

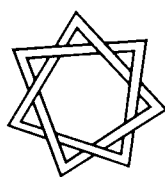
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ARABIC-SCRIPT SOURCES ON KAMĀL AL-DĪN BEHZĀD

At present, not one of the Arabic-script sources in Persian, Chaghatay, or Turkish provides more or less full or coherent biography of Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād. Still, some information, if scanty, about this great master of Persian miniatures has come down to us in fourteen works written in the above-noted languages between the late fifteenth and the first third of the seventeenth century. These works can be divided into three distinct groups:

1. works by authors directly linked to the cultural and literary environment of Herat in the last quarter of the fifteenth — first third of the sixteenth century. These are *Khulāyat al-akhbār fī hayān aḥwāl al-akhyār* (completed in 905/1499—1500), *Nāma-yi nāmī* (completed in 929/1522—23) and *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī aḥwāl afrād bashar* (completed in the third redaction in 939/1532—33) by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwādamīr; *Waqā'ī* or “Notes of Bābur” by Ṣāḥīr al-Dīn Bābur (d. 937/1530); *Badā'ī al-waqā'ī* (completed in 938/1521—32) by Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī; *Ta'riḫ-i Rashīdī* (completed in 953/1546) by Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

2. Works created in Safawid Iran from the 1540s to the 1620s: *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i Bahrām-mīr-zā* (drawn up in 951/1544—45) by Dūst Muḥammad-i Harawī; *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i Shāh Ṭahmāsp* (drawn up in 964/1556—57) by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad Qiṣṣakhwān; *Dībācha-yi muraqqa'-i amīr Ḥusayn-bek* (drawn up in 968/1560—61) by Mālik Daylamī; *Rawḍat al-jinān wa jannat al-janan* (drawn up in 975/1567—68) by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā'ī; *Jawāhir al-akhbār* (completed in 984/1576) by Būdāq munshī Qazwīnī; *Risāla* (completed in 1004/1596, a second redaction, *Gulistān-i hunar* was finished in India in ca. 1016/1607) by Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Qumī; *Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (completed in a second redaction in 1039/1630) by Iskandar-bek munshī.

3. Works created outside of Iran proper. These include a source that is extremely suspect in its information on manuscript book artists of Iran and Central Asia, the *Manākib-i hunarwarān* (completed in 994/1586) by the Turkish author Muṣṭafā Daftārī and *Muraqqa'-i Jahāngīr* or *Muraqqa'-i Gulshan* (drawn up ca. 1020/1612) for the Great Moghūl Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr in India.

The most reliable information on Behzād is found in the first two groups of works noted above. What follows is

the information about Behzād that we could extract from the above-mentioned sources.

Only Qāḍī Aḥmad reports that Behzād was originally from Herat. The same author, following Būdāq Qazwīnī, tells that the artist lost both parents in early childhood and was raised (adopted into the family?) by *sayyid* Rūḥallāh, known as Mīrak-naqqāsh, *kitābdār*, first of the library of 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī and later the library of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā in Herat. According to Dūst Muḥammad, Muḥammad Ḥaydar, Būdāq-munshī, and Qāḍī Aḥmad, Mīrak-naqqāsh was the teacher of Behzād. Contrary to this assertion, Muṣṭafā Daftārī names one Pīr Sayyid Aḥmad Tabrīzī as Behzād's teacher. The information provided by Persian authors about Behzād's teacher seems preferable, as the first three of the preceding were younger contemporaries of Behzād. We know that Behzād had two sisters; the son of one of them, Rustam 'Alī, arrived together with Behzād in Tabriz, while the grandson of the second, Muẓaffar 'Alī, was a pupil of the artist (Mālik Daylamī, Iskandar-bek). However, both Būdāq-munshī and Qāḍī Aḥmad report that he was taught by his father, who took lessons from Behzād.

