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ФАН ВА МАДАНИЯТ ТАРИХИ

J. Comstock-Skipp

Can we really call it the “Bukhara School”? Sheybanid (Abulkheyrid) arts of the book in the 16th century

The history of art as a discipline has long concerned itself with typology and periodization as means to examine visual materials in isolation or as a group. Artworks can be distinguished by form and style, separated by region, and classified by time period. Inclusive of other factors going into an artistic production are delineations based on culture as a combination of religion, language, ethnicity, social strata, and other groupings. Art proves to be a web and art historians are the flies that willingly get caught in its clutches. It is my philosophy and scholarly outlook–which admittedly privileges the “history” component in “Art History”–that one way to break free is to disentangle the threads and follow the strands to their origins, becoming immersed in the time period of an artwork’s creation and the cultural milieu of its creators and the society in which they lived.

With this in mind, in order to introduce manuscript productions from the overlooked Sheybanid (more accurately, Abulkheyrid) dynasty in Transoxiana during the sixteenth century we will begin by situating them in the context of the broader scope of Persianate manuscript arts. After discussing the discipline we will proceed with the historical context and its connections to the political, offering a condensed chronological overview of some of the ruling Abulkheyrid khans’ and amirs’ important illustrated manuscripts and albums (figs. 2 and 4).

I. The "Bukhara School" as it has been situated in the discipline

Building on prior scholarship emerging in the early 1900s, the prolific British scholar on Persianate arts of the book B.W. Robinson produced a comprehensive classificatory scheme to catalogue manuscripts [22: 32]. He added previously unacknowledged dynastic branches but focused on artistic centers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iran while it was ruled by the Safavid dynasty. Robinson's diagram labelled "Persian Painting" from 1967 (fig. 1) is still the guide for museums and collections to label their specimens and for university courses to be structured. His approach dealt with styles linked to courtly capitals and workshops outside elite patronage, focusing mainly on high-quality productions. But the chart relies on the work of early scholars who squeezed materials into the frames of their own rubrics, imposing labels from above. The materials they sought to classify were not only intact manuscripts but several ripped out pages–"miniatures"–which then helped produce the very clear-*cut* dynastic divisions (emphasis intended) the scholars had so delineated. This is problematic given that the complete manuscript and original context for the illustrations no longer existed, and so this periodization was built on incomplete foundations.

Despite this, our understanding of Persianate arts of the book is indebted to the work of Robinson and others and we are continually nuancing our knowledge of the major artistic styles associated with city names and dynasties included in his schematic, and those he left out. One such shortcoming in need of remedying is the absent Abulkheyrid label in his diagram. This dynasty's artworks are represented in the tiny designation "Bukhara style" and its painting traditions appear as mere offshoots of the broader Safavid category, in turn spawning the Mughal (Boburid) and Khurasan styles beneath it. But Robinson was merely following British and European typological conventions which scholars over in the Soviet Union found problematic. In articles written in the early 1950s, academicians in the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan criticized these approaches that placed Central Asian arts under Iranian headings, going so far as to accuse "foreign scholars" (implying inhabitants outside of the USSR) of not understanding schools of manuscript painting in Transoxiana and instead articulating their own "bourgeois point of view" [3: 121].

In this article I will situate Abulkheyrid arts of the book in the context of politics and culture in the broader Abulkheyrid-Uzbek sphere. Abulkheyrid manuscript productions have occupied a curious position in scholarship, considered "too Persian" to be grouped with art forms from Turkic-speaking regions, but also "too Turkish" to be categorized alongside other Persianate dynasties. I seek to grant Abulkheyrid book arts autonomy and to delve into the workings of the sixteenth-century *kitabkhana*s (manuscript workshops) in Transoxiana. First I will provide some information about the period and history of this dynasty, enumerating its origins and rise to power.

II. Historical and political context of the Abulkheyrids

Throughout the previous Temurid period, the core part of Transoxiana–implying the cities and environs of Bukhara and Samarqand–were fully connected and integrated with Iran. But that would be the last time Iran and Transoxiana were administered by the same ruler, and the division that exists between them today has its origins in the collapse of the Temurid state and rise of the Abulkheyrids and Safavids in the region at the onset of the sixteenth century. Abulkheyrid power was first officially located in Samarqand under the ruler Muhammad Sheybani Khan between 1500–1510, although his grandfather Abulkheyr in the previous century had assisted in uniting disparate tribes. It is Abulkheyr's name that is the more accurate eponymous dynastic descriptor. Samarqand was to become the seat of the great khan (usually the oldest member of the ruling house) but with power also dispersed across the cities of Balkh, Bukhara, and Tashkent which were separate appanages (governing centers) overseen by the main base in Samarqand. As was true in the late-Temurid period, in the first half-century of Abulkheyrid governance, the existence of multiple princely courts and centers of power across various cities, and the concomitant competition between them, actually served to fuel cultural and intellectual production. In other words, "fragmentation of land and dispersal of political authority stimulate[d] patronage" [11: 4]. As examples of this, manuscripts were concurrently produced in Tashkent and Samarqand in the 1520s, although the latter center mainly turned out unillustrated translations of classical Persian works into Turki. In the 1540s artists could find patronage in Samarqand and Bukhara. A small number of

scribes (such as Mahmud bin Ishaq al-Shahabi) appear to have worked in Balkh but made frequent visits to Bukharan workshops (fig. 4).

The Abulkheyrids traced their descent through Chinggis Khan's Khan's son Juchi and adhered to Hanafi Sunni Islam. Theirs was an age when identity was constructed mostly on religious confession, which in this case was the rift in Islam between the dominant Sunni and Shi'i branches. It thus seems natural that Sunni Uzbeks based in Bukhara and Sunni Ottomans with their capital in Istanbul would want to team up to remove the Shi'i Safavids as an obstacle in their path to unite and join empires, but political expediency better explains their fraternity more than their being co-religionists [19]. Historians have suggested there was some sort of coordination –if rarely the direct transfer of troops–between Istanbul and Bukhara, but this collaboration was hampered by a lag of one year between the dispatch and receipt of missives [14: 83].

