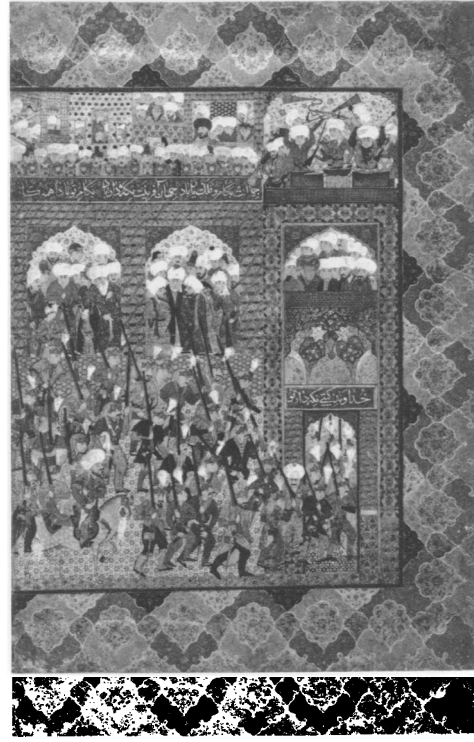


Figure 7. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, endpiece. Turkey, A.D. 1562-83/A.H. 970-91. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 47.5 x 33 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund, 14.692 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

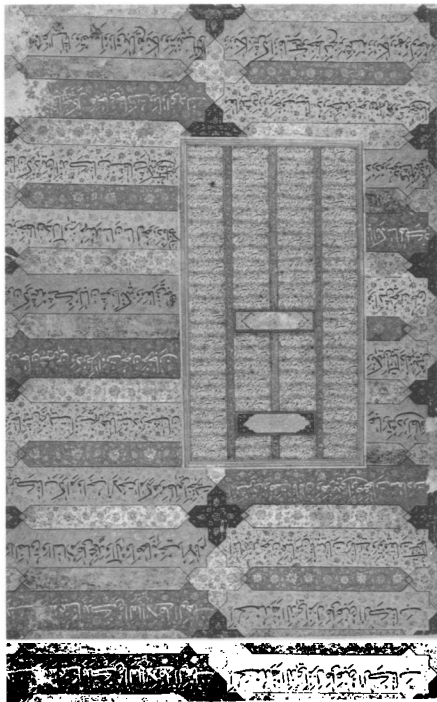


Figure 8. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the colophon and the last page of text on the reverse of MFA 14.691 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

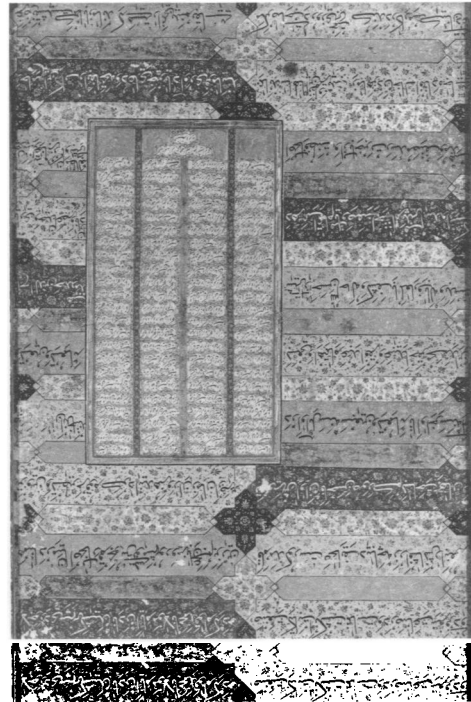


Figure 9. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, the penultimate page of text, MFA 14.692 (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)



Figure 10. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Battle between Iranians and Turanians*, folio 287r. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)



Figure 11. Detail of Figure 10 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

this ingenious way of enlarging the area which was to be painted on one page but by using the margins of the second one, a hitherto unused setting for illustrations of this type, has achieved a double-page composition.

