

Relational Iconography

Studies in Persian Cultural History

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VOLUME 19

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Relational Iconography

*Representational Culture at the Qaraqyunlu
and Aqqyunlu Courts (853 / 1449 CE to 907 / 1501 CE)*

By

Georg Leube



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Cover illustration: Remains of the architectural decoration of the Naşriyya complex, Tabriz (March 1, 2022)
Image by Georg Leube.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Leube, Georg, author.

Title: Relational iconography, representational culture at the Qaraqyunlu
and Aqqyunlu courts (853/1449 CE to 907/1501 CE) / by Georg Leube.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2023] | Series: Studies in Persian
cultural history, 2210–3554 ; volume 19 | Includes bibliographical
references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2023004191 (print) | LCCN 2023004192 (ebook) |
ISBN 9789004541511 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004541528 (ebook) |

Subjects: LCSH: Arts, Iranian—15th century. | Arts, Iranian—16th century.
Iran—History—1256–1500—Historiography. | Turkey,
Eastern—History—15th century—Historiography. | Kara Koyunlu (Turkic
people)—History—15th century. | Ak Koyunlu (Turkic
people)—History—15th century.

Classification: LCC NX574.A1 L48 2023 (print) | LCC NX574.A1 (ebook) |
DDC 907.5509/024—dc23/eng/20230216

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023004191>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2023004192>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2210-3554

ISBN 978-90-04-54151-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-54152-8 (e-book)

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Contents

List of Illustrations XI

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Thematic Introduction	1
1.2	Acknowledgments	5
1.3	A Note on Transliteration, Dates, and Other Formalia	8
2	Theoretical Approach	11
2.1	A Performative View of Courtly Representation	11
2.2	Iconography: From the Description of Pictures to the Structure of Representation	17
2.2.1	<i>Iconography in the Rhetorical Tradition of the Second Sophistic</i>	17
2.2.2	<i>Iconography and Subjectivity in 20th-Century CE Art Historical Discourses</i>	20
2.2.3	<i>Toward a Critical Engagement with ‘Iconic Text’</i>	26
2.3	The Stability and Openness of Tradition	28
2.3.1	<i>Habitus and Language: Conceptualizing Tradition from an Iconographical Perspective</i>	28
2.3.2	<i>Invented Tradition: Looking Back on an Orderly Development of the Present</i>	33
2.3.3	<i>Localizing Tradition in the Moment of Deployment</i>	36
2.4	Relational Iconography: Deploying an Iconographical Approach to ‘Turkmen’ Courtly Culture	38
3	Nexus between the Worlds: An Inductive Reconstruction of ‘Turkmen’ Courtly Culture	41
3.1	The Court as <i>Topos</i> and Representational Scene	41
3.1.1	<i>Abīwardī Faydī: Approaching the Courts of the 15th-Century CE Persianate World</i>	43
3.2	Topoi of Courtly Interaction I: The <i>Yaylāq</i> or Summer Pasture	51
3.2.1	<i>Approaching the Yaylāq as a Configuration of Courtly Representation</i>	52
3.2.2	<i>Narrating the Ideal Yaylāq: Faḍlallāh’s Depiction of Sulṭān Ya’qūb’s 1490 CE Yaylāq at Ūjān</i>	56
3.2.2.1	Coming to Mount Sahand: The Introductory Poem	57

3.2.2.2	The Journey to Sa'īdābād and the Delegation of the <i>Maḥmal</i>	59
3.2.2.3	The Journey to Ūjān, State of the Palace	64
3.2.2.4	Initiating the Ideal Court: <i>Sultān</i> Ya'qūb's Arrival at the Palace of Ūjān	69
3.2.2.5	Establishing the Court: The Functional Groups of <i>Sultān</i> Ya'qūb's <i>Yaylāq</i>	71
3.2.2.6	Situating the Court within the Islamic World	80
3.2.2.7	Establishing Internal Networks through Gifts to the Ruler	88
3.2.3	<i>A Functional Overview of Activities at the Yaylāq</i>	92
3.2.3.1	Courtly Performances Not Specific to the <i>Yaylāq</i> and Non-Urban Contexts	93
3.2.3.2	Courtly Performances Specific to the <i>Yaylāq</i> and Non-Urban Contexts	97
3.3	Topoi of Courtly Interaction II: The <i>Qishlāq</i> as an Entangled Urban Sphere	110
3.3.1	<i>The Qishlāq of Tabrīz</i>	114
3.3.1.1	Approaching the Urban Sphere: Transregional Mobility and Infrastructure	114
3.3.1.2	Arriving in Tabrīz from the Northwest: Hasht Bihisht and the Garden of Şāhibābād	117
3.3.1.3	The Endowment Complex of the Naşriyya	127
3.3.1.4	Arriving in the Town: Sartorial Distinctions between Christians and Muslims	131
3.3.1.5	A Complex of Revenue-Generating Foundations in the Market	134
3.3.1.6	The Endowment Complex of the Muẓaffariyya	137
3.3.1.7	The Town: Urban Structure, Trade Goods, and Coinage	158
3.3.1.8	Visiting the Palace and a Vernacular History of <i>Sultān</i> Ya'qūb	162
3.3.1.9	The Administration of the Realms	169
3.3.1.10	Curiosities in Tabrīz	172
3.3.2	<i>Receptions and Delegations</i>	174
3.3.2.1	The Dispatch of the <i>Maḥmal</i> to the <i>Ḥajj</i>	174
3.3.2.2	Receiving Delegations at the 'Turkmen' Courts	194

3.3.3	<i>Establishing and Maintaining Networks of Loyalty and Patronage</i>	201
3.3.3.1	Engaging Functional Elites in the <i>Qishlāq</i>	202
3.3.3.2	Engaging the Elites of the <i>Qishlāq</i> by Means of Architectural Patronage	207
3.3.3.3	Spatial and Chronological Axes of Architectural Patronage in Işfahān	211
3.3.4	<i>Storing and Displaying Capital in the Qishlāq</i>	247
4	The Dimensions of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation in the Representational Culture of the ‘Turkmen’ Courts	255
4.1	The Iconography of ‘Ethnicity’ and ‘Ethnic’ Affiliation	255
4.1.1	<i>Field I: Language</i>	256
4.1.2	<i>Field II: Customs</i>	265
4.1.3	<i>Excursus: The ‘Iconographical Core’ of Qara- and Aqquyunlu Representation</i>	270
4.1.3.1	Symmetries within the Iconographic Core of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu	276
4.1.3.2	Asymmetries within the Iconographic Core of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu	279
4.1.3.3	Permeabilities between the Qara- and Aqquyunlu	287
4.1.4	<i>Conclusion</i>	288
4.2	The Iconography of Religious Affiliation	289
4.2.1	<i>Introduction: Two Numismatic Examples</i>	289
4.2.2	<i>Conceptualizing Religious Affiliation during the 14th- to 16th-Centuries CE</i>	301
4.2.2.1	Operative Concepts in Recent Scholarship	302
4.2.2.2	An Iconographical Approach	303
4.2.3	<i>Justice and Order as Transcendental Concepts</i>	305
4.2.4	<i>Cyclical Periodizations of Time and Preordination</i>	314
4.2.4.1	Astrology	317
4.2.4.2	Text-Based Methods of Predicting the Future	321
4.2.4.3	Inspiration-based Methods of Predicting the Future	327
4.2.5	<i>Resonances with Non-Muslim Iconographical Repertoires</i>	330
4.2.5.1	Performances of Justice and Order toward Christians	331
4.2.5.2	Strategic Visibility and Alleged Apostasy	344

4.2.6	<i>Islamic Traditions Deployed at the ‘Turkmen’ Courts</i>	349
4.2.6.1	Inclusive Performances of ‘Globally Islamic’ Fairness	350
4.2.6.2	Strategic Visibility and Intra-Islamic Positionality	355
4.2.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	372
5	Outlook and Conclusion	374
	Annex 1: The Chronology of the Production of the Uppsala Manuscript of Abīwardī’s <i>Chār Takht</i> and <i>Anīs al-Āshiqīn</i>	381
	Annex 2: The Chronology of the Production of Faḍlallāh’s <i>Tārīkh-i Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī</i>	385
	Bibliography	393
	Index	441

Illustrations

- 1 A geographical overview of the ‘Turkmen’ realms and their surroundings 3
- 2 The ‘thrones’ of Abīwardī’s travelogue 51
- 3 The urban topography of Tabrīz after van Ghistele 119
- 4 Mints of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu 161
- 5 ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in Işfahān 212
- 6 The Qaraqyunlu portal of the Darb-i Imām 220
- 7 The so-called Uzun Hasan Türbesi in Çemişgezek 375

Introduction

1.1 Thematic Introduction

Imagine you were the queen of the world, and nobody knew. Your reign would effectively be void. To make other people aware of your well-founded claim, you could employ different mediums and modes. These might possibly include your dress, your gestures, surrounding yourself with suitable courtiers, engaging in prominent acts of patronage, and so on. Ideally, the multiple elements you employ would ‘fit’ with each other, grounding your rightful claim in a coherent representation. This combination of different mediums, acts, and discourses within a given representational culture is the topic of this book.

Engaging with Islamicate courtly culture as (coherent) representation has implications for the framing of Islamic cultural history. Tradition ceases to be a fixed given that is continued or discontinued. Instead, the representational repertoires of multiple traditions are seen as permeable, as elements from different contexts may well be combined and reinterpreted. Accordingly, courtly (or non-courtly) representation is understood as composed of multiple claims and performative gestures, whose success or failure depends on their reception. Tradition is actualized and negotiated through the contested deployment and redeployment of these elements.

To represent your rightful reign through your clothing, you might accordingly combine a late Ottoman Fez and a Roman imperial purple toga. Your use of both may well be informed by your understanding of their past significance. In the terminology of this study, your representation is informed by a specific iconography or understanding of the past. To understand your representation, your audience will similarly need to combine iconographic interpretations of the multiple elements you deploy. Accordingly, iconography or the engagement with (multiple) tradition(s) through the deployment of individual elements informs both the production and reception of representation.

Your performance could in turn be successful and accepted by your audience. In this case, one might expect some sort of ‘trickle down’ effect, as your innovative style may be seen as desirable and worthy of imitation. Alternatively, your performative deployment of a combination of Fez and toga may be contested. As shown by the story of ‘the emperor’s new clothes’, contestation will always be pronounced from a specific social position. This contestation could for instance be phrased in a reading of Ottoman and Roman imperial history that

contradicts your own. To do justice to claim and contestation or counterclaim, each needs to be understood in its own terms. This systematic preference for immediate and implied context is conveyed by the ‘relational’ part of the title of this book. If contestation becomes visible, it can in turn be interpreted as a claim that can once again be contested. Conflict accordingly forms a permanent option alongside the cooperative acceptance of claims.