Between 1500–1598 (the duration of the Abulkheyrid branch of the Sheybanid dynasty) there were repeated clashes between Safavids and Abulkheyrids for control of the economically and culturally-rich province of Khurasan. But it is worth noting that these battles taking place in the east were connected to combats in the west between Safavids and Ottomans. It was detrimental for the Safavids to have two fronts, which their enemies in Transoxiana and Rum well knew. Based on the "Table of Takeovers" (fig. 3) we can see a correlation between Ottoman gains in Tabriz/Baghdad and Safavid gains in Herat (implying the Safavids had to select which front to secure; in this case, with the west exposed and vulnerable, there could be victory in the east).

Political interactions in the form of battles and embassies were actually effective ways to rejuvenate the arts with troops and emissaries bringing manuscripts with them on their journeys. Looking at all these conflicts over Khurasan, certain outcomes stand out as significant, and they along with the accession of new rulers have motivated my divisions for artistic periodization. The earliest period includes the first decade of Abulkheyrid power coinciding with the Uzbek conquests of Samarqand in 1500 and their taking Herat in 1506 [13: 119]. Some of the masters who had worked for the Temurids to produce manuscripts continued to work for the new Abulkheyrid overlords in the appanages of Samarqand and Tashkent throughout the 1520s. In 1528 at the Battle of Jam, the Safavid

Shah Tahmasp defeated the Abulkheyrid military leader ʻUbaydullah Khan near Nishapur [16: 129–131]. But the following year in 1529, despite its being a short duration, the Abulkheyrid Uzbeks seized Mashhad and occupied Herat for the third time, lasting between 29 October 1529 – August 1530 [9: 157]. These months are significant because there was a migration of artists and scribes who had formerly served Safavid patrons into the Abulkheyrid domain. Thus I have made 1529 the division between the first political and artistic period from the second. In addition to Herati *kitabkhana* staff working directly in the new Abulkheyrid workshop in Bukhara, materials scribed earlier in Herat when it was ruled by the Temurids were taken to Transoxiana where spaces left for illustrations were filled but in a new style inspired by contemporary artists who had previously worked on Safavid commissions. Although he was never the great khan himself, ʻUbaydullah's son ʻAbdul ʻAziz kept the Bukharan workshops busy with his patronage across the 1540s [25: 105].

In the years between 1537 through 1578 Herat was under Safavid control despite some Uzbek skirmishes. In the mid-century, the longest-ruling Abulkheyrid leader ʻAbdullah Khan bin Iskandar began consolidating power and getting rid of the appanage system that had distributed power across Samarqand, Tashkent, Balkh, and Bukhara [18: 118]. In the midst of this inter-clan warfare lasting from 1550–1581, he declared Bukhara the single Abulkheyrid capital in 1557 and made his father Iskandar the great khan in Samarqand. This significant act forms the start of our third period. ʻAbdullah took the great khan title himself with his father's death, and undertook campaigns in the 1570s (our fourth period marker) to expand and unify an Uzbek state within the boundaries that had been established in the early years of the 1500s under his predecessor Sheybani Khan [8: 83].

Between 1578–1587 the Uzbeks repeatedly plundered Khurasan in eastern Iran. Between 1576–1590 there was a civil war underway in Iran with rival *qizilbash* nobles vying for power. These years correspond to the Ottoman-Safavid wars between 1578–1590, which only ended when the new Safavid Shah ʻAbbas sued for peace. So in the 1580s Iran was very vulnerable, hence the most significant and longest Abulkheyrid-Uzbek occupation and control of Khurasan which lasted a decade, between 1588–1598. Under the command of ʻAbdullah Khan, the jewel of

Khurasan, Herat, fell to the Uzbeks on 2 April 1588 after a 10-month siege and over a year later Mashhad as well [13: 121]. The Abulkheyrids would continue to occupy eastern Iran until they were forced out in August 1598 by the Safavid armies of Shah ʻAbbas, a feat eased by the death of ʻAbdullah Khan months earlier.

III. Abulkheyrid arts of the book

Ebadallah Bahari lists some of the books most favoured by the Uzbek rulers [10: 256], but I have arranged and added to them in the order of their frequency based on my own compiled and collated inventory (fig. 4). Jami's "Khamsa" (in complete form or single stories) are the works most copied, followed by Saʻdi's "Gulistan" and "Bustan", Nizami's "Makhzan al-Asrar", Nava'i's "Khamsa" and "Divan", Hatifi's "Haft Manzar" and works by Amir Khusrau Dihlavi. These surviving manuscripts confirm that the Abulkheyrids were modeling their patronage of classical Persian and Turki poetry on Temurid archetypes and those of their contemporaries in Safavid and Ottoman realms.

A few scholars have examined the span of sixteenth-century illustrated manuscripts in Transoxiana. Most thorough is Mukaddima Ashrafi's 1987 work [2]. My criticism of her analysis is that she overlooks 1500–1510, and her division of the century into delineated and grouped decades with some subsets does not account for the art's connection to political events that do not fall so neatly and succinctly in the periods of her manufacture. Elsewhere Oleg Akimushkin [1; 5], Larisa Dodkhudoeva, Olimpiada Galerkina [4], Yves Porter [20], Galina Pugachenkova [3; 4], Francis Richard, Karin Rührdanz [21; 24; 25], and Barbara Schmitz have summarized manuscript trends in Central Asia (and Abulkheyrid *kitabkhana* practices) which I have incorporated into my four delineated periods.

III.1. 1500–1529. The first period corresponds to the formative decades of the new Abulkheyrid state originally under Sheybani Khan based in Samarqand, and extends to the later patronage of Kuchkunji, Suyunj Khwaja Khan, and Kildi Muhammad who administered other political centers. In this period, and also extending into the century, confiscated Temurid manuscripts scribed earlier were reused and filled in with illustrations. We know this by analyzing visual and textual

components together: when it is present, colophon information can provide us with the scribal date of a manuscript, and artistic analysis can point to when the work as a whole was completed. Scribes and artists originally having positions in the Temurid workshops of Herat and Samarqand continued their practice in those places, but worked for Sheybanid patrons alongside the new generation of artisans to produce manuscripts anew in the early century through the 1520s. The Temurid master Behzad himself might have been conscripted to assist in Abulkheyrid manuscript productions between 1507–1510 before he was taken to the Safavid side, and his artistic contributions to the Abulkheyrids are in need of examination.