Khwādamīr (*Khulāyat* and *Ḥabīb*), Bābur, Wāṣifī, and Muḥammad Ḥaydar are unanimous in stating that it was Nawā'ī who supported Behzād and became his patron, appointing him to his library, where he worked with another artist Qāsim b. 'Alī. Later, Behzād entered the staff of the Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's library; Nawā'ī states (*Munsha'āt*, No. 24) that the latter built for him in the palace garden a pavilion (*ḥujra*) for his work, while Wāṣifī says that at that time Behzād was inseparable from his bag with tools for work, as well as drawings, “everyday scenes”, and apparently caricatures of odd-looking individuals from the Herat court. By this time, he was the author of four signed miniatures for the famed *Bustān* by Sa'dī, which he executed in 893—894/1488—89. According to Bābur, Behzād remained in Herat with Shaybānī-khān in 1507—1510. The Turkish writer Muṣṭafā Daftārī claims that the artist was with Ismā'īl Ṣafawī during the Chaldyran battle in 920/1514, but this is no more than a legend.

The sources are silent on Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād's life and whereabouts between 916—928/1510—1522. At the end of Rabī' I 928/February 1522, the minor Ṭahmāsp left Herat, where he had spent a full 6 years (922—928/1516—1522)

as heir to the throne, for Tabriz. One can assume that Behzād appeared in the capital with the retinue of the heir to the throne together with other book-making artists. Two months later, as Khwāndamīr notes in his *Nāma-yi nāmī* (a collection of exemplary official documents and letters for etiquette), Ismā‘īl I issued a decree on 27 Jumādā I 928/24 April 1522 on Behzād's appointment as manager (*kalāntar*) and director of the court library and workshop. But the information provided by Dūst Muḥammad, Qāḍī Aḥmad, and Iskandar-munshī contains no hint at Behzād's appearance with Ismā‘īl I (d. 930/1524). They only say that he worked in the *kitābkhāna* of Ṭahmāsp I (r. 930—984/1524—1576). To this Būdāq Qazwīnī adds that Behzād was an interlocutor of the Shah. At same time, Būdāq Qazwīnī's comments about the artist Sulṭān-Muḥammad as well as Qāḍī Aḥmad's remarks about the same artist enable us to suggest that Behzād arrived in Tabriz while the founder of the Safawid dynasty, Ismā‘īl, was still alive.

Behzād appeared in Tabriz in his later years, after the peak of his artistic career. His role in the court library was probably closer to that of a mentor and teacher than a working artist, since we have no genuine, signed works by him for this period. However, Qāḍī Aḥmad does mention illustrations by Behzād for Nizāmī's *Khamsa* copied by the famed calligraphy master Shāh-Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī in *ghubār* handwriting. Khwāndamīr (*Ḥabīb al-siyar*), Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad, and Būdāq Qazwīnī write about their personal encounters with Behzād: the first speaks of a meeting in Herat in the library of ‘Alī-Shīr Nawā‘i, while Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad and Būdāq Qazwīnī speak of Tabriz. Būdāq Qazwīnī gives an account of Behzād's fondness for red wine, which he drank frequently despite an official ban on the consumption of alcohol issued on 7 Rabī‘ I 941/6 September 1534. Qāḍī Aḥmad (*Gulistān-i ḥunar*) specifies that Behzād's life coincided with the rule of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn and the first years of Ṭahmāsp I's rule, but he errs when he notes that the artist died in Herat and was buried not far from Kūh-i Mukhtār in a special enclosure. Dūst Muḥammad is more accurate, claiming that Behzād died in Tabriz and was buried next to the grave of the well-known poet Kamāl Khujandī (d. 803/1400—01). He also provides a chronogram with the date of Behzād's death: *khāk-i qabr-i Behzād*, which gives us 942/1535—36. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā‘ī speaks of the same burial place for Behzād, adding “in the cemetery of Waliyān Kūh”. Būdāq Qazwīnī is the only author to report Behzād's age. According to him, Behzād lived for a full 70 years, but it is tempting to assume that Būdāq committed an error in the autograph of his work, writing 70 instead of 80, since the two words are similar in spelling (cf. هشتاد and هفتاد). If so, using the date of A.H. 942 for his death, Behzād's birth falls on 862/1457—58. But this, of course, is only speculation.