The unanimous attribution of the Metropolitan's folios to the court school of Istanbul was based on both iconographical and stylistic considerations. Since the members of the left-hand army seem to be in Ottoman attire, there is some reason to consider a Turkish element in connection with their iconography, although it is completely unnecessary to search further than Shiraz for their style.

The current attribution at the Metropolitan follows the opinion of Ernst Grube, who was the curator of the Museum's Department of Islamic Art from 1965 to 1968. He wrote extensively about the folios in an article⁸ and later illustrated them in an

issue of the *Museum Bulletin*.⁹ Because the article was the most comprehensive piece of work on the folios, the reasons he gives there for assigning them to the Ottoman court school are considered here. He remarks on "a feeling for reality" and "a sense of action" which seem to him "to be taken right out of the many historical texts that were illustrated in Turkey in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."¹⁰

When the pages are compared with Ottoman court painting, they have many significant differences. An almost contemporary Ottoman battle scene is found on folio 256v (Figure 15) of the *Hünernama* of Lokman dated A.D. 1588/A.H. 996, H. 1524 in the TSML in Istanbul,¹¹ while an earlier one is seen on folios 219v and 220r (Figure 16) of the *Süleymannname* of Arifi dated A.D. 1558/A.H. 965, H. 1517 in the TSML.¹² These bona fide Turkish illustrations can be of further use for a comparison of



Figure 12. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Rustam's Battle with Afrāsiyāb*, folio 205r. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

the headgear of the janissaries (undoubtedly illustrated by Ottoman court artists) with that of the Metropolitan's pages (Figures 3 and 17).¹³ This comparison shows that the painter of the latter could not have been fully conversant with the correct form of headdress, since those worn by the Ottomans never have the crownlike base found in the Metropolitan's pages. On the other hand, a Sa'favid Shirazi *Shāhnāma* owned by the TSML, H. 1485, dated A.D. 1522/A.H. 928 signed by its scribe, Muḥammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Kātib, who gives its place of production as Shiraz, has two solitary janissary figures on folios 382 and 516 (Figure 18). These janissaries, definitely painted by Shirazi artists at Shiraz, share the same type of headgear with the janissaries of the Metropolitan's pages, thus showing that Shirazi artists sometimes included these figures in their manuscripts.



Figure 13. Detail of Figure 12 (photo: Topkapı Sarayı Museum)

The TSML owns yet another *Shāhnāma*, which also has a Shirazi-style janissary figure. This one, H. 1495, dated A.D. 1553/A.H. 960 and signed by its scribe, Fānī al-Kātib al-Shirāzī, can be considered Shirazi on stylistic grounds. Folio 275v of the manuscript depicts the beheading of Afrāsiyāb while a solitary janissary figure watches the action (Figure 19). A later note, written on the flyleaf of this particular manuscript, informs us that this was the *Shāhnāma* that came to the Royal Library in January A.D. 1686/A.H. 1097 from the estate of the murdered Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa.¹⁴ This note makes it clear that this manuscript was originally owned by a member of the Ottoman ruling elite and was definitely not produced for an Ottoman sultan.

All the features of the Metropolitan pages mentioned by Professor Grube as characteristic of a Turkish painter are in fact standard stylistic devices



Figure 14. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Death of Dārā's Murderers*, folio 330r. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1475 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

commonly used by Persian and specifically by Shirazi painters during the pre-1580s Safavid period. Thus, the sun “hides his face” both on the upper-right corner in folio 330r of a late-sixteenth-century Shirazi *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī (H. 1475 in the TSML [Figure 14]) and next to the drummers at the top of the right-hand page of the Metropolitan’s illustration (Figures 2 and 5); the dark complexion of the warriors on the Metropolitan’s right-hand page was a convention used by Persian painters for the depiction of Indians (Figure 5);¹⁵ and the complicated pose of the attendant in front of the emperor on the elephant of the same army (Figure 5) is duplicated by the uppermost warrior on the ladder in front of the fortress being stormed in folio 548 (Figure 20) of the Shirazi *Shāhnāma* dated 1539 from the Kraus collection.¹⁶ Although an array of artillery