There exists a grouping of illustrated manuscripts during the transition from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century which have been examined by the scholar Semiha Altier and which are carried out in two artistic styles: "big figure" and "little figure." All of the manuscripts in the group were likely penned together during the end of the Temurid dynasty lasting from the 1480s through the very-early 1500s and were made for commercial purposes instead of the palace [7: 215]. Other scholars concur that artists with Temurid training set out to search for new patrons in Herat after the shift in regional dynastic control in 1507 [20]. To Altier, the copies in the little-figure style could have been the work of nomadic artists wandering between Herat and Samarqand [7: 219].

Altier claims the *Fathnama-yi Khani* historiographical text (Beruni Institute no. 5369) is the earliest courtly commissioned manuscript for the newly-founded Abulkheyrid state, and was produced in consultation with Shaybani Khan himself and was completed in Samarqand before his death in 1510 [6: 12]. Its illustrations appear to be the product of the practitioners of the "big-figure" style, that is to say, the artists who had formerly worked for the Temurids. These artists carried out variations on the style popularized by Behzad when they worked in the non-courtly workshops of Herat. The early Uzbek patrons had no artists of their own to make any stylistic contribution to books so might have been the customers (not necessarily the patrons) for whom the books with small and large figures were produced. It is understood that the Uzbeks in this period were preoccupied with administration but managed to create a suitable environment for book arts [7:194]. Shaybani's successor in Samarqand,

Kuchkunji Khan (r. 1512–1530/31), requested literary works originally in Persian to be translated into Turki at his court, but none of these materials seem to be illustrated [15]. In this time period, the Uzbeks were still trying to establish a polity in Transoxiana. It cannot be expected that a community which has not yet established its order can be active in artistic patronage.

Pugachenkova and Galerkina claim the Samarqand studio was not well organized in the beginning as a result of the political instability of the period [4: 42], and there is no record of any workshop in Bukhara producing manuscripts at this time. Despite its coarseness and naiveté of execution, the little-figure style went on to have a longer appeal than the big-figure, and one can discern its evolution and transfer into the Tashkent workshops in subsequent decades. Tashkent and neighboring Shahrukhiyya were first ruled by Siyunj Khoja (r. 1512–1525) and then his more-renowned son Kildi-Muhammad (r. 1525–1533). The patronage of Kildi Muhammad in 1520s Tashkent is the most significant in the period, and includes the manuscripts of Nava'i's *Navadir-i Nihaya* (ca. 1518, Beruni Institute no. 1995), which evidences the transition between the little-figure style earlier in the century and later manuscripts illustrated for the patron; Nava'i's *Kulliyat* (ca. 1521/22, St. Petersburg Russian National Library ms. Dorn 559); and Kashifi's *Anvar-i Suhayli* (ca. 1520s, Beruni Institute no. 9109). The painting style of these Tashkent works differs from the official-aristocratic trend of Samarqand with fewer influences from Temurid traditions and more local innovations [4: 42]. The next period would witness even more pictorial shifts – and in personnel – taking place in the Abulkheyrid workshops.

III.2. 1530–1556. The second period begins with the consolidation of the Uzbek state and second Abulkheyrid siege of Herat in 1529. In 1528 some master artists and scribes who had worked for the Safavids came to the Abulkheyrid domain under the military commander and Bukhara governor 'Ubaydullah Khan (r. 1512–1540) when he seized Herat for over a year [9: 18]. This officially marks the start of the "Bukhara School" as 'Ubaydullah's raids on Herat functioned to replenish the Abulkheyrid libraries in terms of staff and materials. A "transitional Herat-Bukhara style" takes root in the 1530s and with time disengages from the earlier

Temurid influences in the midst of repeated skirmishes over Herat in this decade.

The most notable artisans taken by ‘Ubaydullah Khan from (or voluntarily leaving) Herat to arrive in Bukhara at this time were Mir Ali the scribe, and his pupil Mahmud Muzahhib. The student of the esteemed artist Behzad, Sheykhzada, might have arrived on his own accord given his dissatisfaction serving in the courtly Safavid *kitabkhana*. To Akimushkin, it is possible that artists in Bukhara in this second period all trained under Sheykhzada [5: 582]. Robinson attests that the copy of Sa‘di’s *Bustan* in London’s Royal Asiatic Society (Ms. 251) is the “best Herat/Bukhara style” of the 1530s [23: 53]. The manuscript is scribed by Sultan Muhammad Nur (d. ca. 1536), who, akin to the artist Behzad, worked for Temurid, Safavid, and Abulkheyrid patrons in his lifetime.

At some point in this second period a “Bukhara School” emerged. But when it did is a matter of some debate. Bahari has stated that “we have no evidence of a *kitabkhaneh* activity or painting in Bukhara before the sixteenth century” [10: 252], but the city became an important artistic center of the Abulkheyrid Uzbeks after 1529 although it had not yet become their capital at this time. Other scholars contend that Bukhara’s courtly workshop began to function not as a result of foreign Herati talent coming in, but with artistic displacement taking place within the Abulkheyrid domain after Kildi Muhammad's death in 1533 [12: 406]. Analyzing Bukharan miniatures from the 1530s leads to the conclusion that the best masters from Tashkent later went on to serve in ‘Ubaydullah's Bukhara court workshop after their previous patron’s demise, and these artisans played an undoubted role in Bukhara’s further development [2: 236]. Others served in the Samarqand *kitabkhana* of the great khan ‘Abdul Latif (r. 1540–1552), where they illustrated the “Tarikh-i Abu’l Khayr Khani” (ca. 1541, Beruni Institute no. 9989) by repeating figures and compositions from the earlier copy of Nava’i’s “Kulliyat” (the aforementioned ms. Dorn 559) [4: 44].