Our sources contain the names of the following pupils of Behzād: *mullā* Darwīsh Muḥammad (Nawā‘i), *Majālīs al-naḥā‘īs*, Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), Maqṣūd (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), *mullā* Yūsuf (Muḥammad Ḥaydar), Dūst Dīwāna (Būdāq-munshī, Qāḍī Aḥmad), Muẓaffar ‘Alī (Mālik Daylamī, Iskandar-bek). Concerning Muẓaffar ‘Alī Būdāq-munshī and Qāḍī Aḥmad write that it was his father who was Behzād's pupil. Finally, among the artist's pupils we find the names of *khwāja* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad says that the teacher was

Behzād, but after the latter's death, Shah Ṭahmāsp considered himself the teacher; he is also named by Qāḍī Aḥmad and Iskandar-bek) and Shaykhzāde (Muṣṭafā Daftārī).

Within the three groups of sources, the authors provide a broad spectrum of opinions and assessments of Behzād's work, its quality and artistic merits. The authors of the first group are more critical and free in their judgments. All of them were his contemporaries, and they saw in him simply one of several outstanding masters who worked around ‘Alī-Shīr Nawā‘i and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, not the legend and model artist that he became for subsequent generations. It is therefore not surprising that some of them are rather critical, sometimes preferring the works of other artists to his creations. Bābur remarks: “Among the [famed] artists was Behzād. His painting is very elegant, but he draws the faces of people without beards poorly because he makes the [second] chin too large. [True], he depicts the faces of bearded men well”. To a degree, Bābur is seconded by Muḥammad Ḥaydar-Dūghlāt: “[Behzād] is a [real] master of painting, although he failed to attain the level of Shāh-Muẓaffar in the delicacy of his drawing. But his brush is more severe and he surpasses him in sketches and composition ... Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy ... was Behzād's pupil. His works are close to those of Behzād and are [executed] in the same fashion. [Moreover], anyone who has rich experience [in this area] understands that the works of Qāsim b. ‘Alī are crude in comparison with the works of Behzād and that the basic outlines are less symmetrical ... Behzād's teacher was Mawlānā Mirak-naqqāsh, and his basic outlines are more thorough than Behzād's, although the execution of the final touches cannot compare with Behzād”.

Behzād is invariably regarded as an unsurpassed artist of great mastery by almost all authors in the second and third groups of sources, the tone which was in fact set by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr in the third redaction of *Ḥabīb al-siyar*: “The artistry of his painting, like the brush of Mānī, effaced the creations of artists the world over, and his fingers, endowed with miraculous abilities, erased the drawings of all artists among the sons of Adam”. The authors vie with one another in lavish, if extremely general, praise, comparing his artistry to the impeccable Mānī, the unsurpassed standard for artists in the Persian cultural tradition. An exception is Būdāq Qazwīnī, who notes: “Behzād's pupil was Dūst Dīwāna... One can say that in clarity [of execution] he surpassed his teacher”. On Sulṭān-Muḥammad and his ability to depict the *qizilbāsh* in particular, he notes: “Behzād depicted horses as though they were ponies”.

The surviving texts contain extremely interesting information about Behzād, which enables us to put it into the historical context, thus revealing reigning artistic tastes and standards, as well as the attitude of rulers to the court painters. Below, we provide several citations found in the Arabic-script authors who, in this or that way, wrote about Behzād and other painters and evaluated their works.

1. *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhyār* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS C 812, fol. 279b):

“He (Behzād) is the most perfect of the artists of [his] time. After attaining the limits of perfection in this area, for a time he created [true] rarities under the patronage of Mir

[‘Alī-Shīr], who sought out talents. At present he is in the service of the Highest Virtue”.