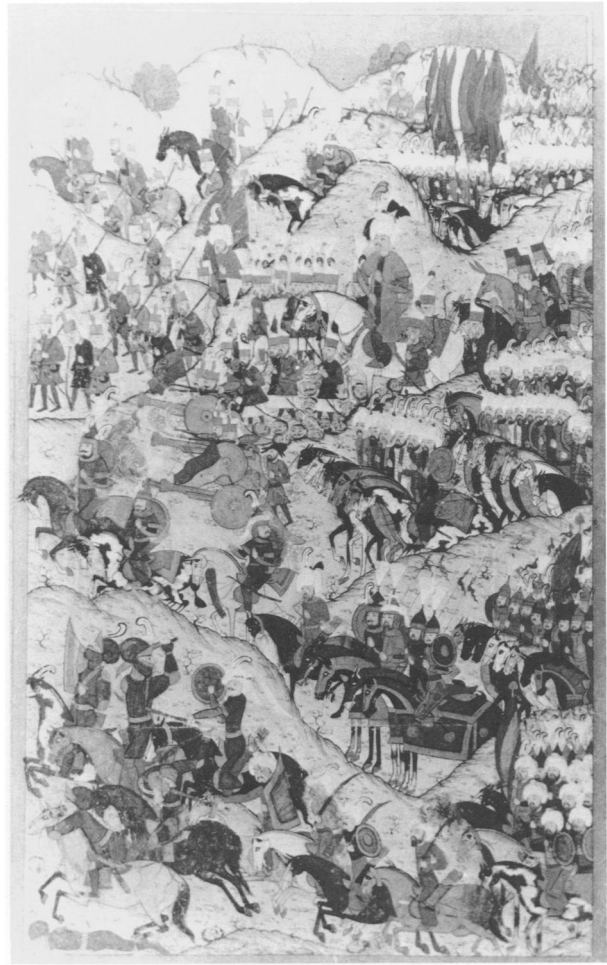


Figure 15. *Hünernâme* of Lokman, volume II, *Battle of Mohács*, folio 256v. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1524 (from N. Atasoy and F. Cayman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pl. 25)

with its wheels chained can be seen in Ottoman miniatures, an example of which exists in folio 219v (Figure 17) of the *Süleymannâme* of Arifi dated 1558, H. 1517 in the TSML,¹⁷ it also exists in Shirazi battle scenes, as can be seen in folio 232r (Figures 21 and 22) of another Shirazi *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī of about 1580 (Ethé 867 in the India Office Library in London).¹⁸ Therefore the chain connecting the cannons of the army of the Metropolitan’s left-hand page¹⁹ (Figure 3) need not indicate an Ottoman origin. Finally, the depiction of body parts strewn on the battleground is a characteristic seen more often in Persian than in Ottoman illustrations.

A final comparison of the left-hand page of the Metropolitan’s illustration (Figure 1) with the two battle scenes (Figures 10, 12) from the above-mentioned late-sixteenth-century Shirazi *Shāhnāma*,

H. 1475, displays not only the same compositional format but also the traditional battle motifs duplicated in both, such as the person with his head cleft in two, seen in the middle of the Metropolitan's left-hand page²⁰ (Figure 4) and in folio 287r of H. 1475 (Figures 10, 11); the figure of a soldier being pushed down from his horse, just above the person with his head cleft in two on the Metropolitan's page (Figure 4)²¹ and in the upper-right corner just below the text area in folio 205r of H. 1475 (Figures 12, 13); and the body parts strewn on the ground in all three scenes (Figures 1, 10, 12).

Since the overall style, proportions, colors, landscape details, and the setting of the illustration within the entire page of the Metropolitan's folios are found only within the Shirazi idiom, stylistically they can be accepted as a product of the Shirazi school, painted by a Shirazi painter trained in Shiraz.