Within Islamic and Islamicate cultural history, this framing of courtly representation necessitates a deconstruction and revision of the significance of idealized concepts and *Reinformen*. Instead of explaining apparent cases of ‘mixture’ as secondary phenomena of *métissage* or hybridity, permeability should be understood as the norm.

This book is dedicated to the courtly representation of the so-called ‘Turkmen’ dynasties of the Qaraquyunlu and Aqquyunlu¹ between 853 / 1449 CE and 907 / 1501 CE. Due to the coherence of representation, I read multiple types of sources into each other, including architecture, court ceremony, coinage, epigraphy, poetry, epigraphy, historiography, and material culture. Of course, each of these mediums and discourses has its own rules and dynamics. Nonetheless, I argue that they were used jointly to represent the court. The relational iconographic approach of this study enables an engagement with this coherent deployment of different mediums and discourses.

As stated above, I axiomatically believe that permeable traditions are the norm and that stable or polarized ideal types need to be explained as a product of specific contexts. Nonetheless, the courtly culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is an ideal field to develop a relational-iconographic approach, as it cannot be explained by some of the most influential concepts and categories in the study of Muslim and Islamicate cultural history. This likely contributes to the comparative marginality of this period in modern scholarship. These courts can be seen to ‘be’ simultaneously *sunni* and *shīʿī*. The Qara- and Aqquyunlu combine Islamicate, Persianate, and Central Asian / Turkic traditions of rightful authority. They ‘are’ simultaneously sedentary and nomadic. They can be described as both centralized and decentralized. This period is also characterized by stable dynasties and ridden by chronic civil wars. Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly culture ‘is’ both antinomistic and at times filled with the highest reformist spirit of *tajdid* or a renovation of Islam. The ‘problem’ lies not in any type of ignorance or exceptionality of the ‘Turkmen’ courts, but in the misunderstanding of representational culture by modern scholarship.

1 As a shorthand, I regularly use either ‘Turkmen’ or Qara- and Aqquyunlu to refer to these dynasties.



FIGURE 1 A geographical overview of the 'Turkmen' realms and their surroundings

This study engages with the courtly culture of the 'Turkmen' dynasties between the resumption of autonomous coinage by the Qaraquyunlu ruler Jahānshāh in 853 / 1449 CE and Ismā'īl Ṣafawī's appropriation of Tabriz in 907 / 1501 CE. I do not depart from established notions of dynasty, nationality, religious affiliation, modes of life, stability etc. Instead, I hope to revisit these and other concepts that have often been taken as convenient and logical starting points of research. My relational iconographic perspective aims to ground itself in multiple genres and discourses of this period that intersect at the court, the 'nexus between the worlds'. This perspective also suggests that representational culture is not static or 'closed', but rather the result of the continuous and multi-levelled negotiation of claims and counterclaims. Collectively, these negotiations reflect and structure the distribution of various types of capital within the configuration of the court. Accordingly, the agency of individual actors and interpersonal networks is subordinate to the overarching configuration governing the performative deployment of individual claims and iconographically charged elements at the court.

This book begins with a methodological chapter developing 'relational iconography' as a concept and approach in chapter 2. Deliberately, this chapter does not focus specifically on the Qara- and Aqqyunlu. Instead, I hope to contextualize the relational iconographic approach of this study alongside more established approaches in art history and critical humanities,

striving for ‘clarity in the fundamentals and precision in the solution of specific problems’.² By contrast, the following chapters consciously refrain from any sustained comparison with non-‘Turkmen’ contexts.

The first main part of this book suggests an inductive reconstruction of the configuration of the ‘Turkmen’ courts during the period between 853 / 1449 CE and 907 / 1501 CE in chapter 3. This part follows contemporary sources to establish the relational contexts that inform Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly representation. I begin with an interpretation of the courtly topography of the *Persophone* world at the end of the 15th-century CE as described in the *Chār Takht* of Ḥusayn Abīwardī. Based on this text, I argue that courts represent widely visible interfaces between multiple normativities and traditions. These are in turn embedded in specific interpersonal networks of mobilization and patronage. Due to the pervasiveness of the concept of the court and performative (courtly) sessions, I suggest that the ‘Turkmen’ courts should be seen as part of a ‘fractal-galactical courtly sphere’ of continuous and dynamic negotiation, appropriation, and contestation (3.1).

Building on this concept of the court, I reconstruct the ‘Turkmen’ courts in their two ideal manifestations of the non-urban ‘summer pasture’ or *aylāq* and the ‘winter camp’ or *qishlāq*. This *qishlāq* is best described as an ‘entangled urban sphere’, typically encompassing an urban center together with its sub-urban areas under intensive agricultural use. In (3.2), I depart from the emic account of an ‘ideal *aylāq*’ contained in Faḍlallāh’s court historiography written for the Aqquyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya‘qūb to reconstruct this manifestation of the ‘ideal’ courtly configuration. I then supplement this inductive reconstruction with a functional overview of performative activities attested at the courtly *aylāq* of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers. By contrast, (3.3) departs from the etic description of the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz by the Flemish traveller Joos van Ghistele, which was not produced under the patronage of the Qara- or Aqquyunlu courts. Following his account, I reconstruct the entanglement of the court with multiple interpersonal networks and their localized spatial markers of social, economic, and ideological capital (3.3.1). This extensive reconstruction of the entangled urban sphere of the paramount town of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms is then supplemented by a functional overview of the main performative courtly activities conducted in the *qishlāq* (3.3.2 to 3.3.4). This functional overview discusses by example some particularly relevant case-studies in an exhaustive and dense review of the extant material, such as the performative guardianship of the court over the Muslim pilgrims participating in the *ḥajj* (3.3.2.1), or the spatial and chronological axes of architectural patronage of the ‘Turkmen’ courts as attested in the *qishlāq* of Iṣfahān (3.3.3.3).

² Schumpeter 1970, xvii.

Chapter 4 complements this inductive and function-oriented reconstruction of the ‘ideal’ configuration of the ‘Turkmen’ court as ‘nexus between the worlds’. This second main part of my book builds on the preceding inductive reconstruction and contextualization of the court to focus on the analytical dimensions of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘religion’. Analysis of ‘ethnicity’ as a dimension of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly representation departs from a heuristic framing that views ‘ethnicity’ as a container that brings together transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorizations that operate within concepts of language or customs (4.1). As I argue, multiple traditions of language and performative acts that are frequently understood as ‘ethnically charged’ in modern scholarship are combined at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. Accordingly, ‘ethnicity’ cannot be used as a stable and binary category. Instead, the ‘Turkmen’ courts strategically aimed to ground their legitimacy in multiple ‘ethnically charged’ traditions. Due to the prominent intersection of ‘ethnicity’ with the performance of genealogical affiliation, the ‘iconographical core’ of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu dynasties is also discussed in an excursus to this section (4.1.3).

In the second thematic axis of chapter 4, I depart from a heuristic framing of ‘religion’ as related either to a coherent transcendence or to a group that relates to a coherent transcendence. I begin by reconstructing the dispersion of two particularly prominent religiously charged elements on coins minted in the names of ‘Turkmen’ rulers. I suggest that the appropriation of religiously charged iconographical repertoires at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts is predicated upon the establishment of consonances that are used to synchronize multiple traditions. Subsequently, I present a systematic survey of the inclusion of various religious and transcendental traditions in courtly representation. I suggest that this establishment of pervasive consonances embedded the occasional propagation of controversial claims in the name of ‘Turkmen’ rulers within a vast integrative iconographical program presenting the court as the topic locale of supra-factional justice and fairness.

I conclude with a very brief example of how the flourishing courtly culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu was represented in the later *Sharafnāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī. This conclusion also includes a summary of the main theses of this book. Finally, a critical discussion of some open questions concerning crucial sources is presented in two appendices.

1.2 Acknowledgments

This book reflects the multiple scholarly configurations I have been fortunate to work in. As in any project that has been lived for some ten years, my debts

of gratitude are too vast and manifold to enumerate. I first fell in love with Aqqyunlu architecture in Diyarbakır and Mardin during a privately funded research trip in the summer of 2012. At that time, I had just begun my dissertation on early Islamic history and historiography under the supervision of Professor Rüdiger Seesemann at the University of Bayreuth. With his characteristic generosity, Professor Seesemann encouraged me to spend two months researching ‘Anatolia and the Balkans’ after I promised this would not interfere with my dissertation. After my return to Bayreuth as *akademischer Rat* in 2016, Professor Seesemann graciously agreed to serve as the chair of the mentoring committee overseeing my *Habilitation* or post-doctoral dissertation. This study represents the main part of my *Habilitationsschrift*. Himself a specialist in Islamic mysticism and Muslim epistemologies in Africa, Professor Seesemann’s unwavering support and unfailing good humor has made this research possible. His perspicaciousness and sense for the responsibility of cultural studies continue to inspire me.

Before returning to my *alma mater* at the University of Bayreuth as *akademischer Rat* and *akademischer Oberrat*, I had the fortune to spend one year under the supervision of Professor Christoph Werner in 2015 to 2016. As a post-doc researcher, I was affiliated to the Department of Iranian Studies at Marburg University in the joint ANR-DFG Franco-German project *DYNTRAN: Dynamics of Transmission – Families, Authority and Knowledge in the Early Modern Middle East (15th–17th centuries)*. At this time, I began sustained work on Qara- and Aqqyunlu cultural history. It was inspiring to work together with the other members of DYNTRAN and the vibrant configuration of brilliant colleagues assembled at the Center for Near and Middle Eastern Studies, in particular the dedicated editorial board of the journal *META: Middle East, Topics and Arguments*. I cannot thank Christoph enough for his encouragement and support. As a small token of gratitude, I take the liberty of dedicating the reconstruction of the ‘entangled urban sphere’ of the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz following the description of Joos van Ghiste (3.3) to Christoph’s affection for this fascinating town.

Following my return to Bayreuth in 2016, I must thank my former supervisor Professor Rainer Oßwald for his committed support and critical advice. His generosity in introducing me to his erudite engagement with the dynamic negotiation of sacred law through multiple layers of commentaries and super-commentaries within the *mālikī* school of Islamic law in Africa shaped my understanding of Islam as a discursive tradition. Alongside Professor Seesemann, I also had the pleasure of gaining Professor Paula Schrode, Religious Studies, and Professor Ralf Behrwald, Ancient History, as members of my mentoring committee. I cannot adequately express my gratitude and indebtedness to their unwavering support and advice, particularly during the challenging period when I represented the Chair of Islamic Studies during the absence of

Professor Seesemann in 2018. I strive to emulate their intellectual astuteness and unfailing grasp of the administrative and interpersonal dimensions of academic research while developing my own habitus as a supervisor. Between 2020 and 2022, I represented 50 percent of the professorship in Islamic Studies of Professor Stefan Heidemann at the University of Hamburg. Stefan's work on the economic, material, and institutional dimensions of Islamicate cultural history had decisively shaped my understanding of our field as a student. It was a sincere pleasure to work with him during the final stages of this project.