2. *Nāma-yi nāmī* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (*Die historische Gehalt des “Nama-ye nami” von Handamir*, Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades ... von Gottfried Herrman Göttingen, 1968, Persian text, pp. 78—80):

“Edict on the appointment of Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād to the position of manager of the Royal library: ... ‘We deigned to decree that the position of directing and managing the people [staff] of the Royal library, as well as the calligraphers, gilder-decorators, frame-makers, gilding craftsmen, goldsmiths, paint-makers, and others involved in these crafts in the entire God-guarded state, should be entrusted and assigned to him...’ Written in final copy on 27 Jumādā I 928 / 24 April 1522”.

3. *Zahīr al-dīn Bābur, Bābur-nāma (Vaqāyi’)*, critical edition based on four Chaghatay texts with introduction and notes by Eiji Mano, Kyoto, 1995, i, pp. 265, 283, 323):

“Among the [famed] artists was Behzād. His painting is very elegant, but he draws the faces of beardless people poorly because he makes the [second] chin look too large. [True], he depicts the faces of bearded men well...” “Ustād Behzād and Shāh-Muzaffar, the painters, also gained such a glory and fame thanks to the care and efforts of [‘Alī-Shīr-] Bek...” “Taking the *qalam* into his hand, [Shaybānī-khān] corrected the painting of Bahzād and the writings of Sulṭān-‘Alī Mashhadī” [1].

4. *Badā’i’ al-waqā’i’* by Zayn al-Dīn Wāṣifī (edited by A. N. Boldyrev, Tehran, Bunyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1350/1971, ii, pp. 145, 149—50. Accounts dated 929/1522):

“For this reason the deceased, pious ruler [Sulṭān-Ḥusayn], may Allah illuminate his tomb, singled out among the gifted ones in this art and wonderful workers of this profession the artist Behzād, before whom painters of the seven climes bowed their head low, publicly acknowledging his undisputed primacy. He was favored with the honorary title of ‘Second Mānī’. Whenever the Shah was in sorrow because of misfortunes or cares, Behzād would produce a drawing or portrait, after a single glance at which the mirror of the ruler’s spirit would be cleansed of all rust of filth, and the page of the Shah’s thoughts would be freed from signs of sadness. Behzād always carried with him various remarkable depictions, but most frequently he drew Bābā Maḥmūd in the most varied poses. He was one of the most revered and highly placed *amīrs* of the court and possessed an utterly remarkable appearance and figure” ... “The mastery and glory of Behzād grew by the day and by the hour. With each new work, his victory and superiority revealed themselves from behind the mysterious veil [of fate]. We know that the artist once brought to the *majlis* of the great *amīr* ‘Alī-Shīr a painting of [ordinary] life: a garden in blossom with various trees and beautiful birds of many colours on their branches. Everywhere were flowing streams and blooming flowers, pleasing in their beauty and forms. [In the picture], ‘Alī-Shīr himself stands, leaning on a staff, before him platters heaped with gold and silver to give as gifts. When His Highness Mīr saw this depiction, his heart

filled with joy ... Later, he gave Behzād a horse with full harness” [2].

5. *Munsha’āt* by ‘Alī-Shīr Nawā’i (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, MS X 55, fol. 103b):

“Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā outfitted a space for the artist Behzād, a house (*hujra*) in his garden, and gave him work”.

6. *Ḥabīb al-siyar fī aḥwāl afrād bashar* by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr (edition of Jalāl Humā’ī, Tehran, 1333/1954, iv, p. 362):

“Ustād Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād creates astonishing images and rare marvels of art. The artistry of his painting, like the brush of Mānī, effaced the creations of artists the world over, and his fingers, endowed with miraculous abilities, erased the drawings of all artists among the sons of Adam.

Verse:

‘Thanks to his mastery, the hairs of his brush
Breathed life into lifeless form’.

My esteemed master achieved this high position thanks to the blessed patronage and good grace of *amīr* Niẓām al-Dīn ‘Alī-Shīr. The victorious Khaqān also accorded him many kindnesses and indulgences. Today this marvel of the era, whose faith is pure, likewise enjoys the merciful favour of sultans the world over and the boundless good will of the rulers of Islam. There is no doubt that it will forever be thus!” [3].