To Rührdanz, it is at the end of the 1530s that the actual Bukhara school emerges [21: 113]. To Christiane Gruber, a few identifiable artists who signed some of their works such as Sheykhzada and Mahmud Muzahhib (active until the 1550s, and recently accepted as two different artists) took part in the school’s formation [17: 7–8]. In Bukhara they

developed refined, ornate compositions with repeated two-columned *iwan* architectural settings [20] populated by figures with pursed red lips [25: 105]. Gruber designates Sheykhzada's pupils the artists ʻAbdullah and Sheykham as forming a second generation of Bukhara painters who, along with Mahmud Muzahhib, made important contributions to elite productions beginning in the 1540s.

Scholars have noted a stylistic divergence in the miniatures produced in Bukhara during the 1540s: one style is connected with the activities of Herat artists and their students, working within older Temurid frameworks. An example is the copy of Saʻdi's *Gulistan* from 1547 in the Bodmer Museum of Geneva (Ms. 30). The second style bears the features of a new and distinctive direction of painting that would become associated with ʻAbdullah the artist in our upcoming third period, "born in the complex process of synthesizing local traditions [from Transoxiana] with Herat" [2: 236]. A manuscript reflecting this conceptual and pictorial move away from Herat is one that contains ʻAbdullah's earliest work for ʻAbdul ʻAziz, Jami's *Tuhfat al-Ahrar* from 1548 in the Chester Beatty collection (Ms. Pers. 215).

The midpoint of our second period (1540s) marks the fine works produced for ʻUbaydullah and his son ʻAbdul ʻAziz under the supervision of the *kitabkhana* director Sultan Mirak [5: 581]. ʻAbdul ʻAziz was never actually the great khan, but led the Bukhara appanage and clearly enjoyed the *kitabkhana* there when he ruled between 1539–1549/50. He commissioned lavish manuscripts and had remarkable leftover copies that were brought from Herat re-margined under Sultan Mirak throughout the 1540s [17: 12]. ʻAbdul ʻAziz's successor Yar Muhammad (the regional head of Bukhara, and also never the great khan) continued his patronage practices in Bukhara and employed the same scribes [1: 327]. The ruler of Tashkent Nawruz Ahmad (Baraq Khan) who later became great khan in Samarqand (r. 1551–1556) also commissioned manuscripts in this period with similar methods of production.

III.3. 1557–1575. It is my argument that only in the third period can we call Abulkheyrid manuscripts quintessential products of the "Bukhara school." It is when the tradition really comes into its own, and is linked to the patronage of the powerful ruler ʻAbdullah bin Iskandar (r. 1557–1598). Its start in 1557 corresponds to the point at which ʻAbdullah succeeded in

eliminating his rivals and entered Bukhara as the leader of a newly-centralized state making it his capital [1: 334]. The sixteenth century's sixth through the eighth decades were fruitful and prosperous years in the Abulkheyrid domain, marked by strengthened political, cultural, and commercial exchanges with India, Turkey, and Muscovy.

Despite this political success, art historians have tended to only comment on the "dullness" and derivative nature of painting in Bukhara during the second-half of the sixteenth century. But the standardization of the third period's figures and set compositions are intriguing and entertaining to line up and look at together; one wonders if the manuscripts in ʻAbdullah's personal collection had this original purpose, to allow the ruler to make comparisons across and between copies of the same and different titles.

Courtly Abulkheyrid manuscripts associated with ʻAbdullah the artist and produced for ʻAbdullah Khan point to a productive partnership between royal patron and painter in the 1560s. ʻAbdullah the artist had begun his practice in the preceding second period and worked with Mahmud Muzahhib, evidenced in some manuscripts for the patrons Yar Muhammad and Nawruz Ahmad. It is possible he later trained others in his techniques and stylistic touches, otherwise he was extraordinarily productive. ʻAbdullah was the pupil of the artist Sheykhzada who had worked in courtly Safavid workshops, and who was in turn the pupil of Behzad. This very chain of artistic transmission actually sums up Abulkheyrid manuscript traditions across the decades very nicely, comprising Temurid, Safavid, and local Abulkheyrid models in varying concentrations depending on the era. There are several manuscripts carried out in ʻAbdullah's characteristic style emulating his techniques and figures that comprise Jami titles ("Yusuf u Zulaykha", "Tuhfat al-Ahrar", "Subhat al-Abrar"), many of Saʻdi's "Gulistan and Bustan" along with a few other single copies of classical Persian epics, among them Ferdowsi's "Shahnama" (Topkapi Palace Library H.1488), and Hatifi's "Zafarnama" (Beruni Institute no. 2102). ʻAbdullah's style dominated the third period up until his death posited to be sometime in the 1570s, at which point ʻAbdullah Khan's interest in manuscripts waned and his focus was directed towards territorial expansion. The ruler parted with a few of his manuscripts and used them as diplomatic gifts to the heads of other realms

(such as the Ottomans and Mughals) in the subsequent period (such as Topkapi Palace Library manuscripts H.1488, R.897, Kuwait's al-Sabah Collection no. LNS 16 MS, and the Dallas Museum of Art K.1.2014.1167).

III.4. 1576–1598. The last period covers the remaining years of the sixteenth century and of Abulkheyrid dynastic control over the Sheybanid state in Transoxiana. The 1570s witnessed ʻAbdullah the artist's death and ʻAbdullah Khan's decreased interest in manuscripts, resulting in the quality and quantity of manuscript productions to taper off in Bukhara. It is worth remembering: "with his policy of centralisation and permanent warfaring ʻAbdullah II had stripped other members of his house of the resources to patronise book art effectively" [24: 385–386]. Thus with his disinterest artists faced limited resources and found new patrons outside of the courts, catering to the Abulkheyrid military aristocracy and Naqshbandi/Juybarid religious leaders. For example, a "Halnama" manuscript of ʻArifi was produced for the son of a wealthy Juybarid sheikh in 1598, likely in Bukhara (Saint Petersburg Russian National Library ms. PNS 285). But its illustrations and others produced for this patron attest to a lessening of quality [24: 387]. Many painters were now hired to work on a single manuscript, to assemble unfinished copies, or to add pictures to captured manuscripts scribed earlier.