Although the name of this painter is not known, new information has come to light about the illu-

minator who signed his name in the concluding pages of the text owned by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. The TSML owns a large-size Qur'an, E.H. 48,²² dated A.D. 1572–86/A.H. 980–95, which bears two artists' signatures. The colophon at the end of the Qur'an text (folio 245r) is signed by the scribe, 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Ḥusainī. This is followed by a Persian *falnāma* (a treatise on how to use the Qur'an for divination), which terminates with a colophon (folio 252r) signed by the illuminator, Muḥammad ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ḥaidar *muzahhib* Shīrāzī. The illuminator of this Qur'an is undoubtedly the same artist as the scribe-illuminator who signed his name in an identical manner in the Boston pages. Also, the illumination seen on the borders of the illustrated endpiece and the decorative cartouches on the concluding folios of text in Boston (Figures 8, 9)²³ can both be matched almost exactly with illumination from this extremely lavishly illuminated Qur'an (Figure 23). Although the colophons of the Qur'an E.H. 48 do not mention its place of produc-



Figure 16. *Süleymanname* of Arifi, *Battle of Mohács*, folio 219v. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1517 (from E. Atıl, *Süleymanname*, pl. 20)



Figure 17. Detail of Figure 16

tion, its illumination, as a whole, fits extremely well within the Shirazi idiom. Moreover, there is another Qur'an, K.104 in the TSML, which can also be placed in Shiraz on stylistic grounds. This Qur'an was also transcribed by the same scribe responsible for the Qur'an E.H. 48, since he uses the identical name, 'Abd al-Qadīr al-Ḥusainī. These series of matching names and similar illumination and illustration styles thus indicate that the Metropolitan's folios were not only painted by a Shirazi painter but also that they were actually painted in Shiraz.

The left-hand army in Ottoman clothes makes it impossible to assign the Metropolitan's pages to a Shirazi painter working in Shiraz for a Safavid Shirazi patron. On the other hand, the choice of text illustrated in the manuscript of the Metropolitan's pages, which is the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in Persian, indicates that it could not have been produced for the Ottoman sultan. Although there seems to be a relatively accepted view that the Ottoman sultans liked to have Persian copies of the *Shāhnāma* of Fir-

dausī produced for their own libraries, this belief is not borne out by observation of the available material. Persian was indeed used as a court language by the Ottomans, who had some of their own histories written in Persian and in the same meter as Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*. But it is not likely that the Ottoman sultans ever commissioned a copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in Persian. It is interesting to note that during the reign of Sultan Murad III (1574–95) a translation of the *Shāhnāma* was prepared for him in Turkish while he was having the history of his own ancestors written in Persian. None of the forty-two illustrated Persian copies of the *Shāhnāma* in the TSML is a product of Ottoman court artists. Their presence may be explained as booty from the Persian campaigns, presents to the Ottoman sultans or dignitaries, or purchases by the Ottoman elite, but none was produced at the Ottoman court atelier.

The double-folio endpiece miniature of the same dispersed manuscript that the Metropolitan's pages belong to, owned by the Boston museum, depicts



Figure 18. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Dārā's Death*, folio 382, detail. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1485 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