It is impossible to adequately thank every single one of my esteemed teachers, colleagues, students, acquaintances, and more or less willing relatives and friends whose ideas and suggestions animate this *Habilitationsschrift*. The doyen of Aqqyunlu history, Professor John E. Woods, kindly agreed to serve as an external reviewer of my *Habilitationsschrift* and generously shared his publications and advice. Professor Charles P. Melville and the editors of Brill's *Studies in Persian Cultural History* invited me to publish this study in their prestigious series and appointed an anonymous reviewer whom I cannot thank enough for her fair and perspicacious comments.

My esteemed teacher Professor Ulrich Rebstock, formerly at the University of Freiburg, encouraged me to formulate this project more confidently in Althusserian terms. In Bayreuth, Professor emeritus Ulrich Berner, Religious Studies, shaped key elements of this study through the co-teaching of seminars and countless hours of discussion. Dr. Lutz Ilisch and Dr. Sebastian Hanstein of the Forschungsstelle Islamische Numismatik Tübingen generously shared their insights and images of the coins in their unique collection. I am also greatly indebted to the generosity of the staff of the Museum of Ādharbāyjan in Tabriz and the guardians of Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis, as well as the hospitality with which the *imam* of the Hamza-i Kebir mosque in Mardin received my students and me during our excursion to Southeastern Anatolia in 2014. I thank the unfaltering professionalism and kindness of the staff of the university libraries of Marburg and Bayreuth, particularly Mr. Otmar Fehn. Dr. Benjamin Weineck and MA Benedikt Römer commented on the first complete draft of this manuscript, while Dr. Eline Scheerlinck kindly reviewed my translation of van Ghistele's old Flemish description of Tabriz. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the professionalism and generosity of the post-dissertational support of the WiN Academy and the Office of Research Support at the University of Bayreuth, as well as the grudging stubbornness with which my beautiful wife Nica accompanied me while stumbling through ruins and towns in Eastern Anatolia.

I dedicate this monograph to my mother Dr. Sabine Freifrau von Falkenhausen-Leube and her fascination with material culture, eastern Anatolia, and Turkish language and cuisine: *Annem için*.

1.3 A Note on Transliteration, Dates, and Other Formalia

The transliteration of Arabic script follows IJMES with a preference for an Arabic reading of names and words that could also be transliterated as Persian, Ottoman, or *turkī* / Chaghatāy for the sake of consistency. This holds, in particular, for nominal attributes in the form of the Arabic *status constructus*, which are transcribed as in Arabic even when embedded in a non-Arabic linguistic matrix (ergo: *Mālik rikāb al-umam* / *māliku rikābi l-umamī*).

Regarding the transcription of Ottoman and Turkic passages, I follow IJMES in all consonants (differentiating a written *kāf* as k and ṇ) as well as for Arabic and Persian words. By contrast, I render vowels in words of Turkic origin and Turkic suffices written without *matres lectionis* according to the rules of Turkic vowel harmony. In these cases, I arbitrarily prefer the forms current in modern Turkish where different readings are possible (ergo: *Uzun* instead of *ūzūn*, *qabrī* instead of *kabrī*, but *janbindadır* instead of *janbindahdır*). Nominal attributes constructed according to the Arabic *status constructus* or the Persian *idāfa* are rendered as such even when embedded in a Turkic linguistic matrix (ergo: *kāshī-yi chīn*). For the sake of consistency, I normalize the different spellings in Arabic, Armenian, and Latin alphabets of the Central Asianate personal honorific **bēg* in English contexts, where the form *bīk* is retained throughout.

I do not undertake a comprehensive analysis of the permeability between the different components of multi-component personal names.³ Instead, I pragmatically retain one consistent form to refer to recurring individuals (Jahānshāh, *sultān* Ya'qūb). In the rendering of personal names and titles, recurring honorific and personal epithets are as far as possible separated from the 'name' and rendered in cursive minuscule letters (e.g. *pīr* Būdāq, 'Alī *bīk*, *sultān* Ya'qūb). Similarly, current Islamicate technical terms are also rendered in cursive minuscule letters (e.g. *jihād*). Less current terms are represented by recurring calques together with the Islamicate original term.

Cyrillic letters are transcribed according to ISO 9, Syriac according to a system that highlights their respective Arabic counterpart, and Armenian follows the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*. I regret that I did not yet read Armenian sources in their original form while working on this study: I hope to include the corpus of Armenian epigraphy, historiography, and colophons composed during the 15th-century CE in future projects.

Whenever dates stand in the body of the text without any further indication, the year is given according to the *hijrī qamarī* calendar. Dates in the common era are indicated by CE. Toponyms are given in their most current

3 See Schimmel 1990.

form, preferring contemporary over historic spellings (ergo: Cairo instead of al-Qāhira, Diyarbakır instead of Āmid). For the Iranian towns contemporarily known as Bābul, Bandar ‘Abbās, and Gurgān, I frequently retain the historical forms of Bārfurūshdih, Jarūn, and Astarābād in the duplex forms of Bābul / Bārfurūshdih, Bandar ‘Abbās / Jarūn, and Gurgān / Astarābād. Arbitrarily, I render the Timurid capital as Herāt and omit the artificial honorific Şanlı from the name of the town of Urfa in southeastern Anatolia as a matter of personal taste (as Maraş and Antep do not appear in this study, no reference to their similarly artificial honorifics Kahraman and Gazi need be made). The current Iranian capital is spelled in its common English form as Tehran in the bibliography only, while its historical *nisba* is always spelled Ṭihrānī. Further historical and contemporary Arabic and Iranian toponyms are transcribed in *plene* according to IJMES.

In the bibliography, premodern sources are identified by the name of the author and (wherever advisable, a shortened version of) the title, modern sources only by the name of the author and the year of publication. *Pace* Woods, I render the name of the (otherwise unattested) author of the *Ta’rīkh al-Ghiyāth* as al-Ghiyāth instead of al-Ghiyāthī. In my view, al-Ghiyāth should be interpreted as an abbreviated version of the honorific *laqab* Ghiyāth al-Dīn, following the common usage in the 15th-century CE Mamlūk realm. First names of editors and authors in Latin, Greek, Armenian, or Cyrillic script are abbreviated, while names in Arabic, Ottoman, and Persian script, as well as in Syriac and Japanese, are given in full. Ottoman authors are listed under their modern Turkish orthography when their names are not current in Arabic, but according to Arabic orthographical conventions for Arabic names (ergo: Evliya vs. Ismā’īl). In all cases, the titles of Ottoman works are transcribed according to the rules applying to Arabic script (ergo: *Siyāhatnāma* instead of *Seyahatname*).

The titles of Greek works are given in Latin, while the names of the authors were retained in their original Greek form where both the Greek and Latin forms are current (ergo: Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, but Anna Comnena). Syriac authors are Latinized according to scholarly convention (e.g. Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus⁴). The Arabic term *ta’rīkh*, history, is always rendered in this arguably hypercorrected form according to the normative views of Arabic grammatical tradition in Arabic titles. By contrast, it was given its regular Persian form of *tārīkh* whenever the title is structured according to a Persian linguistic matrix (ergo: *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakriyya* but *Ta’rīkh al-Ḥukamā’*).

4 For the Orientalist misinterpretation of the name *bar ‘ebayā* as *bar hebraeus* or *son of the Jew*, see Fathi-Chelhod 2001.

In the transliteration of names given in different scripts and versions, particularly in editions and works that contain double title pages in Latin / Cyrillic and Arabic / Armenian script respectively, the names of the editors are transcribed in the form that was in official use when the publication appeared. Where the pertinent publications of a scholar transcend a reform of the alphabet, preference is arbitrarily given to one consistent form of the name and a cross-reference included under the alternative wherever this seemed necessary. The pertinent volume of multi-volume works is given in the notes only where the pagination does not continue across all volumes.

I am currently preparing a critical edition of Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly epigraphy. Field research in Armenia and Iran for this project was generously supported by the Fritz Thyssen Foundation in 2021 and 2022. I look forward to sustained work on this separate monograph as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, complemented by a Feodor Lynen-research fellowship of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation, from 2022 to 2023. References to inscriptions are made by their unambiguous designation in this forthcoming publication ('inscription 88o Işfahān' etc.). Following a suggestion by one of the anonymous reviewers, I include a preliminary reading of the original text of those inscriptions translated in the present study in footnotes to my translations.

The dates of books that are recorded exclusively according to a non-CE calendar are given in the original form, followed by the date of the year CE. In case of a dating by means of the *hijrī shamsī* calendar with no CE date being given, the date in CE was arrived at by the addition of 621 to the *hijrī shamsī* date. Dates in the Pahlawī *shāhī* calendar are converted to CE by subtracting 559 from the *shāhī* date. Where a month of publication was given, this was taken into account (e.g. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a due to the month of Bahman mentioned in the date as given at the end of the author's foreword). *Hijrī qamarī* dates were converted according to the *Wüstenfeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen* (see Spuler et al. 1961), which is equivalent to the *Islamischer Kalender* supplied online by the Universität Zürich, <https://www.aoi.uzh.ch/de/islamwissenschaft/hilfsmittel/tools/kalenderumrechnung/hegira.html>. For *pahlawī* dates, I have also used the online Kalender Nahost of Nikolas A. Bär, <http://www.nabkal.de/kalrechN.html>. For *abjadī* methods of attributing numeric value to Arabic letters, I have profitted from the 'biggest fish in a very small pond' maintained by my esteemed colleague Theodore S. Beers, see <https://www.abjadcalc.com/>.

Theoretical Approach

2.1 A Performative View of Courtly Representation

Courtly representation spans multiple mediums and discourses that are all entangled in their specific contexts. At the same time, these different mediums and discourses are used jointly in a coherent representation. This study proposes relational iconography as an approach that traces the interplay of multiple elements in a given representation. Accordingly, each individual ‘element’ is understood to be embedded in a repertoire of elements that represent one or multiple traditions. By combining a specific selection of elements in courtly representation, multiple traditions are negotiated and actualized.

Traditionally, the repertoires used in the representation of Islamic and Islamicate traditions are envisioned as fundamentally stable. Accordingly, certain courts ‘are’ *sunni* or *shī‘ī*, Persianate or rooted in Central Asian traditions of rule. This approach has contributed decisively to our understanding of the internal coherence of specific strands of tradition and the entangledness of, for instance, theology and courtly representation. On this basis, Anne K.S. Lambton sketched several idealized concepts of authority deployed in the pre-modern *Persophone* world. She suggested defining authority in relation to power in the tradition of the French Huguenot philosopher Jacques Maritain as follows:

Power is the force by means of which others can be compelled to obey. Authority is the right to direct and command, to be obeyed, or simply to be listened to, by others. Authority, except perhaps in the last sense, demands power. A loss of power tends to be followed by a loss of authority, while power without authority becomes tyranny.¹

Following the tradition of Islamic philosophy, she argues that all authority actualized by an Islamicate ruler ultimately derives from the perfect and complete power of God as the sole original legislator.²

The description and analysis of the ideal types Lambton describes in her overview of concepts of authority between the 11th and 19th-centuries CE

¹ Lambton 1988a, 96.