In contradistinction to the late Temurids, who had shifted their focus from the battlefield to the arts towards the end of their rule, the Abulkheyrids in the final decades of the sixteenth century had reached their political height but seemed unconcerned to harness the creativity of their new subjects. Rather than flocking to the Abulkheyrid capital, artisans transferred out of it in the other direction. With the Abulkheyrids' securing control of Khurasan between 1588–1598, some artists and scribes formerly employed in the Bukharan workshops found work in the new Uzbek province carved out of eastern Iran and relocated there to produce commercial copies, while some went southwards to India (like Sheykham), and still others returned from India to Khurasan at this time after an earlier exodus there [26]. Khurasani productions from workshops in Mashhad and Herat that had alternated between Safavid and Abulkheyrid patronage were exported back to Bukhara and into India, where works were reassembled and assimilated into local productions [20].

Museums and libraries in the world today have eclipsed and elided the nuances of Abulkheyrid book arts in Transoxiana by indiscriminately ascribing them to Bukhara. This workshop became shorthand for the totality of Abulkheyrid manuscript production without examining the era and materials fully. The Abulkheyrid appanage system in place during the first half of the sixteenth century was not conducive to centralization or unified workshop practices. Recall the early Abulkheyrid book arts for Sheybani Khan in Samarqand and Kildi Muhammad's patronage in Tashkent; these were produced before developments in Bukhara. Later in the century, Abulkheyrid artists and copyists found employment in Khurasan where they contributed to the confluence of various styles and practices. Keep in mind as well the business of reusing and finishing older manuscripts from the Temurid period, and also the illustrations done by artists formerly working for Temurid patrons or Safavid contemporaries but later finding employment (by force or by choice) in the regional centers overseen by Abulkheyrid governors. The century is marked by the convergence of artists from different places and dynasties periodically coming together. Although the "Bukhara School" can still be deployed to classify many of their productions, it should be done with a more limited usage, and ought not to encompass Abulkheyrid manuscript production across the entire sixteenth century.

Fig. 1.

Diagram of Persian Painting in B.W. Robinson. Persian Miniature Painting from Collections in the British Isles (London, 1967), 32.

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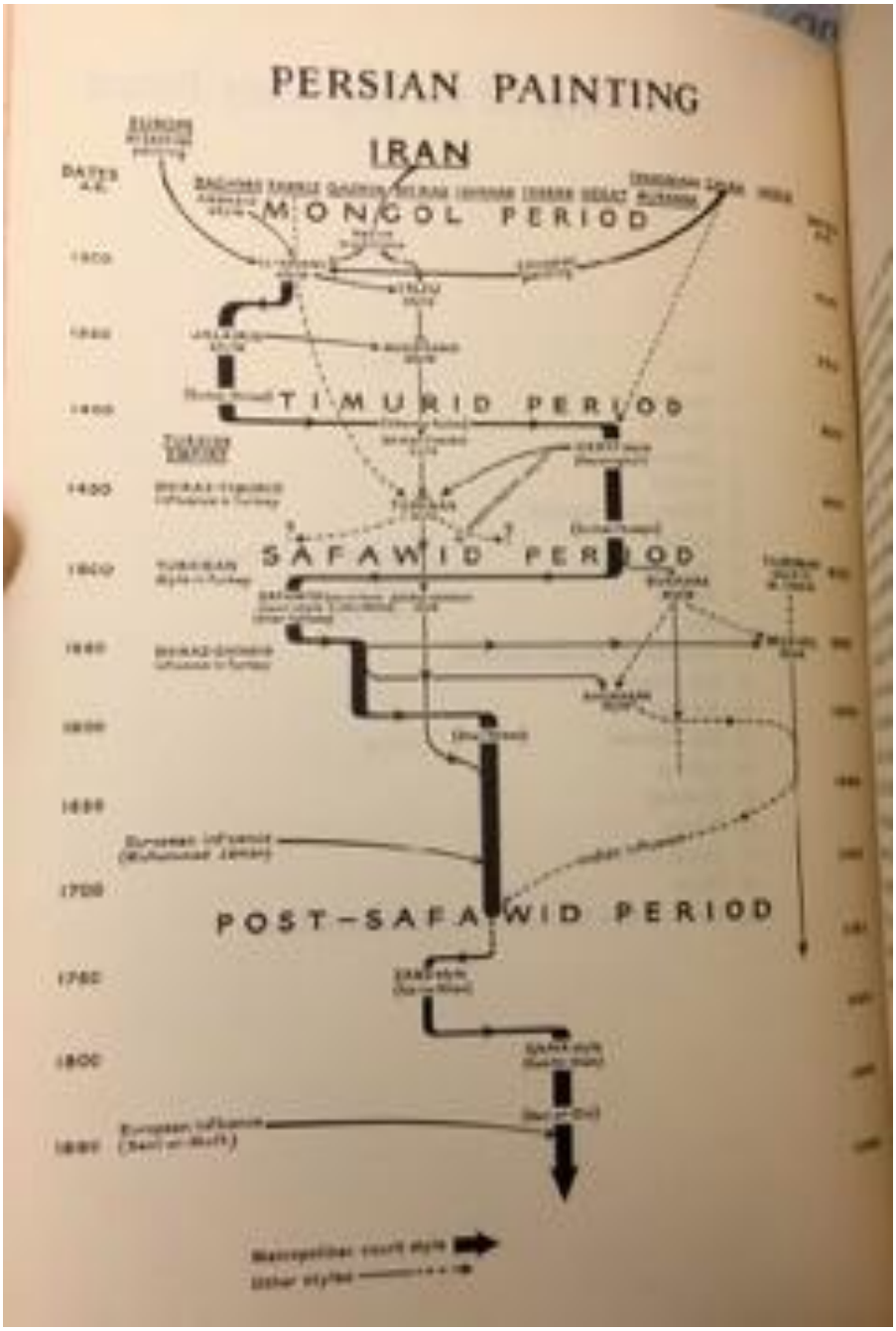


Fig. 2

Periodization of elite Abulkheyrid manuscript productions in the 16th century.