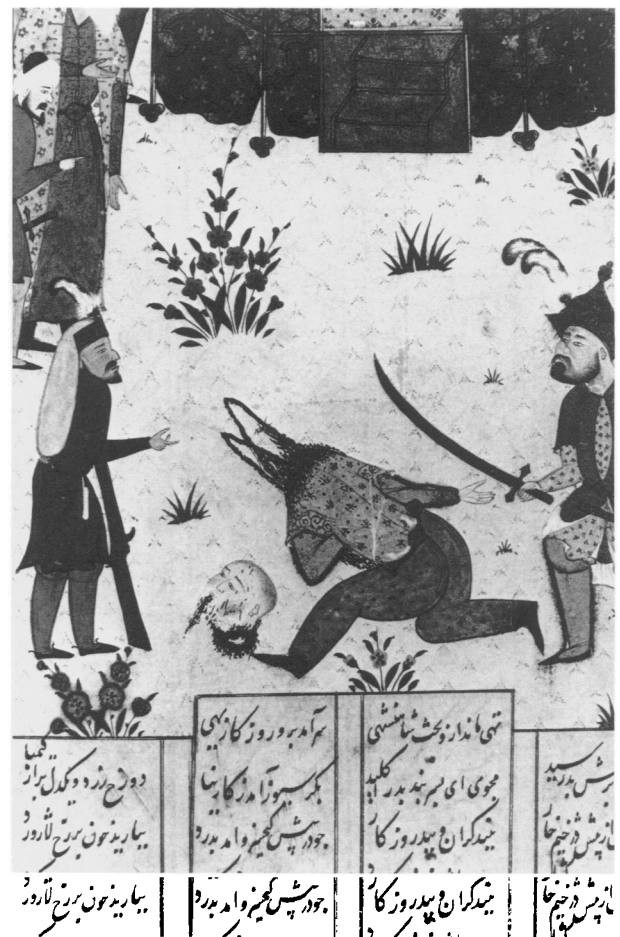


Figure 19. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Death of Afrāsiyāb*, folio 275v, detail. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayı Museum Library, H. 1495 (photo: Topkapi Sarayı Museum)

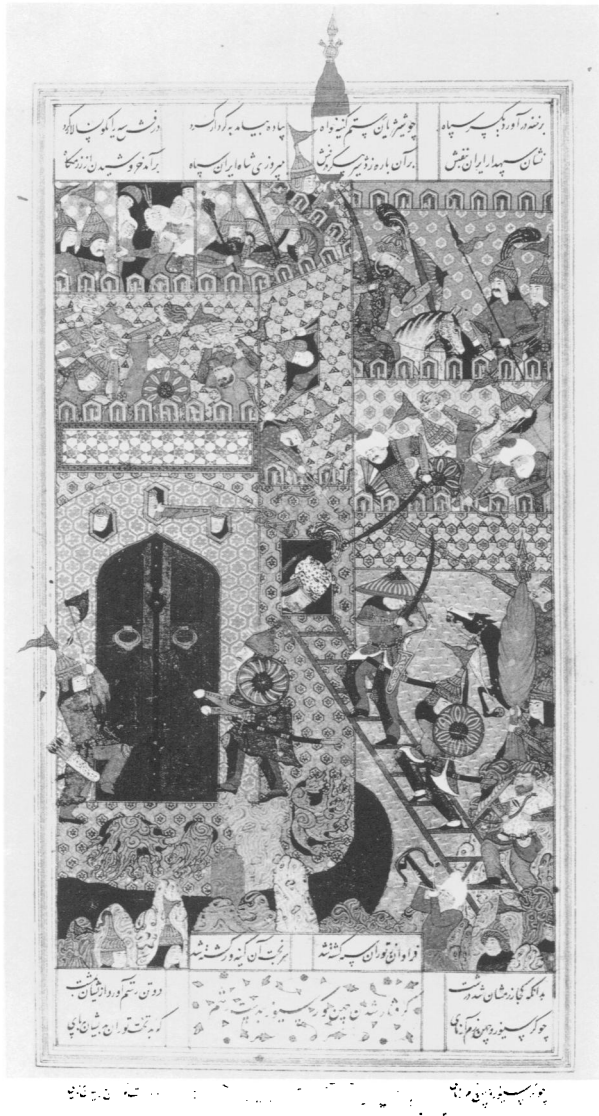


Figure 20. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausi, *Rustam Storms a Fortress*. New York, The Kraus Collection (from E. Grube, *Islamic Paintings: The Kraus Collection* [New York, 1972] pl. xxvi)

the triumphal entry into a city of a personage accompanied by his army in the same strange style of Ottoman clothing. Also, there are panegyric verses to a sultan written on the miniatures themselves (Figures 6, 7). This may possibly indicate that the manuscript was intended to be a present to the bibliophile sultan Murad III himself, either from the Safavid shah or through an Ottoman official who may have either received it as a gift himself or purchased it.