² Lambton 1988a, 95.

remains of great importance. Nonetheless, recent scholarship has shown the degree to which displays of authority were shaped and conditioned by contestation and negotiation in the political practice of the pre- and early modern Islamicate world.³ Additionally, besides the supreme political authority analysed by Lambton, subordinate and specialized forms of authority also exist based on and performed inside the discourses of material culture and poetry among others.⁴ Accordingly, the analytical framing of authority should be extended beyond factual statements of power or right to cover the dynamic and controversial negotiations of status in Islamicate societies.

As a working heuristic, authority or rightful rule is in this study accordingly not treated as an ideal normative type. Instead, I see courtly representation as structured by an agency that includes a large variety of claims to status in the social practice of the pre- and early modern Islamicate World. Accordingly, authority is seen less as an overarching theoretical construct, but rather as a localized and relational attribute ascribed to or claimed by rulers and artists, generals and courtiers in their respective fields.

Attributes, however, are curious concepts. While frequently seen as part of some sort of immutable 'identity' defining the 'being' of particular social actors, they become visible exclusively in their association with the actions and reactions of individual subjects. Thus, authority, like other attributes crucial to a particular role in society, depends on some sort of representation for its social existence. By contrast, attributes that are not perceived by anybody effectively do not exist on a social level. Accordingly, the deployment of social roles depends on the performance of various attributes in a form that is 'understood' by the intended audience. Simultaneously, each successful deployment of claims to authority enforces the deployer's standing, enabling her in turn to draw on this authority in future negotiations.

Similarly, the individual elements combined in any such performance of authority frequently derive their significance from claims to be meaningfully connected to some sort of prior use made of them or other elements deployed to represent earlier claims to authority. Through this appropriation and actualization of elements that (are thought to) have been used to represent authority in the past, a tradition is established that resides in the moment of representation.⁵

3 See for instance Melvin-Koushki 2011 and Lingwood 2014.

4 See for instance Roxburgh 2005 for epistemologies and hierarchies shaping the assembly of courtly albums of calligraphy and paintings.

5 This dynamic and discursive framing is much indebted to Asad 1986 for the suggestion of envisioning Islam as a discursive tradition.

This shift from 'being' to 'representing' or 'performing' social roles has been most influentially deployed in past decades by the line of scholarship represented by John L. Austin⁶ and Judith Butler⁷ among others and has led to the restructuring of fields of inquiry in numerous scholarly disciplines. As Butler has argued regarding gendered roles and identities,

gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. This formulation moves the conception of gender off the ground of a substantial model of identity to one that requires a conception of a constituted *social temporality*.⁸

Butler's description of gender as resulting from the performance of gendered roles is grounded in an awareness of precedent that is shared by the actor performing a gendered role and her audience. In analogy, it could be said that the performance of authority is grounded in a shared cultural memory⁹ of various performative acts that support and are in turn actualized by any performance of authority. In this way, authority in a given social temporality can be seen as any deployment of claims to authority that is registered and acted upon by its intended audience.

While this performative view on authority may seem strikingly postmodern, a similar concern with the performance of social roles arguably structures the deployment and management of social roles in historical contexts. Explicitly normative formulations of appropriate behavior and performance have been composed at both the Byzantine and the 'Abbasid courts during pre-modern times. These works attest to an acute awareness of the dependance of social status and authority on the performance of multiple courtly acts.¹⁰ Even in pre-modern contexts where such explicit and comprehensive descriptions of normative court ceremonial are lacking, social roles are commonly grounded in carefully performed rituals that ultimately underpin the authority that is claimed. Thus, the historian Marc Bloch has shown based on a wide range of narrative sources how the transcendental foundation of the political authority

6 See Austin 1962.

7 See Butler 1988.

8 Butler 1988, 519–520; emphasis in the original.

9 The concept of cultural memories was developed by Halbwachs 1994 and 2008, as well as Assmann 1992, and its specific relevance to the present study is discussed below.

10 Hilāl al-Šābi' *Rusūm* and Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos *De Ceremoniis*.

of the French kings was performed by means of a ceremonial ‘washing of feet’ during which the French kings were believed to heal leprosy.¹¹

Even where no normative or narrative descriptions of how particular performances were to be enacted and perceived exist, individual elements used to deploy authority frequently continue to be understandable even to audiences culturally far removed from the original context of the performative claim. A good example of impressive displays of a ruler’s authority that continue to impress visitors across the millennia includes the Achaemenid palaces of Persepolis / Takht-i Jamshīd. Here, no normative statements have survived from insiders of the Achaemenid administrative and state apparatus that could allow a reconstruction of the intentions of the respective builder. Detailed emic narratives that permit an understanding of the intellectual outlook and court ceremonials that brought forth these colossal monuments are equally lacking. Nonetheless, the deployment of figural imagery depicting courtiers, guards, and ambassadors engaged within the social configuration of the court in the medium of figural reliefs continues to project a notion of courtly hierarchy and authority. This claim works through the magnificence of the work and the depiction of human figures engaged in performative acts that invite the emulation of their deferential stance by subsequent (human) visitors.

As the stone-reliefs of Persepolis / Takht-i Jamshīd exemplify, the representation of authority spans various genres, materials, and discourses. Accordingly, engagement with the representational culture of particular contexts needs to combine a vast array of sources and genres to reconstruct as far as possible the context that shaped the original representation. Ultimately, this line of research may not only allow the reconstruction of a factual overview of how something was represented in a particular situation. In addition, research could engage the contested entanglement of claims and counterclaims as conflicting attempts to enforce particular visions of normativity. Thereby, this line of research aims to arrive at an understanding of dynamic social interactions that is grounded in a wide array of material and written sources.

For the reconstruction of normative modes of appropriate behavior, anecdotes describing the missteps of particular characters in courtly contexts are frequently particularly valuable. A good example of how a comical story about misbehavior can be used to reconstruct a normative structure in the representation of authority can be seen in the following report situated at the court of the early Islamic caliph Mu‘āwīya during the 7th-century CE:

11 Bloch 1924.

Al-Madā'inī told me from Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh from Yazīd b. Suwayd the following story: [The Umayyad caliph] Mu'āwiya received [his general] al-Aḥnaf before Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath b. Qays, however Muḥammad sat above [i.e. closer to Mu'āwiya than] al-Aḥnaf. Thus Mu'āwiya said: I did not receive him before you so you could sit closer to me than him!¹²

Although the underlying principle is not formulated in an abstract form, the anecdote conveys the concept that a ruler such as Mu'āwiya establishes a hierarchy among his courtiers by allowing courtiers with a greater authority to speak first and sit closer to him. In similar fashion, the existence of some sort of poetical ability qualifying specific individuals for participation in a poetical courtly session or *majlis* is presupposed in the following anecdote from 10th-century CE eastern Iran:

[The poet Firdawsī stands at the beginning of his career and attempts to gain acceptance by the poet 'Anṣarī at the court of Ghazna.] One day, he smuggled himself into the *majlis* of 'Anṣarī. [...] Because 'Anṣarī saw that Firdawsī looked like a rustic man, he admonished him: My brother, only a poet may enter the *majlis* of poets! Firdawsī replied: Your servant does possess some knowledge of this art. [Firdawsī is tested and succeeds in proving his poetical aptitude.] 'Anṣarī said: My brother, forgive us for not knowing your worthiness! And he made him his companion.¹³

This anecdote turns on the decisive agency of the leader of the *majlis*, who governs access and the hierarchy of his companions in a similar fashion as Mu'āwiya in the anecdote translated before. In addition, 'Anṣarī's reaction to Firdawsī's talents implies the idea that some people are inherently worthy of admission to poetical and by extension other specialized courts and domains.

In both anecdotes, Mu'āwiya and 'Anṣarī performatively deploy authority by using their knowledge of *how things ought to be* to rectify mistakes. Thereby, they project situational constructions of normativity. At first glance it may be tempting to attribute to the caliph Mu'āwiya the unconditional ability to set the rules at his court. Nonetheless, comparison with the story of Firdawsī's entrance at the *majlis* of 'Anṣarī demonstrates the potentially disastrous consequences of failing to treat other actors at the courtly scene as they deserve. Had 'Anṣarī not apologized and granted Firdawsī entrance to his circle, he would

12 Al-Balādhurī *Ansāb* 3, 287. A parallel exists in al-Ṭabarī *Ta'rikh* 3, 287 [sic!]. All translations are, where not stated otherwise, by the author.

13 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 51.

have risked that Firdawsī might deploy his poetical talents independently. Thereby, Firdawsī may eventually have challenged ‘Anṣarī’s privileged position as the paramount poet of the Ghaznavid court. In similar fashion, the spurning of a powerful notable able to convince others of his entitlement to preferential access to the caliph Mu‘āwiya could well lead to open revolt against his authority. Accordingly, the authority of Mu‘āwiya and ‘Anṣarī is successfully deployed by laying claims to a regulation of access and hierarchy that are ultimately not contested.¹⁴ This deployment of authority accordingly serves to establish a multi-tiered hierarchy of courtiers who in turn may again use the authority bestowed upon them in the anecdotes to gain access to other courtly sessions or establish a hierarchy of their own. In this way, ‘Anṣarī plays a subordinate role at the court of the Ghaznavid *sultāns*, which in turn enables him to himself regulate the access and hierarchy of poets at his own *majlis*.

To fully understand the negotiations depicted in the above anecdotes, interpretation of the narrative text, normative structures of courtly ceremonial, and some idea of the material and spatial layout of an audience hall in Islamicate cultural history must be combined. Ultimately, these various mediums and types of sources can be seen to form an overarching coherent field in which negotiations of authority are performed. This results in a cosmos of meaning or *mundus significans*, a concept that has been proposed for the study of intertextuality within poetical networks, which are similarly linked in an overarching and coherent field.¹⁵ For a successful (or, in Austin’s terminology, ‘happy’) performance, various mediums and discourses must be simultaneously actualized. By contrast, failure to convince the intended audience of the success of one’s performance weakens the authority of the current focus of the court. This could be combatted by (attempts at) censorship. Alternatively, the ‘loss of face’ of the current sovereign could encourage violence aimed at establishing an opposing vision of hierarchically structured authority.¹⁶

In the present study, I describe the various mediums in which negotiations of authority are performed as structured by an overarching representational structure which governs the connotations and possible arrangements

14 My thinking on the interplay of conflict and cooperation in social interaction is strongly influenced by the systematizations of so-called ‘conflict economics’ as proposed by my esteemed teacher Professor Neumärker, Freiburg. See Hirshleifer 2001 and Anderton, Carter 2019 for two of the most accessible and authoritative introductions.

15 See Greene 1982 for the development of this concept for renaissance poetry and Péri 2017, Péri 2018, and Péri 2019 for its successful application to Persianate networks of imitation poetry (*naẓīra*).