7. *Dībācha-yi muraqqa’i Bahrām-mīrzā* by Dūst Muḥammad-i Harawī (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Istanbul, MS No. 2154, fol. 9a—9b):

“And another pupil and successor of the above-mentioned *sayyid* [Amīr Rūḥallāh, known as Mīrak-naqqāsh, a native of Herat], the best of his contemporaries in painting and the leader of the preceding generation in decoration and design in paint, a unique [phenomenon] of [his] time, the master Kamāl al-Dīn Behzād. Praise and glorification of him are represented in this *Muraqqa’* by the works of his astonishing brush. He was accorded the honour of serving in the [staff of the] library, the refuge of Mercury, His Majesty the Shah, whose majesty is equal to Iskandar, virtue to Jamshīd, Refuge of the Faith, the victorious ruler Shah Ṭahmāsp al-Ṣafawī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusaynī Bahādur-khān, and he earned for himself various favours. At the court of this ruler, guarded by angels, he passed away and found his final resting place alongside the tomb of the sweet-tongued and eloquent poet, the mine of passion and ecstacy, *shaykh* Kamāl, may Allah illuminate his grave, in Tabriz. The date of his death is contained in the chronogram *khāk-i qabr-i Bihzād*, [that is] ‘ashes of the grave of Behzād’ (942/1535—36 — *O. A.*)” [4].

8. *Ta’rikh-i Rashīdī* by Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, MS C 395, fol. 150a):

“He is a [real] master of painting, although he failed to attain the level of Shāh-Muzaffar in the delicacy of his drawing. But his brush is more severe and he surpasses him in sketches and composition ... After *khwāja* ‘Abd al-Ḥayy

follow Shāh-Muzaffar and Behzād. There have been none like them up through our day. These two were nurtured by Mīr ‘Alī-Shīr.

Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy. He was Behzād's pupil. His works are close to those of Behzād and are [executed] in the same fashion. [Moreover,] anyone who has much experience [in this area] understands that the works of Qāsim b. ‘Alī are crude in comparison with the works of Behzād and that his basic outlines are less symmetrical.

Maqṣūd is the second Qāsim b. ‘Alī. He is [also] a pupil of Behzād. His brush is in no way inferior to that of Qāsim b. ‘Alī, but his basic outlines and final touches are imperfect in comparison with those of Qāsim b. ‘Alī.

Mawlānā Mīrak-naqqāsh was a pupil of Behzād. His basic outlines are more complete than those of Behzād, but his final touches cannot compare with the latter's (that is, are worse — *O. A.*)” [5].

9. *Dībācha* by Quṭb al-Dīn Qiṣṣakhwān (Kitābkhāna-yi Millī, Tehran, MS No. 691, pp. 402—3):

“However, such famous masters of Khorasan as *khwāja* Mīrak, Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad, *ustād* Qāsim b. ‘Alī-chihragushāy and *ustād* Behzād have no equals or peers. Among them, I have chanced to meet with the master Behzād. Truly, the aforementioned artist surpassed [all his] peers and equals in the abilities of his fingers and strength of his drawings. The prosperity and goodness of his paintings deserve one-hundred thousand exclamations of approval ... and *khwāja* ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was a pupil of Behzād in this art. But after the death of master Behzād, the joyous ruler, personally taking a hand in his fate, made him (‘Abd al-‘Azīz) one of his pupils” [6].

10. *Jawāhir al-akhbār* by Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, MS Dorn 288, fols. 111b—112a):

“Master Behzād came from Herat.

Verse:

‘His Brightness Behzād, mentor of the age,
It was he who gave the world the fullness of mastery.
The mother of time has birthed few equals of Mānī.
But, truly, she did well to birth Behzād!’