The year 1583 falls in the middle of the twelve-year conflict (1578–90) between the Ottomans and the Safavids. Thus, major military campaigns were being conducted at the Ottoman-Persian border and major Ottoman officials were wintering at

the Eastern outposts of the empire year after year.²⁴ Interestingly, these were also the years when Ottoman court manuscripts were written and illustrated on the military exploits of Ottoman pashas, independently from their inclusion within a general court history book. Furthermore, three of the total number of four started during the reign of Murad III, all illustrated, are precisely about the Persian campaigns of the three pashas who were the commanders-in-chief of the Eastern forces for these twelve years.²⁵

Of the three pashas, Ferhad Paşa became the commander-in-chief of the Eastern campaign twice. Thus, he spent two years, from the summer of 1583 until the summer of 1585, during his first command, and about four years, from the summer of 1586 until the beginning of 1590, during his second command, at the Persian border. He was called back to Istanbul in 1585 and was reappointed commander-in-chief of the Eastern forces in 1586. Also in 1586, the Safavid shah Khudābanda sent a Safavid officer to Ferhad Paşa to negotiate for peace. Ferhad Paşa asked for a Safavid prince to be sent as hostage to the Ottoman court as one of the conditions for peace. This proposal was received favorably by the shah Khudābanda and his son Ḥamza Mīrzā. It was also decided that Ḥamza Mīrzā's son Ḥaidar Mīrzā would be the Safavid prince who would be sent as the hostage. However, at this stage of the negotiations, Ḥamza Mīrzā was murdered and Khudābanda's son 'Abbās Mīrzā became the Safavid shah as 'Abbās I. The new shah stopped the negotiations for peace and the war continued until 1590, to end with a peace treaty again at the instigation of the Safavid shah. Ferhad Paşa was again involved in the peace negotiations because he was still the commander-in-chief of the Eastern forces. The Safavid prince Ḥaidar Mīrzā was indeed sent as a hostage. He reached Ferhad Paşa's headquarters in Erzurum on October 15, 1589, and the Ottoman court in Istanbul on January 15, 1590. A large number of officials bearing many gifts accompanied the young prince.²⁶

The Ottoman manuscript about the Persian campaign of Ferhad Paşa, *The Conquest of Gandja*, TSML R. 1296, dated A.D. 1589–90/A.H. 998, lists the manuscripts sent as gifts on this occasion and includes a copy of the *Shāhnāma*.²⁷ The *Shāhnāma* that used to contain the Metropolitan's illustration might have reached the Ottoman court through a variety of channels, but most probably as a gift to the Ottoman sultan. It might be one of the gifts and the



Figure 21. *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī, *Rustam Shoots Askabūs*. London, India Office Library, E. 867 (from B. W. Robinson, *India Office*, fig. 369)

Shāhnāma mentioned in *The Conquest of Gandja* as having been brought by Ḥaidar Mirzā; it might have been a gift to Ferhad Paşa himself, who might have offered it to the bibliophile sultan Murad III when he was called back to the capital. It might have been acquired either as a gift or through purchase by a member of the Ottoman elite and then given as a gift to his sultan. Or it might have come as a gift by a later Safavid embassy to Istanbul, for example, Zu'l-Faqr Khān's, in 1595.²⁸

To sum up, the manuscript of the *Shāhnāma* that included the Metropolitan's illustration was painted in a prolific atelier in Shiraz which produced manuscripts for an extended market, including the Ottoman. This solution not only provides the necessary