16 See Payne 2017 for the concept of violence that is deployed as a means to establish hierarchy inside late Sasanian society.

of the elements deployed. This representational structure is described as an iconography.

2.2 Iconography: From the Description of Pictures to the Structure of Representation

2.2.1 *Iconography in the Rhetorical Tradition of the Second Sophistic*

Integrating narrative and non-narrative sources is a challenging goal. In the rhetorical traditions of the so-called second sophistic in the 1st to 3rd-centuries CE, the description and interpretation of paintings was formalized in a rhetorical discipline called iconography, literally ‘painting a picture’. In this discipline, the act of verbalizing a picture was framed in analogy to a translation from one language to another as an act of translation or *hermeneuein*.¹⁷ To adequately describe a picture, rhetorical training was as necessary as knowledge in a wide array of epistemological traditions. Consider the following ‘description’ of a painting of a swamp by Philostratos in the 3rd-century CE:

The earth is covered with water and carries reed and tree bark, which the fertility of swamps brings forth even without being ploughed. A tamarisk and flatsedge are equally depicted, as these also belong to swamps. Towering mountains of various types are seen all around. Those which bring forth the pine-tree suggest light soil, those which boast with cypresses announce white clay, while those fir trees [denote] nothing else than the tough winters and roughness of the mountain. For they do not enjoy fertile earth, nor do they love being warmed, and so they avoid the plains, as they grow easier in the mountains because of the altitude.¹⁸

As exemplified in this ‘description’, the proper understanding of a painting depicting a swamp presupposes detailed knowledge of botany and geology. Similarly, description of mythological scenes is predicated on intimate acquaintance with multiple versions of the mythological story that is depicted in the painting. It is only by being able to draw on his prior knowledge of the subject of the painting that Philostratos is able to compose his ‘descriptions’ and thereby produce an example of brilliant rhetoric that could be used in teaching students the proper way of describing a painting.

¹⁷ Philostratos *Imagines*, 20.

¹⁸ Philostratos *Imagines*, 46.

In supplying information not explicitly contained in the painting, iconography as practised by Philostratos takes a production-oriented perspective on cultural artefacts. Rather than concern his description exclusively with the finished product, Philostratos aims to reconstruct the range of possibilities available to the painter to adequately assess the value of the choices made in producing the painting. A good example of this approach is given in a later part of his 'description' of the painting of a swamp:

Should you now praise the painter for the goats, because he painted them jumping around and plucky, or for the sheep, because [he painted] their gait leisurely as if their wool was a burden, or if we should discuss in detail the flutes or those playing them, how they play the flute with puckered lips, then we should only praise a small part of the painting, namely that which is concerned with imitation. By contrast we would not praise either wisdom nor the choice of the best moment (*kairós*), both of which appear to be the most compelling part of the art (*technē*).¹⁹

By seeing the wisdom (or aptness) of the subject and the choice of the best moment as the greater part of the painter's art, Philostratos transcends the information contained in the picture, just as he transcended it in supplying geological and botanical knowledge to his interpretation of the various types of mountains and their typical trees. Accordingly, iconography as practised by Philostratos engages with the individual elements of a picture by comparing the realization chosen by the producer with the totality of possible realizations. The validity of this approach is compellingly demonstrated by Philostratos in his description of the painting of a swamp by first demonstrating the wisdom of the painter (and himself) by deducing the geological nature of the mountains from the types of trees growing on them. In this context, Philostratos' intervention is limited to drawing conclusions from the information given in the painting. As long as the painter does not depict mountain plants inside the swamp itself, he is not judged by Philostratos for depicting fir or pine trees on particular mountains. Had, for instance, the painter chosen to uniformly cover the mountains with cypresses, Philostratos could not have criticized him for this choice, but rather would have been forced to limit his deductions to simply stating that all the mountains appear to be of white clay.

In his appraisal of the painter's art, however, Philostratos transcends this deductive approach. The jumpy and plucky nature of the goats as opposed to the leisurely gait of the sheep is not supplied by Philostratos from prior

19 Philostratos *Imagines*, 48–50.

knowledge, but rather presented as having been imbued in the animals by the painter himself. This depiction as deployed by the painter is by contrast compared by Philostratos with his presupposed knowledge of how goats and sheep move. As he finds the depiction convincing in comparison to, for instance, a leisurely depiction of goats and plucky sheep, he proceeds to praise the painter.

This appraisal of the painter's art is accordingly strictly limited to an evaluation of the alternatives that would be conceivable from the perspective of the painter and his subject matter. It would, for instance, be absurd to censure the painter for not furnishing his bucolic painting of herds crossing a bridge in a swamp with prancing satyrs and leopards instead of goats and sheep, as this substitution would amount to a change of subject matter that lies outside the scope of the critical iconographic appraisal as practised by Philostratos.

The difference between the deductory stance of Philostratos vis-a-vis the mountains and trees and his critical appraisal regarding the goats and sheep lies in the amount of information supplied by the painter. Where only one element is given, such as the types of trees, no critical appraisal of the choice of the painter is possible according to Philostratos. If, by contrast, the painter had found a way of depicting both the trees and the ground under them, it would have been possible to evaluate the veracity of the combination of, for instance, pines and light soil as opposed to a hypothetical depiction of pines and white clay.

Iconography as practised by Philostratos accordingly combines the description of the semantically charged elements of a painting with the supplementation of information that can be deduced from the elements depicted and the comparison of the realizations deployed by the painter with the conceivable range of alternative realizations. Iconography thus consists of the description, 'thinking through', and evaluation of the elements deployed against the standard of alternative realizations that would have been available to the painter according to the standard appropriate to the subject matter of the painting. This multileveled engagement with the painting is then verbalized in elaborate and rhetorically structured forms to compose a paradigmatic example of iconographic description. The iconographic verbalization of Philostratos also mirrors the considerations that informed the original production of the painting, thereby enabling the evaluation of the painting on its own terms.

Philostratos is able to confidently and unproblematically assert the correctness of his deductions and subsequent evaluation without further concern that somebody might see a painting differently due to the strength of the rhetorical and philosophical traditions that joined him both to the painter and to Philostratos' audience. Accordingly, his evaluation proceeds without further concern that someone might see the painting differently by confidently

deploying the normative standards of tradition to present his understanding of the painting as relevant and true.

2.2.2 *Iconography and Subjectivity in 20th-Century CE Art Historical Discourses*

This confidence in the validity of the schooled gaze was challenged fundamentally by what came to be designated as the problem of ‘style’ or personal influence on both the production and reception of art. Drawing on earlier theoretical frameworks, the problem of style became a pivotal stimulus to the development of art history as an academic discipline from the end of the 19th-century CE onwards.²⁰ For Philostratos, iconography had been confined to its literal sense of ‘painting a picture’. Any painter rooted in shared tradition is seen as striving for the same ideal representation of a given scene and accordingly can be assessed according to the degree in which his realization came close to the ideal. This unproblematic encoding of a given scene in painted form can then equally unproblematically be decoded by the translation of the painting into a verbal description. For Philostratos and the rhetorical traditions of the second sophistic that coined iconography as a technical term, the scene, its depiction, and the description of the depiction are mutually equivalent.

By contrast, the problematization of ‘style’ as a category in modern aesthetic philosophy is grounded in the problem of subjective interventions that are seen to influence both the view of the beholder and the deployment of the ‘translation’ of her view in various media. These subjective interventions are seen as being due to both differing disciplinary formation and the influence of the unique personality that constitutes the identity of any individual. Heinrich Wölfflin had envisioned the ‘personality’ of different painters as decisive in shaping ‘personal’ styles. By contrast, the influence of differing disciplinary formations was described as a crucial problem of art history by Erwin Panofsky in an article published in 1932 CE.²¹ Interestingly, he based his formulation of the problem on Lessing’s critique of a description of (a copy of)²² a painting by the famous ancient painter Zeuxis that had been composed by Lukian, a rough contemporary of Philostratos who shared the intellectual outlook of the

20 Probably the most influential formulation of the problem was given by Heinrich Wölfflin in the introduction to his *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* of 1915 CE; see Wölfflin 1963, 13–14.

21 Panofsky 1932. The following references are to the English translation published by J. Elsner and K. Lorenz, Panofsky 2012.

22 The possibility that the ambiguity expressed by Lukian may have been due to the fact that he described a copy of the original painting rather than the original itself is raised in footnote 1 by the translators in Panofsky 2012, 468.

second sophistic. Panofsky departed from Lessing's observation that an ambiguity in Lukian's description seems to be due to the fact that Lukian as a writer of the 2nd-century CE was unfamiliar with the representational conventions employed by Zeuxis in the 5th-century BC. Subsequently, he argued that this dependency of pictorial description on information regarding the representational traditions informing the picture highlights a general and fundamental problem of dealing with a work of art.²³ This point is illustrated by Panofsky's observation that a painting entitled *The Mandrill* by Franz Marc that constituted one of the first expressionist paintings had been virtually incomprehensible to the public in 1919 CE. In referring to people who 'went about desperately looking for his snout so as to get their bearings', Panofsky argues that while the painting may 'today', in 1932 CE, 'appear innocuous', this is the result of a learning process that has made the public of 1932 CE familiar with the principles of expressionist representation.²⁴

Panofsky's observation of the decisive importance of the intellectual context of any work of art on its interpretation motivates a crucial shift in the practice of iconography. As shown above, for Philostratos and the intellectual tradition of the second sophistic, understanding and appraising a painting draws on knowledge of the 'natural sciences' such as geology or biology. By contrast, Panofsky's argument for the pivotal role of the representational conventions of cultural context for any attempt at interpretation means that iconography can only proceed on the basis of the specific historical background of the work of art in question.²⁵

Building on Heidegger's statement that 'every interpretation must necessarily use violence' or subjective intervention, Panofsky suggests deploying the history of style (or, how a given thing was depicted) and the history of types (or, how a given subject was illustrated) as an objective corrective that limits the space of interpretation.²⁶ If deployed correctly, both form

an objective corrective based on facts external to the specific objects discussed. The knowledge of style and the knowledge of types are extrinsic to any given work of art and cannot be derived from studying an individual artwork. This is the case in any discipline, where the tool that acquires

23 Panofsky 2012, 468–469.

24 Panofsky 2012, 471.

25 Panofsky 2012, 471.

26 Panofsky 2012, 476–477.

knowledge and the object one attempts to understand are reciprocally related and each effectively guarantees the other.²⁷

This re-definition of iconography as described by Panofsky crucially shifts the object of iconography away from single depictions that are translated into words by Philostratos to the historically grounded description of representational conventions. As exemplified in his discussion of a painting depicting a woman with a man's head on a plate, Panofsky convincingly argues that no representation can be successfully 'understood' on its own. Instead, it is only by adducing further written sources as well as the dispersion of alternative deployments of the motif that the meaning of a particular object can be understood.²⁸ Accordingly, iconography as re-defined by Panofsky is concerned with the interpretation of a given work of art in the context of its tradition. To this end, iconography simultaneously engages with the representation of particular concepts and motifs in this tradition. This approach is very much geared toward combining the study of multiple genres and media, or as Christine Hasenmueller phrased it in her discussion of Panofsky's theoretical approach as compared to the disciplinary standards of semiotics: '*Iconography* is, then, the analysis of systematic associations of motif and literary content.'²⁹

To adapt his re-definition of iconography to the study of figural visual arts, Panofsky suggested a tri-partite framework of interpretation. This tri-partite framework of interpretation consisting of description, contextualization, and interpretation was first proffered in his article of 1932 CE and subsequently rephrased with varying designations for the individual steps.³⁰ In the context of this framework, the term 'iconography' is sometimes used to designate the second step of interpretation, during which the subject matter of the depiction is identified.³¹ While Panofsky's tri-partite framework of iconographical interpretation has proved crucial to the development of Western European art history, its attunement to figural arts such as pre-modern Western European

27 Panofsky 2012, 478.

28 Panofsky 2012, 474–475.

29 Hasenmueller 1978, 291, italics in the original. Hasenmueller's phrase is strictly speaking concerned with iconography as the second step in Panofsky's tri-partite framework, however it equally represents a valid summing up of Panofsky's re-definition of the scope of iconography in general.