Period	Dates	Notable patrons	Notable artisans	Centers
1	1500–1529	Muhammad Shaybani Khan, Kuchkunji Khan, Suyunj Khwaja, Kildi Muhammad	Behzad?	Samarqand, Herat, Tashkent
2	1530–1556	Ubaydullah, Abdul Latif, ʻAbdul ʻAziz, Muhammad Yar, Nawruz Ahmad (Baraq Khan)	Mahmud Muzahhib, Sheykhzada, Mir Ali, Mahmud bin Ishaq al-Shahabi, ʻAbdullah	Bukhara, Samarqand
3	1557–1575	ʻAbdullah Khan bin Iskandar	Mahmud Muzahhib, ʻAbdullah (and trained students), Sheykham	Bukhara, Samarqand, Herat
4	1576–1598	military commanders, religious leaders	Muhammadi, Muhammad Murad	Bukhara, Herat, Balkh

Fig. 3

Table of Takeovers. Compiled with information derived from the publications of Yuri Bregel, Audrey Burton, Martin Dickson, Joo-Yup Lee, R.D. McChesney, Charles Melville, Andrew Newman, Maria Eva Subtelny, Maria Szuppe, Thomas Welsford.

Time period	Ruling power in the east: Herat/ Khurasan	Ruling power in the west: Tabriz/ Baghdad	Outcome
1500-1507	Temurid	Safavid	1500: Sheybani Khan's victory over Samarqand 1507: Sheybani Khan's victory over Herat
1507-1510	Abulkheyrid	Safavid	1508: Safavid Shah Ismail defeats Aq Qoyunlu Turkmans in Baghdad
1510-1512	Safavid	Safavid	1510: Safavid Shah Ismail defeats Sheybani Khan in Merv
1512-1514	Abulkheyrid	Ottoman (Tabriz) Safavid (Baghdad)	1514: Battle of Chaldiran results in Ottoman victory over Safavids
1514-1524	Safavid	Ottoman (Tabriz) Safavid (Baghdad)	1521: minor 12-day Herat siege by Abulkheyrids
1524-1528	Abulkheyrid (1526-1528)	Ottoman (Tabriz) Safavid (Baghdad)	1st Abulkheyrid siege of Herat
1528	Safavid	Safavid	1528: Battle of Jam (Safavid victory); 2nd Abulkheyrid siege of Herat
1529-1530	Abulkheyrid	Safavid	3rd Abulkheyrid siege of Herat
1530-1531	Safavid	Safavid	Safavid-Ottoman battle in Bitlis

1531-1533	SheybaniAbulkheyridd	Safavid	4th Abulkheyrid siege of Herat; continued Bitlis battle between Ottomans-Safavids
1533-1534	Safavid	Ottoman	Ottoman victory in the “Two Iraqs”
1534-1537	Abulkheyrid	Ottoman	5th Abulkheyrid siege of Herat; 1535: Ottoman victory in Tabriz/Baghdad
1537-1578	Safavid	Ottoman	1555: Treaty of Amasya between Safavids and Ottomans
1578-1582	Abulkheyrid	–	1578-1590: Safavid-Ottoman wars
1582-1588	Safavid	Ottoman	1585-1603: Tabriz under Ottoman rule
1588-1598	Abulkheyrid	Ottoman	1590: Safavid Shah Abbas sues for peace with Ottomans 1598: Safavid Shah Abbas defeats Abulkheyrids near Herat

Fig. 4

Table of illustrated, intact Abulkheyrid manuscript productions attributed to elite patrons in the 16th century.
(Not a comprehensive listing; unillustrated manuscripts, loose folios, and insecure attributions are not included)

Date (s=scribing, i=illustrating)	Title	Author	Patron	Scribe (if named)	Artist (signatur and/or stylistic attributi n)	Production site (s=scribing, i=illustrating	Location of manus-cript
1507 (s, i)	Fathnama-yi Khani	Shadi	Muhammad Shaybani Khan	–	–	Samarqand	Tashkent-Beruni Institute ms. 5369
1475-	Navadir-i	Nava’i	Kildi	Sultan Ali	–	Herat (s)	Tashkent-

80 (s) pre-1518 (i)	Nihaya		Muhammad	al-Mashhadi		Tashkent (i)	Beruni Institute ms. 1995
pre-1502 (s) 1520-29 (i)	Anvar-i Suhayli	Kashifi	Kildi Muhammad	–	–	Herat (s); Tashkent (i)	Tashkent-Beruni Institute ms. 9109
1521 (s, i)	Kulliyat	Nava'i	Kildi Muhammad	–	Jalaliddin Yusuf?	Tashkent	St. Petersburg Russian National Library-Dorn 559
pre-1531 (s) 1530 (i)	Bustan	Sa'di	–	Sultan Muhammad Nur	–	Bukhara?	Royal Asiatic Society Ms. 251
1529 (s) 1530-40 (i)	Anthology	Hilali	Ubaydullah	Mir Ali	Sheykhzada?	Bukhara	St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts- S-860
1531 (s, i)	Divan	Hilali	Ubaydullah	Mir Ali	–	Bukhara	Cambridge - King's College Pote Ms. 186
1529 (s) 1537 (i)	Haft Manzar	Hatifi	Abdul Aziz	Mir Ali	Sheykhzada, Sultan Mirak	Bukhara	Freer/ Sackler F.1956.14
1499 (s) 1538	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Abdul Aziz	Sultan Ali al-Mashhadi	Sheykhzada, Mahmud	Herat (s) Bukhara (i)	Paris-Bibliothe que