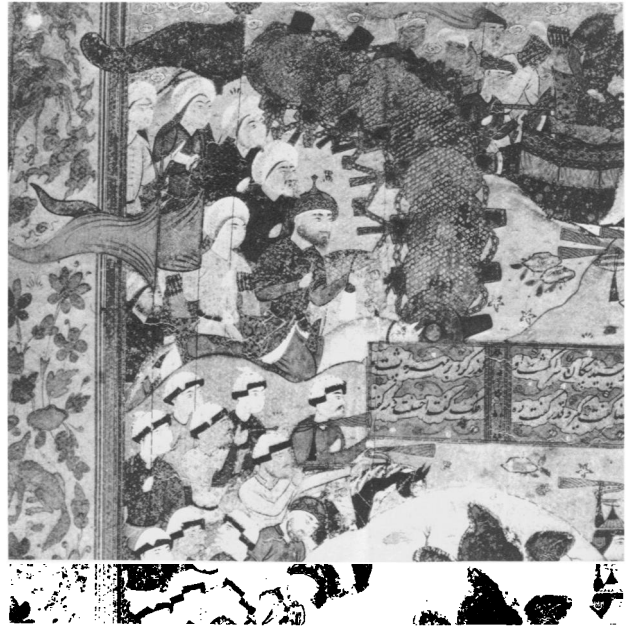


Figure 22. Detail of Figure 21

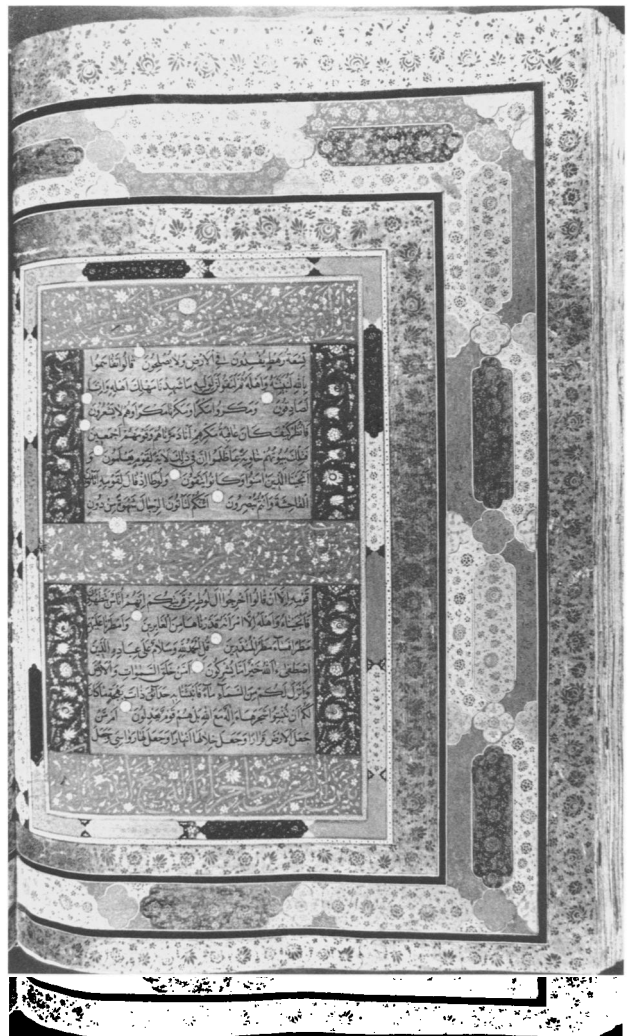


Figure 23. Qur'an, folio 154v. Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Museum Library, E.H. 48 (photo: Topkapi Sarayi Museum)

framework for the creation of an illustrated Persian copy of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in the Shirazi style for an Ottoman patron and explains its choice of text and iconography, but it also fits remarkably well within the historical context of the time.