30 Panofsky himself never settled for a consistent terminology in his tri-partite framework, in which the term iconography appears at various positions, see Elsner, Lorenz 2012, 503. For the indebtedness of Panofsky's three-partite structure to Karl Mannheim see Elsner, Lorenz 2012, 488, for the influence of Hans Sedlmayr see Elsner, Lorenz 2012, 490–491.

31 This is the case in Panofsky's most influential rendering of his approach, see the chart in Panofsky 1955, 66.

painting and sculpture limits its adaptability to fields that span various figural and non-figural mediums.

Besides his influential tri-partite methodology for the iconographic description of figural art, Panofsky himself also deployed a slightly different approach, particularly in his engagement with gothic architecture.³² To describe the connection between scholasticism and gothic architecture, Panofsky suggested a reconstruction of the *modus operandi* underlying both approaches. Thereby, iconography does not engage with the individual elements of architecture and scholastical philosophy, but rather with the worldview that deployed them. In a postface to his translation of two of the most influential works of Panofsky on the relationship of gothic architecture and scholasticism, Pierre Bourdieu summarized this approach as follows:

One cannot use intuition as a principle capable of truly bringing together the realities one wants to compare. By contrast, it is necessary to prepare them in a way that allows them to be compared by a consistent methodology. The objects that are to be compared are not given by an empirical and intuitive regard alone, rather they have to be conquered against their first appearances and have to be constructed by methodical analysis and a process of abstraction. Only if one is not deluded by superficial analogies, which are merely formal and often accidental, is it possible to separate the concrete realities, in which they express and hide themselves, from the structures among which a comparison can be established that aims to discover their common properties.³³

According to Bourdieu, it is only through this process of establishing the structural background underlying the construction of meaning that a holistic interpretation is possible.³⁴ In this regard, Bourdieu argues that Panofsky's approach to gothic architecture does in fact share the tri-partite structure he suggested for figural art, as both aim for a holistic interpretation of realization, structure, and worldview.³⁵

32 Panofsky expressed his interest in gothic architecture and its relationship to scholastic worldview in several publications. The most influential of these were probably the 'Introduction' to his translation and edition of Abbot Suger's description of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and its Art Treasures (Panofsky 1979) and his lecture on *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* that was published as a monograph (Panofsky 1976).

33 Bourdieu 1967, 137.

34 Bourdieu 1967, 137.

35 Bourdieu 1967, 137–146.

Stimulating as this ambition to separate the meaningful structures from their superficial realizations is, the case-studies which Bourdieu translated were criticized as not sufficiently grounded in their historical context.³⁶ As demonstrated by Paul Crossley, the attempt to supplement a detailed historical background to the grand comparison of gothic architecture and scholasticism by Panofsky necessarily ends in the historically unfeasible reframing of Abbot Suger as ‘virtually’ an architect and the assumption that an actual architect such as Villard de Honnecourt must have been ‘an intellectual exponent of Augustinian musical proportions’.³⁷ As Panofsky’s theory failed to match the data, Crossley accordingly suggested that the aim of deducing the gothic style in architecture entirely from scholasticism and thereby disregarding other influences was flawed in itself. In Crossley’s words, the problem lay ‘ultimately in the whole notion of a period of architecture conveying a single and precise significance.’³⁸

Even if style can, in this way, be derived from thought, the character of the gothic cathedral, the sources of its totality, cannot be traced back to some single ‘intention’. The ground plans of French cathedrals developed according to the accidents of local taste, site, and function; they did not obey the laws of scholastic disputation. The *Gesamtkunstwerk* of a cathedral represents an accumulation of ambiguous and contradictory meanings, not just the embodiment of a philosophical system. By underplaying the contributions of architects, and by concentrating on philosophy and theology to the exclusion of economics, politics and social pressures, Panofsky intellectualised and spiritualised the cathedral. As its ‘*modus essendi*’ is traced, the material nature of the cathedral becomes a mask for the mind-world relations behind it; the actuality and diversity of medieval architecture evaporates into syllogisms.³⁹

To avoid this danger of essentialism, Crossley suggests deploying iconography as a structured investigation into mental outlooks as substantialized and grounded in multiple mediums and genres, as prefigured in the work of Richard Krautheimer, a contemporary of Panofsky. Like Panofsky, Krautheimer had been deeply influenced by Aby Warburg⁴⁰ and was forced to emigrate

36 Crossley 1988, 119–121. See also Bourdieu’s own *caveat* that it would be naive to disregard the possible existence of further influential factors, which in his view nonetheless cannot detract from the ‘audacity’ of Panofsky’s endeavor: Bourdieu 1967, 148.

37 Crossley 1988, 120.

38 Crossley 1988, 120.

39 Crossley 1988, 120.

40 See Forster 1976.

from Nazi Germany due to his Jewish background. He published his two most influential articles in 1942 CE⁴¹ to establish himself as one of the great figures of the nascent field of Anglo-American art history. This intention is remarkably similar to Panofsky's motivation for laying out his theoretical framework in his 'Introduction' of 1939 CE.⁴² In what has been described as 'symbiotic reliance', Krautheimer's adaptation of Panofsky's work was in turn quoted by Panofsky as a foundation of his later studies.⁴³

In his exposition of an iconographical approach entitled 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', Krautheimer in 1942 CE established the existence of what he termed 'copies' in Western European architecture of the middle ages. He specifically engaged with 'copies' of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to investigate how individual monuments were perceived and replicated in Latin Christianity. Krautheimer began by demonstrating that round, hexagonal, and octagonal structures were perceived as mutually linked 'copies' of the same original monument. Subsequently, he deployed iconography as an approach investigating the ways in which individual buildings related to earlier architectural monuments and thereby both established and actualized traditions that shaped the deployment of meaning through architecture by patrons and artisans.⁴⁴ Accordingly, iconography is used by Krautheimer as a pragmatic mode of investigating multi-levelled associations underlying a given representational culture. His main questions can be summarized as 'By which elements is a given concept represented in a given context?' and inversely 'Which concepts does a given element represent in a given context?'

During this iconographical investigation, Krautheimer took great pains to counter attempts to reduce representational cultures to monocausal phenomena. Thus, in a postscript to the reprint of his article in 1969 CE, Krautheimer was careful to underline the importance of what he termed 'the medieval pattern of double-think, or better "multi-think"'.⁴⁵ Accordingly, correctly framing a particular architectural monument is not a question of right or wrong contextualization. Instead, multiple contexts and traditions resonate in any building, thereby both determining its shape and imbuing it with meaning.⁴⁶

41 See Carver McCurrach 2011.

42 See Elsner, Lorenz 2012.

43 See Carver McCurrach 2011, 51.

44 Krautheimer 1942, 2–20.

45 Krautheimer 1969, 149.

46 Krautheimer's emphasis on the multiplicity of meanings present in Medieval architecture very much resonates with the multiplicity of lectures possible for any given depiction as postulated by Roland Barthes. See Barthes 1964, 48.

2.2.3 *Toward a Critical Engagement with 'Iconic Text'*

A deployment of iconography as an investigation in grounded social framings and *Geistesgeschichte* that is not dissimilar to the iconographical approach of Krautheimer was described in a short article by Paul Vanderbilt in 1957 to 1958 CE. In this publication, he presented an *Iconographic Collection* that set out to document the iconography of the state of Wisconsin at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.⁴⁷ This *Iconographic Collection* amounts to a documentation of how people have thought about and conceptualized the state of Wisconsin and thus constitutes

an infinitely extended picture of the state in terms of personal experience, of origins elsewhere, of the growth of seeds planted in our fertile soil, of our kind of people, of more than an area – of an idea, of Wisconsin as an ideological whole.⁴⁸

The 'ideological' nature of the 'idea of Wisconsin' as documented in the *Iconographical Collection* and described by Vanderbilt is in this example illustrated by the absence of any pre-European history or presence of the region, which apparently was seen as acceptable in the 1950s CE but today constitutes a glaring omission. Accordingly, iconography not only engages with the representational culture of its sources, but also reflects the ideological outlook of its deployment.

This entanglement of any source corpus that is to be analyzed from an iconographical perspective with the ideological outlook of its producers or 'users' forms the basis of Christine Hasenmueller's postulation of what she terms an 'iconic text'. Departing from Gombrich's famous art-theoretical essay 'Meditations on a Hobby Horse or the Roots of Artistic Form',⁴⁹ Hasenmueller suggests that an understanding of individual elements as 'icons' embodying the presence of their subject necessitates a re-conceptualization of text that understands the individual element as part of an underlying world:

An icon is an object that embodies the presence of its subject. An icon of the Virgin *is* the Virgin – she is 'present' in it. This dimension of 'presence' both enhances the functional properties of objects like the hobbyhorse, and consists in a separate kind of value. By manifesting the 'presence' of the horse in the child's playworld, the hobbyhorse asserts the possibility

47 Vanderbilt 1957–1958.

48 Vanderbilt 1957–1958, 112.

49 Gombrich 1985.

of transcendence from one world to the other, and affirms the fundamental unity of the two contexts.⁵⁰

Accordingly, it is not enough to view an object such as Gombrich's hobbyhorse as an objective entity that can be interpreted within a given representational culture. To fully 'understand' iconic objects, the researcher needs to ask about the 'world(s)' they embody in various contexts. Engaging with the iconography of an object accordingly becomes an investigation of the construction of the 'worlds of meaning' of which it takes part. This pivotal significance of the 'world of meaning' surrounding and structuring iconic objects strongly resonates with the 'relational turn' in cultural studies that holds that logic and coherence depend on the particular configuration in which they are embedded. Following the groundbreaking work of Louis Althusser,⁵¹ this relational approach to culture has been particularly influential in the ongoing reconfiguration of the field of African studies that is conducted within the cluster of excellence 'Africa Multiple' at the University of Bayreuth.⁵²

In this way, the absence of a pre-European history of 'Wisconsin' both from each of the pictures brought together in the iconographic collection presented by Vanderbilt and – not entirely surprisingly – from the *Iconographical Collection* as a corpus constitutes more than a *lacuna* that can easily be filled by supplying additional material. Rather, the absence of pre-European history highlights the ideological nature of the outlook or 'world of meaning' underlying both the individual elements and the overarching collection. It is only by understanding the elements and the corpus as embodying the presence of a certain and fundamentally subjective 'world' that in turn manifests itself in the mind of the viewer of the collection that the internal structures and limitations of the 'world' constituting the *Iconographical Collection* become visible.