The circumstances of Behzād's life are as follows: when he found himself in his childhood without mother and father, Mīrak-naqqāsh, who served Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrzā as *kitābdār*, raised him. In a short time he became [so] accomplished and went so far that no one knew an artist equal to him since the dawn of painting. He was brought [to the Shah's court] from Khorasan, and in a few years he was a personal interlocutor of the ruler, always providing decorous conversation. [But] he always sipped [wine] and could not pass a moment without ruby-coloured wine and the bright lips of the cup-bearer. He lived to the age of 70 and thus kept himself young. Despite the ban on drinking wine, [he was forgiven this] for he was needed, and the ruler reasoned: the master was an elderly man with a righteous way of life. He trained outstanding pupils, first and foremost among them Dūst Dīwāna, a unique phenomenon of his time. He created paintings with perfect quickness of understanding and penetrating intelligence, following exactly the method of his teacher. One could say that he surpassed him

in clarity [of execution] ... When master Behzād arrived in Iraq, master Sulṭān-Muḥammad already had the court's workshop functioning; he was [also] a teacher of the ruler, Refuge of the Faith ... But Behzād depicted horses as though they were ponies. In any case, one can [consider] Sulṭān-Muḥammad an equal of Behzād...” [7].

11. *Rawḍat al-jinān wa jannat al-janān* by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalā’ī (edition of Ja‘far-Sulṭān al-Kura’ī, Tehran, 1344/1965, i, p. 511):

“... not far from him and around him (Kamāl Khujandī) are buried several poets and men of art such as ... the artist Behzād and the binder Sulṭān-Maḥmūd, who were both without equals in their artistic endeavours”.

12. *Manāqib-i hunarwarān* by Muṣṭafā Daftārī (edition of Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul, 1926, p. 37):

“... when the possessor of the fortunate combination of two luminaries, equal in virtue to Iskandar, the deceased Sultan Salīm Khān entered into battle with Shah Ismā‘īl in the Chaldyran valley,

Verse:

‘Fate in the hall of mighty
Established an *islīmī* [pattern] over the *khatā’ī* [adornment].’

... having thus spoken, [Shah Ismā‘īl] hid in some cave first Shāh-Maḥmūd, of glorious descent, and then *ustād* Behzād, an artist without peer from time [immemorial]...” [8].

13. *Risāla* by Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīm Qumī. Completed in the first redaction in 1004/1596 (State Museum of Art of Eastern Peoples, Moscow, MS No. 444 II, fols. 69b—70b):

“As concerns the famed masters of Khorasan such as *khwāja* Mīrak, Mawlānā Ḥājī Muḥammad, *ustād* Qāsim-i ‘Alī-chihragushāy, and then *ustād* Darwīsh and Khalīfa from Khiva, they had neither equals nor peers. After them appeared *ustād* Behzād, a rarity of his era and marvel of [his] time. He came from the capital city of Herat.

Verse:

‘His Brightness Behzād, mentor of the age,
It was he who gave the world the fullness of mastery.
The mother of time has birthed few equals of Mānī.
But, truly, she did well to birth Behzād!’

... In childhood, the master lost his father and mother and he was raised by *ustād* Mīrak-naqqāsh, who was a *kitābdār* for the deceased Sulṭān-Ḥusayn-mīrzā. In a short time he became [so] accomplished and went so far that no one knew an artist equal to him since the beginning of painting. ... *Ustād* Behzād was [active] from the joyous days of Mīrzā Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to the first period of the rule of Sultan Shah Ṭahmāsp, now resting in peace. His marvellous paintings are numerous. His death [occurred] in the capital city of Herat and he was buried close to Kūh-i Mukhtār in an enclosed area full of images and adornments. Dūst Dīwāna is one of *ustād* Behzād's incomparable pupils ... When master Behzād arrived in Iraq from Herat, master Sulṭān-Muḥammad was [already] in the *kitābkhāna* of the Shah, who resides among the trees of the garden in paradise, and he [also] undertook

the training of this Khusraw of the four climes; his majesty, equal in virtue to paradise, practiced the art of painting under his direction and took lessons from him” [9].