(i)					Muzahhib		Nationale - Suppl Pers 1416
1492 (s) 1540 (i)	Khamsa	Nava'i	Abdul Aziz	Sultan Ali al-Mashhadi	–	Herat (s) Bukhara (i)	Windsor Castle Royal Library Ms. 1/8 (RCIN 1005032)
1541 (s, i)	Tarikh-i Abu'l Khayr Khani	Kuhistani	Abdul Latif Khan	–	–	Samarqand	Tashkent-Beruni Institute ms. 9989
1541 (s, i)	Ikhtiyarat-i Badi'i	Attar	Abdul Latif Khan	Muhammad Husayn b. al-Mirak al-Samarqandi	–	Samarqand	Tashkent-Beruni Institute ms. 1598
1500 (s) 1547 (i)	Gulistan	Sa'di	Sultan Husayn Mirza Bayqara (s) Abdul Aziz (i)	Sultan Ali al-Mashhadi	Sultan Mirak	Herat (s) Bukhara (i)	Geneva-Bodmer Collection ms. 30
1509 (s) 1548 (i)	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Abdul Aziz	Mir Ali al-Husayni (II)	Abdullah, Sultan Mirak	Herat (s) Bukhara (i)	Chester Beatty-Pers. 215
1547	Baharistan	Jami	Abdul Aziz	Sultan Ali al-Mashhadi	Mahmud Muzahhib ?, Sultan Mirak	Bukhara	Gulbenkian LA 169
1542 (s) 1549 (i)	Bustan	Sa'di	Abdul Aziz	Mir Ali	Mahmud Muzahhib	Bukhara	Gulbenkian LA 123

1543-49 (s, i)	Rawzat al-Muhibbin	Jawziya	Abdul Aziz	Mir Ali al-Husayni (II)	Mahmud Muzahhib, Sheykham, Abdullah, Sultan Mirak	Bukhara	Salar Jung Museum A. Nm. 1611
1551 (s, i)	Baharistan	Jami	Abdul Aziz	Mir Husayn al-Husayni (Kulangi)	Mahmud Muzahhib	Bukhara	Minneapolis Institute of Arts-52.13
1553	Lisan al-Tayr, Sadd-i Iskandar, Sab'a Sayyara	Nava'i	Yar Muhammad	Sultan Mas'ud al-Katib b. Sultan Mahmud	Abdullah	Bukhara	Paris-Bibliotheque Nationale Suppl Turc 996; Oxford-Bodleian Library ms. Elliott 340, and Elliott 318
1550-60 (s, i)	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Nawruz Ahmad (Baraq Khan)	–	Abdullah, Mahmud Muzahhib	Bukhara	Freer/ Sackler S1986.46
1555-57 (s, i)	Bustan	Sa'di	Yar Muhammad	Mir Husayn al-Husayni (Kulangi)	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Paris-Bibliotheque Nationale Suppl Pers 1187
1560 (s, i)	Gulistan	Sa'di	courtier of Abdullah	–	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Christie's - 4 October 2012, lot 13

1519 (s) 1560-70 (i)	Silsilat al-Zahab	Jami	Abdullah	Sultan Muhammad Nur	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Topkapi Palace Library-R.895
1560-70 (s, i)	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Abdullah	Mir Husayn al-Husayni (Kulangi)	Abdullah style	Bukhara	St. Petersburg Russian National Library-Dorn 425
1561 (s, i)	Bustan	Sa'di	courtier of Abdullah (vizier Amir Tursun)	–	Mahmud Muzahhib, Abdullah style	Bukhara	Christie's - 7 October 2008, lot 175)
1562 (s, i)	Bustan	Sa'di	courtier of Abdullah (vizier Amir Tursun)	Mir Ali	Mahmud Muzahhib, Abdullah style	Bukhara	Gulistan Palace 2164
1563 (s, i)	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Abdullah	Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shahabi	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Aga Khan Collection MS 17
1568 (s, i)	Tuhfat al-Ahrar	Jami	Abdullah ?	Ali Riza	Mahmud Muzahhib, Abdullah style	Bukhara	Topkapi Palace Library-R.897
1564 (s, i)	Anthology	Ni'matullah	courtier of Abdullah	Ali Riza	Mahmud Muzahhib? Abdullah style	Bukhara	Paris auction- 3 December 2012
1564 (s, i)	Shahnama	Ferdowsi	Abdullah	Baqi Muhammad	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Topkapi Palace Library-H.1488

1564 (s, i)	Subhat al-Abrar	Jami	Abdullah	Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shahabi	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Kuwait Al Sabah Collection-LNS 16 MS
1564 (s, i)	Yusuf u Zulaykha	Jami	Abdullah	Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shahabi	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Los Angeles County Museum of Art M.73.5. 440-444
1539 (s) 1565 (i)	Shah u Darvish	Hilali	Abdullah ?	Sultan Muhammad Nur	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Dallas Museum of Art-K.1.2014.1 167 (formerly Keir Collection III.335-336)
1565 (s, i)	Yusuf u Zulaykha	Jami	Abdullah	Mahmud b. Ishaq al-Shahabi	Mahmud Muzahhib (erroneous) Abdullah style	Bukhara	Art and History Trust (Soudavar Collection) 80
1566 (s, i)	Gulistan	Sa‘di	courtier of Abdullah	Mir Ali	Mahmud Muzahhib, Abdullah style	Bukhara	St. Petersburg National Library-PNS 110
1568 (s, i)	Zafarnama	Hatifi	Abdullah ? Military/religious elite?	Ali Riza	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Tashkent-Beruni Institute ms. 2102

1572 (s, i)	Yusuf u Zulaykha	Jami	courtier of Abdullah	Ali Riza	Abdullah style	Bukhara	Israel Museum-OS 5032.1.79
1575 (s, i)	Muntakhabat-i Bustan	Sa‘di	Abdullah	Mir Husayn al-Husayni (Kulangi)	Abdullah style	Bukhara	St. Petersburg Russian National Library-PNS 269
1591 (s, i)	Haft Awrang	Jami	Military elite: Din Muhammad Sultan	Shah Qasim, Muhammad Amin	–	Herat?	Manchester: John Rylands Library Ms. 1
1597 (s, i)	Majalis al-Ushshaq	Gazurgahi	Religious elite: Abdi Khwaja Sa’d b. Khwaja Muhammad Islam	Fulad Muhammad b. Yar Muhammad	–	Bukhara?	University of Michigan Ann Arbor Library-Islamic ms. 270 pers
1598 (s, i)	Halnama	Arifi	Religious elite: Abdi Khwaja Sa’d b. Khwaja Muhammad Islam	Fulad Muhammad b. Yar Muhammad	–	Bukhara?	St. Petersburg Russian National Library-PNS 285

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Ж. Комсток-Скайп

VI аср Шайбонийлар (Абулхайрий) китобат санъатини “Бухоро мактаби” деб атасак бўладими?