The ideologically underpinned absence of the pre-European history of Wisconsin is supported by a historical outlook that is focused on the European 'discovery' and appropriation of the area that was to be circumscribed as the state of Wisconsin. Doing justice to the motives and structures underlying the *Iconographical Collection* accordingly necessitates a reconstruction of

50 Hasenmueller 1981, 143–144.

51 See in particular Althusser 2011.

52 See Spies, Seesemann 2016 and Seesemann 2018 for two contributions that suggest a relational perspective on the negotiations of Islam as a discursive tradition in contemporary Muslim societies in Africa. But cf. the introduction in Schumpeter 1970, v–xxii, which already suggested a relational approach to social and cultural studies as the necessary outcome of a sustained reflection on the validity of mutually contradictory approaches and arguments when understood on their own terms in 1908 CE.

the historical outlook that manifests itself through the elements it contained. In the reconstruction of this historical outlook, the stability and openness of (iconographical) tradition plays a crucial role, which is investigated in the next chapter.

2.3 The Stability and Openness of Tradition

2.3.1 *Habitus and Language: Conceptualizing Tradition from an Iconographical Perspective*

As has already been discussed, the importance of tradition to the interpretation of art constitutes a crucial stimulus to Panofsky's re-focusing of iconographical approaches. For Panofsky, this tradition had a profound twofold structure. As he suggested, a 'history of style' should be deployed to the study of art to study how a given thing, such as an apple, a building, or a person, was depicted in a given context. This 'history of style' should then be complemented by a 'history of types' that sought to ascertain the precise meaning of each of these elements in this particular context.⁵³ The danger with this deployment of tradition as a guideline for interpretation lay, as Crossley points out, in essentializing the work of art by focusing exclusively on particular aspects that could be explained from tradition at the expense of the multiple signification of the organic whole.⁵⁴ As has been mentioned, Krautheimer attempted to counter this danger by stressing the importance of what he termed 'the medieval pattern of double-think, or better "multi-think"'.⁵⁵ By contrast, Panofsky himself suggested conceptualizing tradition in the sense of a style of thinking and doing in his work on Scholasticism and Gothic architecture. Accordingly, the internal coherence and intelligibility of art is not due to the determinative influence of tradition uniting artist and audience. Instead, coherence emerges from a 'determination once removed' that is exerted through a shared and common approach and mental attitude.⁵⁶ This 'way of doing and thinking' is designated by him

53 Panofsky 2012, 476–477.

54 See Crossley 1988, 120.

55 Krautheimer 1969, 149.

56 Panofsky 1976, 4.

for want of a better term, a mental habit – reducing this overworked cliché to its precise Scholastic sense as a ‘principle that regulates the act,’ *principium importans ordinem ad actum*.⁵⁷

Somewhat ironically, Panofsky’s *habit*, suggested in his own words ‘for want of a better term,’ has been taken up by his translator Pierre Bourdieu and developed into one of the most influential sociological concepts of the second half of the 20th-century CE.⁵⁸ In his work on the parallelisms between Scholasticism and Gothic architecture, Panofsky had implicitly deployed an iconographical approach to philosophy. Bourdieu suggested overcoming the old sociological opposition of individual and society through Panofsky’s habit or *habitus*. Accordingly, a specific *habitus* or ‘inherited mode of doing and thinking things’ constitutes the predisposition that defines a social group. As he wrote in the postface to his translation of Panofsky’s works on Gothic architecture:

By referring to the scholastic concept of a *habitus* to describe the culture reproduced in school, Panofsky demonstrates that culture is not only a common code, nor a common repertoire of replies to common problems, nor an ensemble of patterns of thought that is particular and applied to particular contexts. Culture is rather an ensemble of fundamental patterns that was established earlier, out of which [...] an infinity of particular patterns is deduced, which are directly connected to their particular situation. Accordingly, *habitus* can be defined in analogy to the ‘generative grammar’ of Noam Chomsky as a system of embodied patterns which enable the production of all thoughts, perceptions, and actions which are characteristic exclusively for a specific culture.⁵⁹

In his description of Panofsky’s approach to the common *modus operandi* of Scholasticism and Gothic architecture, Bourdieu draws on the framework developed by de Saussure in his *Cours de linguistique générale*. This framework suggests conceptualizing language and by analogy other ‘systems of signs’ along two axes. The synchronic analysis describes how given elements are combined according to given rules. By contrast, the diachronic level determines both the

57 Panofsky 1976, 21. The phrase *principium importans ordinem ad actum* is derived from Thomas Aquinas *Opera*, 2, 416–423 (= *Summa Theologiae*, *Prima Secundae*, *Quaestiones* 49–54).

58 Bourdieu 1967. For an overview and critical discussion of Panofsky’s influence on the development of Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, see Rehbein 2016, 85–87.

59 Bourdieu 1967, 151–152.

shape and signification of the elements and the rules of their combination.⁶⁰ As subsequent work in linguistic anthropology has demonstrated, the linguistic rules do not determine the content and form of an uttering. Instead, the adherence to linguistic rules can in most cases only be asserted through an evaluation *ex post*.⁶¹ This analogy of the habitus of the *modus operandi* to the *ex post* adherence to grammatical rules in language is explicitly acknowledged by Bourdieu in his discussion of the role of creativity in Panofsky's iconographical framework:

Each of the successive solutions [of Gothic architects] [...] can be understood by reference to the fundamental pattern of thinking, which simultaneously poses the question and guides the search for a solution, which however cannot be reduced to the pattern and is thereby unpredictable. This is [...] parallel to the smallest act of speech, which similarly adheres *a posteriori* to the grammatical rules. This explains why the *modus operandi* can become visible exclusively in the *modus operatum*.⁶²

Accordingly, iconography and style can neither be thought of as static, nor as determined either by the conditions of their origin⁶³ or by the fulfillment of a 'perfection' that somehow 'completes' their aims due to the dynamic force of an 'auto-completion' of its system of logical possibilities.⁶⁴

The final truth of a style is not predetermined in an original inspiration, rather it continuously defines and redefines itself as a developing signification which constructs itself according to and in reaction to itself. It is due to the continuing interplay of questions that only exist to someone who is equipped with a certain type of patterns and the more or less innovative solutions, found by the application of the same patterns and equally able to transform the original pattern, that the unity of style and meaning emerges, which – at least in hindsight – may appear to have preceded the works in which its success is proclaimed. Thereby, the different moments of temporal development are retrospectively transformed into simple preparatory drafts.⁶⁵

60 De Saussure 1931, 115–117.

61 See Ahearn 2017, 87–94 for a discussion of the question of liberty of thought within language from the point of view of linguistic anthropology.

62 Bourdieu 1967, 160.

63 Bourdieu 1967, 161–162.

64 Bourdieu 1967, 164.

65 Bourdieu 1967, 161.

By drawing on de Saussure's understanding of language as governed by a common and stable framework that is subjected to continuous diachronical change at a pace sufficiently slow to be understood as immutable on a synchronic level, Bourdieu is implicitly subscribing to a concept of tradition that is virtually static.⁶⁶

The development of his [Bourdieu's] terminology in Algeria is marked by several particularities and blind spots. Bourdieu has the tendency to neglect the complete history of his topic and understand it as a mere 'antecedent' (*Vorgeschichte*). As 'traditional' society seemed not to have a history, it was not necessary to follow or even investigate the history of Algeria or the history of the traditional Kabyle society in particular [...]. When Bourdieu applied the instruments, methods, and terminology he had developed in Algeria to French society, he neglected the history of his subjects in the same way. There always existed nothing but a Before, an After, and a Now. The Before was conceptualized as relatively static and homogenous – quite contrary to his fundamentally dynamic theory.⁶⁷

This epistemology that privileges detailed research into synchronistic fields resonates with several influential studies in the meaning and function of depictions drawing on works of Roland Barthes. In his programmatic article entitled 'Rhétorique de l'image', Barthes analyzes an advertisement depicting a photograph of 'Italian' foodstuffs to investigate 'how meaning comes to the picture'.⁶⁸ In this article, Barthes grounds the various meanings of the depiction both of individual elements and their composition in what he suggests terming the 'rhetoric' of the picture. In a close parallel to the view of Panofsky sketched above, Barthes argues that the scope of possible readings of the picture is grounded in what he designates 'different knowledges invested in the picture'.⁶⁹ This rhetoric of the picture, defined by Barthes as the aggregate of the significations of its elements,⁷⁰ is seen as fundamentally static. Accordingly, 'the discontinuous significations are connected, actualized, and "spoken" by means of being placed side-by-side'.⁷¹

66 Rehbein 2016, 28–30.

67 Rehbein 2016, 79.

68 Barthes 1964, 40.

69 Barthes 1964, 48.

70 Barthes 1964, 49.

71 Barthes 1964, 50.

For cultural narratives and memories, this view of a fundamental stability of tradition was deployed by Maurice Halbwachs⁷² and later continued by Pierre Nora⁷³ and Jan Assmann⁷⁴ among others. In his *topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte*, which was first published in 1941 CE, Maurice Halbwachs convincingly argued for the *prima facie* paradoxical idea that traditions or, in his words, *ensemble[s] de souvenirs commun à un groupe*,⁷⁵ are most likely to change immediately after the events they commemorate, rather than later when the immediate recollection has died out:

We do not believe that [...] the minimum of deformations, errors, and omissions should be expected at the first time when these memories take a collective form. Quite frequently, it is [...] not at all paradoxical to argue that the greatest likelihood of changing its form and the greatest difficulty in correctly describing it are immediately after an event that is worthy of being remembered and transmitted has taken place, while direct witnesses still remain. This holds especially whenever this event vividly moves these groups of people and when it serves as the topic of passionate discussions.⁷⁶

Once a stable tradition has developed, this approach to cultural history underlines the importance of different forms of shared memories for the constitution of social groups. The series of contributions on *Lieux de Mémoire* under the direction of Nora attempted to deploy historiography as an academic discipline to constitute and canonize a set of places or *topoi* that were seen as pivotal for French society. These canonized memories were to serve as *Kristallisationskeime* or starting points for an enduring view on shared French history that was to underpin a common and stable vision of France and Frenchness, which was understood to be threatened by the perceived acceleration of social change of the 1980s CE.⁷⁷ Although the intervention of the academic discipline of historiography was clearly recognized as external to the 'normal' processes of memory formation, the goal of this historiographical intervention was defined as preservation rather than invention. Accordingly, a synchronic stability of French historical consciousness was seen as threatened by momentary external dangers from which it was to be safeguarded by

72 Halbwachs 1950, 1994, and 2008.

73 Nora 1984, xvii–xlii.

74 Assmann 1992.

75 Halbwachs 2008, 118.

76 Halbwachs 2008, 118.

77 Nora 1984, xvii–xx.

professional historians conscious of the importance of this endangered but continuous tradition.