NOTES

1. E. J. Grube, "Four Pages from a Turkish 16th-Century Shahnama in the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York," in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens. In Memoriam Ernst Diez*, Oktay Aslanapa ed., (Istanbul, 1963) pp. 237–255; I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966, 1971) pp. 72–73; and A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (Austin, Texas, 1979) pp. 98–99.
2. G. Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, 1949).
3. The range of their sizes is 40–53 cm x 26–34.5 cm; both MMA folios measure 43.5 x 25.7 cm.
4. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston* (Paris, 1929) (*Ars Asiatica*, vol. XIII) pp. 60–63, pls. LIV–LVII.
5. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures*, pp. 61, 62, pls. LVI, LVII; and Welch, *Calligraphy*, p. 98.
6. Guest, *Shiraz Painting*, p. 59, no. 18. A *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, TIEM 1984. While it is possible that the scribe of this manuscript may be another person with a similar name, both the illumination and the illustration of all the works signed by our scribe are completely within the Shirazi idiom. It therefore seems safe to assume that he was indeed a Shirazi scribe working in Shiraz.
7. Figures 10, 12, and 14 are from an undated Shirazi manuscript, Topkapı Sarayı Museum Library (TSML) Hazine (H.) 1475, and it is considered to be Shirazi because of stylistic reasons. There is also another manuscript, TSML H. 1497, dated 1574, that has a colophon giving Shiraz as its place of production. The same format can also be seen in this latter manuscript on fols. 220v, 247v, 248r, 284r, 301r, 312v, 333r, and 366v.
8. Grube, "Four Pages."
9. E. J. Grube, "The Ottoman Empire," *MMAB* 25 (Jan. 1968) pp. 204–254.
10. Grube, "Four Pages," pp. 249–250.
11. N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974) pl. 25.
12. E. Atil, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, 1986) pl. 20.
13. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 11.
14. This was Grand Vizier Kara-Ibrahim Paşa, who was in office between Nov. 15, 1683, and Nov. 18, 1685/25 Zulhicce 1094–21 Muḥarram 1097.
15. Therefore, it seems more likely that this army was also Indian rather than Chinese, as Professor Grube remarked. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 12.
16. E. J. Grube, *Islamic Painting: The Kraus Collection* (New York, 1972) pl. xxvi.
17. Atil, *Süleymanname*, pl. 20, right-hand side.
18. B. W. Robinson, *Persian Paintings in the India Office Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1976) fig. 369, p. 121.
19. Grube, "Four Pages," fig. 11.
20. Ibid., fig. 9.
21. Ibid.
22. Its measurements are 48 x 30.5 cm.
23. Coomaraswamy, *Les Miniatures*, pls. LIV, LV, LVI, and LVII.
24. B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı—üran Siyasi Munasebetleri* (Istanbul, 1962) passim.
25. *Nusretname* of 1584 in the TSML, H.1365, describing the campaign of Lala Mustafa Paşa, the *Şecaatnâme* executed in Istanbul in 1586 in the Istanbul University library T. 6088 describing the campaign of Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa in Georgia and Shirvan, and the *Conquest of Gandja* of 1589–90 in the TSML R.1296, describing the conquest of Gandja by Ferhad Paşa.
26. TSML, *Conquest of Gandja*, R. 1296, İbrahim Çavus, fols. 42–54. (This event was given so much importance that three of the twenty miniatures in TSML R. 1296 depict Haidar Mîrzâ in various stages of his trip.) I. H. Danişmend, *İzahli Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1947); and Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great (Tārīkh-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī)*, trans. R. M. Savory, 2 vols. (Boulder, Colorado, 1979) pp. 479–483, 612.
27. TSML R. 1296, fol. 54. The same list also mentions three Qur'ans, two of which are recorded as "large" copies. It is highly likely that the above-mentioned Topkapı Qur'an E.H. 48 dated 1572–86 and measuring 48 x 30.5 cm was one of these. It is a lavishly illuminated copy, where not only were all the pages illuminated but not a single section of any of the pages was left empty. It also has a very richly decorated lacquer binding with mother-of-pearl insets. However, its colophon does not mention a patron's name.
28. Eskandar Beg Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas*, p. 688.