Мазкур мақолада VI асрда Мавораоуннаҳрдаги Шайбонийлар (аниқроғи, Абулхайрийлар) сулоласининг китоб санъати ҳақида сўз юритилади. Биринчи давр (1500–1529) Муҳаммад Шайбонийхон бошчилигидаги янги Абулхайрийлар давлатининг шаклланган ўн йилликларига тўғри келади ва бу давр китобат санъатига илгари Темурийлар хизматида бўлган ҳунармандлар ҳисса қўшганлар. Иккинчи давр (1530–1556) Ўзбек давлатининг мустаҳкамланиши ва 1529 йилда Ҳиротнинг Абулхайрийлар томонидан иккинчи марта қамали қилиши билан бошланади. Бу даврда Сафавийлар сафида фаолият юритган машҳур ҳунармандлар Убайдуллахон ҳукмронлигида гуллаб-яшнаган марказда ишлаш учун Бухорога олиб келинади. Фақатгина Абулхайрийларнинг учинчи даврида (1557–1575), аниқроғи, қудратли ҳукмдор Абдуллоҳ ибн Искандар ҳомийлигида яратилган қўлёзмаларни “Бухоро мактаби” намуналари дея оламиз. Сўнги давр (1576–1598) Мавароуннаҳрдаги Шайбонийлар давлати устидан Абулхайрийлар сулоласининг назорати барҳам топиши ва Абдуллахоннинг қўлёзма санъатига бўлган қизиқишининг пасайишини қамраб олади.

Мақолада тарих ва тарихшунослик соҳасида таснифлашда хизмат қиладиган қўлёзмаларнинг зийнатланган сара намуналари

келтирилган. Қадимги даврнинг илк пайтига оид шеърий асарлар безаклари силсиласи, услуби, типологик таснифи тадқиқидан сўнг муайян фойдаланувчиларнинг тарихий контексти ва қўлёзмаларнинг сиёсий соҳага алоқаси масалалари талқин этилган.

Калит сўзлар: *форс китобат санъати, Мовароуннаҳр рассомчилиги, қўлёзмадаги расмлар, Ислом санъати, Бухоро, Шайбонийлар сулоласи (Абулхайрийлар), Мовароуннаҳр тарихи, Хуросон, исломдаги мазҳабчилик, Сафавий-Усмоний урушлари, Сафавий-Шайбонийлар уруши.*

Дж. Комсток-Скайп

Можно ли называть это «бухарской школой»? Шейбанидское (Абулхейридское) искусство книги в VI веке

Эта статья посвящена книжному искусству династии Шейбанидов (точнее, Абулхейридов) в Мавереннахре в течение 16-века. Первый период (1500–1529 гг.) соответствует десятилетиям формирования нового государства Абульхейридов при Мухаммад Шейбанихане, с художественным вкладом ремесленников, которые ранее служили Тимуридам. Второй период (1530–1556 гг.) начинается с консолидации узбекского государства и второй осады Герата Абулхейридами в 1529 году. Известные ремесленники, работавшие на Сефевидов, были отправлены в Бухару для работы в цветущем центре Убайдуллах-хана. Только в третий период (1557–1575) мы можем назвать рукописи Абулхейрида продуктами «бухарской школы» и связаны с покровительством могущественного правителя Абдуллы бин Искандара. Последний период (1576–1598) охватывает конец династического контроля Абульхейридов над государством Шейбанидов в Мавереннахре и снижение интереса Абдуллы-хана к рукописному искусству. Обсуждение помещает иллюстрированные элитные произведения в контекст более широкого круга персоязычного искусства рукописи, как в истории, так и в историографии, служащей для их классификации. После обсуждения дисциплины и того, как иллюстрированные поэтические произведения в период раннего Нового времени были включены в

типологические рубрики, основанные на династии, стиле и мастерской, он переходит к историческому контексту конкретных покровителей и связи рукописей с политической сферой.

Ключевые слова: *персидское искусство книги, живопись Мавереннахра, рукописная живопись, исламское искусство, Бухара, династия Шейбанидов (Абулхейридов), история Мавереннахра, Хорасан, сектантство в исламе, сефевидско-османские войны, сефевидско-шейбанидские войны.*

J. Comstock-Skipp

Can we really call it the "Bukhara School"?
Sheybanid (Abulkheyrid) arts of the book in the 16th century

This article focuses on the book arts of the Sheybanid (more accurately, Abulkheyrid) dynasty in Transoxiana during the span of the sixteenth century. The first period (1500–1529) corresponds to the formative decades of the new Abulkheyrid state under Muhammad Sheybani Khan, with artistic contributions by artisans who had formerly served the Temurids. The second period (1530–1556) begins with the consolidation of the Uzbek state and second Abulkheyrid siege of Herat in 1529. Notable artisans who had worked for the Safavids were taken to Bukhara to work in 'Ubaydullah Khan's blossoming center. Only in the third period (1557–1575) can we call Abulkheyrid manuscripts products of the "Bukhara school," and is linked to the patronage of the powerful ruler 'Abdullah bin Iskandar. The last period (1576–1598) covers the end of Abulkheyrid dynastic control over the Sheybanid state in Transoxiana, and 'Abdullah Khan's decreased interest in manuscript arts.

The discussion situates illustrated elite productions in the context of the broader scope of Persianate manuscript arts, both in history and in the historiography serving to classify them. After discussing the discipline and how illustrated works of poetry in the early-modern period have been inserted into typological rubrics based on dynasty, style, and workshop, it proceeds with the historical context of particular patrons and the manuscripts' connections to the political sphere.

Key words: *Persianate arts of the book, Mavarannahr painting, manuscript painting, Islamic art, Bukhara, Sheybanid (Abulkheyrid) dynasty, history of Transoxiana, Khurasan, sectarianism in Islam, Safavid-Ottoman wars, Safavid-Sheybanid wars.*