14. *Ta'rikh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī* by Iskandar-bek munshī (edition by Irāj Afshār, Isfahan, 1334/1956, i, p. 174):

“And such skilled masters as *ustād* Behzād and *ustād* Sulṭān-Muḥammad, who stand alone in their noble craft and gained fame in all horizons through the delicacy of [their] brush, worked in the marvellously outfitted palace workshop [of Shah Ṭahmāsp]” [10].

The sources we used also give the names of Behzād's pupils; these are: (i) *mullā* Darwīsh Muḥammad ('Alī-Shīr

Nawā'i, *Majālis al-nafā'īs*); (ii) *ustād* Qāsim-i 'Alī-chihragushāy (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*); (iii) Maqṣūd (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *ibid.*); (iv) *mullā* Yūsuf (Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *ibid.*); (v) Dūst Dīwāna (Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī, *Jawāhir al-akhbār*: Qāḍī Aḥmad Qumī, *Risāla*); (vi) *ustād* Muḥaffar 'Alī (Mālik Daylamī, *Dībācha*; Iskandar-bek, *Ta'rikh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*. Būdāq and Qāḍī Aḥmad assert that his father was the pupil); (vii) *khwāja* 'Abd al-'Azīz (Quṭb al-Dīn Qiṣṣakhwān, *Dībācha*; Behzād was the teacher, but after his death Ṭahmāsp I considered himself the teacher; Qāḍī Aḥmad and Iskandar-bek name Ṭahmāsp I as the teacher); (viii) Shaykhzāda (Muṣṭafā Daftarī, *Manāqib-i hunarwarān*).

Notes

1. See also *Babur-name. Zapiski Babura (Bābur-nāma. Notes of Bābur)*, trans. by M. A. Sal'e (Tashkent, 1958), pp. 199, 211, 240; W. M. Thackston, *A Century of Princes. Sources on Timurid History of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), pp. 265, 283, 322.

2. See also A. N. Boldyrev, “Alisher Nawoi v rasskazakh sovremennikov” (“‘Alī-Shīr Nawā'i in the accounts of contemporaries”), in *Alisher Nawoi*, collection of articles (Moscow—Leningrad, 1946), pp. 149, 151—2.

3. Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 347.

5. See also Mirza Muhammad Haydar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī* (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Ta'rikh-i Rashīdī*), introduction, trans. from Persian by A. Urukbaev, R. P. Dzhililova, L. M. Epifanova (Tashkent, 1996), p. 263; Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

6. Thackston, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

7. See my article “Dzhavakhir al-akhbar ('Perly izvestiĭ') Budaka munshī Kazvini i ego 'Zametki' o tvortsakh persidskoĭ rukopisnoĭ knigi” (“*Jawāhir al-akhbār* ('Pearls of Accounts') by Būdāq-munshī Qazwīnī and his 'Notes' on the creators of the Persian manuscript book”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 4 (1994), pp. 461—2, 476, 478 (text).

8. See my article “Legenda o khudozhnike Bekhzade i kalligrafe Makhmude Nishapuri” (“The legend of the artist Behzād and the calligrapher Maḥmūd Nīshāpūrī”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, VI (1963), pp. 140—3.

9. See also Kazi-Akhmad, *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh 1596—97/1005* (Qāḍī-Aḥmad, A Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters. 1596—97/1005), introduction, trans. and commentary by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1947), pp. 181—3; Calligraphers and Painters. A Treatise by Qāḍī-Aḥmad, son of Mīr-Munshī (ca. A.H. 1015 / A.D. 1606). Translated from the Persian by V. Minorsky (Washington, 1959), pp. 179—181.

10. See my article “Iskandar munshi o khudozhnikakh vremeni shakha TakhmaspaI Safavi” (“Iskandar-munshī on painters from the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp I Ṣafawī”), *Trudy Tbilisskogo universiteta. 241: Vostokovedenie* (Tbilisi, 1988), pp. 260—1, 267.