In somewhat of a contrast to Nora's conscious historiographical interventions, Assmann argued for the importance of both conscious and unconscious common memories. He suggested that a totality of memories, which he suggested describing as a 'cultural memory' in the tradition of Halbwachs, constitutes the 'connective structure of society'.⁷⁸ Assmann explicitly recognized the possible inventedness of tradition in his overview of functions and structure of cultural memory in various societies.⁷⁹ Nonetheless, cultural memories are primarily seen to result from continuous processes of transmission and reframing. Due to the inclusiveness of these traditions, even members of society who are unaware of the precise nature and details of a particular motif within the cultural memory of their society are instinctively able to draw on a shared awareness of the motif to arrive at socially expected conclusions.

Concepts of habitus, rhetoric of a picture, and cultural memory all postulate a fundamental continuity and stability of tradition. Accordingly, meaning is produced by means of the actualization of more or less clearly predefined repertoires of elements. Both the signification of the individual elements and the scope of their meaningful or – in Austin's terms – felicitous combinability are determined by their diachronous history. This view of tradition as continuous and subject to change merely in incremental steps that are virtually imperceptible to contemporary observers immediately lends itself to iconographical approaches spanning various mediums and very much resonates with Panofsky's research programme treated above.

2.3.2 *Invented Tradition: Looking Back on an Orderly Development of the Present*

The concept of a fundamentally stable and (at least on a synchronical level) ultimately static tradition remains influential in studies engaging with particular geographical and temporal realms. Nonetheless, the stability of tradition is an abstraction that frequently stands in the way of a more thorough analysis of how this tradition was deployed. The most important strand of research that posits tradition as fundamentally disruptive and dynamic is probably represented by works that underline the crucial influence of changing institutional configurations on the ways in which tradition is negotiated by various actors. The classical field for these investigations in the manufacturing of tradition is the deployment of tradition as a pivot of national identity by the institutions

78 Assmann 1992, 293–294.

79 Assmann 1992, 83.

of the developing nation states in the 19th-century CE. Here, the disruptive influence of modernity as a social technology is masked by the fabrication of new, 'national' notions of continuity and stability, as Eugen Weber argues in his magisterial study of the modernization of rural France:

The people of whole regions felt little identity with the state or with people of other regions. Before this changed, before the inhabitants of France could come to feel a significant community, they had to share significant experiences with each other. Roads, railroads, schools, markets, military service, and the circulation of money, goods, and printed matter provided those experiences, swept away old commitments, instilled a national view of things in regional minds, and confirmed the power of that view by offering advancement to those who adopted it.⁸⁰

After examining the role of centralized institutions, a common language, and various artifacts of common outlook such as maps and museums in the constructing of the 'invented communities' of the modern nation states, Benedict Anderson in the second edition of his *Imagined Communities* engaged with the paradoxical construction of 'civil war' in nationalized historical outlooks:

[The paradoxical claim of Ernest Renan that 'every French citizen has to forget the Day of Saint Bartholomew and the massacres of the Midi during the 13th century'.] Since we can be confident that, left to themselves, the overwhelming majority of Renan's French contemporaries would never have heard of 'la Saint-Berthélemy' or 'les massacres du Midi', we become aware of a systematic historiographical campaign, deployed by the state mainly through the state's school system, to 'remind' every young Frenchwoman and Frenchman of a series of antique slaughters which are now inscribed as 'family history'.⁸¹

Accordingly, the narrative framing of cruel wars between various sides that thought of themselves as very much representing different identities grounded in opposed traditions is paradoxically used as a pivotal device for arguments that claim the fundamental unity of modern national identity. This framing

80 Weber 1976, 486.

81 Anderson 2006, 200–201.

of history proceeds through what Lévi-Strauss has termed *bricolage*,⁸² putting together material that is selected in large parts by chance:

[B]etween narratives of person and nation there is a central difference of emplotment. In the secular story of the 'person' there is a beginning and an end. [...] Nations, however, have no clearly identifiable births [...]. Because there is no Originator, the nation's biography can not be written evangelically, 'down time', through a long procreative chain of begettings. The only alternative is to fashion it 'up time' – toward Peking Man, Java Man, King Arthur, wherever the lamp of archaeology casts its fitful gleam. This fashioning, however, is marked by deaths, which, in a curious inversion of conventional genealogy, start from an originary present. World War II begets World War I; out of Sedan comes Austerlitz; the ancestor of the Warsaw Uprising is the state of Israel.⁸³

A line of scholarship ultimately going back to the writings of Karl Marx and early 19th-century CE 'idealist' philosophy⁸⁴ further proceeded to underline the importance of such 'invented' continuities with the past as an ideological foundation for configurations of economical and political exploitation. In one of the best written and most entertaining articles dedicated to this type of 'debunking' nationalist invented tradition, Hugh Trevor-Roper shows how the concept of a Scottish 'Highland Tradition' was created during the course of the industrialization of the 18th and 19th-centuries CE. Accordingly, the short kilt as the pivot of a supposedly 'Highland' vestimentary system⁸⁵ was according to Trevor-Roper 'first designed, and first worn, by an English Quaker industrialist'.⁸⁶ The idea of particular patterns or tartans peculiar to individual clans was decisively furthered by the textile industry.⁸⁷ As argued by Trevor-Roper, the entire concept of a continuous and stable 'Highland' tradition at the center of Scottish identity was invented in place of the – as he argues – 'fact' that 'the Scottish Highlanders were, in origin, merely Irishmen who had crossed from one island to another'.⁸⁸

82 Lévi-Strauss 1962. I do not subscribe to Lévi-Strauss' use of the term as a contrast to a supposedly more 'systematic' or 'engineering' modern European mode of thinking.

83 Anderson 2006, 205. The narrative framing of historiography was established as a crucial field for inquiry by White 1987.

84 See Althusser 2011 for one of the most influential exponents of this line of scholarship.

85 Barthes 1957.

86 Trevor-Roper 1983, 22.

87 Trevor-Roper 1983, 30.

88 Trevor-Roper 1983, 19.

2.3.3 *Localizing Tradition in the Moment of Deployment*

The contradiction between the stability of tradition as a necessary epistemic prerequisite to the production of meaning and the dependence of any notion of continuity on the material and ideological configurations of the point of view can be made productive by localizing tradition in the moment of its deployment.⁸⁹ This means shifting the focus from the inherent diachronical tendencies residing in tradition to the synchronical agency of the one who deploys and thereby both appropriates and refashions this tradition. Underlining the ‘constructed’, ‘imagined’, and ‘invented’ nature of any claim to normative bindingness of a particular habitus and tradition situates such claims in a potentially contested field shaped by controversial negotiations. Accordingly, the supposedly logical and inevitable sequence of development connecting a particular uttering to a teleological tradition leading up to this uttering can be contrasted with other equally plausible formulations resting on different constructions of logical and inevitable development. Put simply, a ‘truth’ is transformed into a ‘claim’, the plausibility of which is open to question.

By situating tradition in the moment of deployment, I do not mean to subscribe to structuralist claims of the subordination of the individual parts to an overarching and stable ‘system’. I also do not proceed from the structuralist axiom that the meaning of elements is fundamentally determined by *what they are not*.⁹⁰ In order as to underline the ‘constructed’ nature of any particular utterance and its supporting tradition, I instead use the concept of *repertoires* to designate sets of elements connected in various ways, which are fundamentally open to new alignments and the addition or subtraction of elements or groups of elements from the set.⁹¹ Accordingly, I argue from a position that privileges the determination of an outcome by its own line of reasoning or *path dependence*. In this way, I hope to be able to think about particular constructions of meaning not as subordinate to enduring (or changing) systems privileged as pertaining to a higher level of hierarchical organization. Instead,

89 This localization of tradition in the moment of deployment has frequently been suggested. One of the most influential exponents of this line of theoretical reasoning is certainly Hayden White, who suggested framing this localization of tradition in the moment of its deployment in terms of the crucial role of human choice (White 1972, White 1987, cf. Kellner 1980). A very similar stance is sketched by Todorov 1977, 353–359.

90 One of the most compelling arguments for the use of ‘systems’ as a key frame of thinking comes from John Frow’s exploration of literary genres; see Frow 2006, 124–125, following Todorov 1978.

91 This dynamic understanding of repertoires resonates with the continuous agency of copyists in projecting further levels of meaning into texts through ‘variants’ distinguishing different strands of the *stemma codicum*; see Cerquiglini 1989 and fundamentally Maas 1960.

tradition is negotiated through multiple appropriations of fundamentally open meaning and material. Rather than by an axiomatic 'stability' of tradition, this appropriation is limited mainly by other appropriations of other elements from the same and other repertoires underpinning competing visions of tradition and authority.

In underlining the fundamentally open character of repertoires, I do not intend to negate any internal tendencies and dynamics that may reside in individual elements of a particular repertoire. A good example of such an internal tendency may be found in the situation during which the Byzantine emperor Alexios coined a new title. As narrated by his daughter, Alexios was faced with the necessity of introducing another rank between his own title of *basileus* or *emperor* and the level of *kaisar* or *caesar* that had been used for the second most influential persons in the Byzantine state. By combining elements of two other titles of supreme rulership, namely Greek *sebastos*, a calque for the Latin *augustus*, and *autokrator*, literally *self-ruler*, used as a calque for Latin *imperator* and another title of the *emperor* or *basileus*, he demonstrated the fundamental openness of titles that can be understood literally:

As it was, due to a given promise, necessary to raise Melissenos Nikephoros to the rank of a *kaisar*, and also honor his elder brother Isaak even more, even though there was no other title available than the title of *kaisar*, the emperor Alexios made up a new name by combining the titles *sebastos* and *autokrator* and raised his brother to the rank of *sebastokrator*, practically making him the second basileus. Thus, he subordinated the *kaisar* under [the *sebastokrator*], and introduced a third rank into the hierarchy after the rank of the *autokrator*.⁹²

Nonetheless, I suggest understanding these internal dynamics and tendencies of repertoires and individual elements as situated, as it were, in the 'shadow' of the abiding possibility of restructurings, reinterpretations, and other forms of contestation. Accordingly, a substantialist definition of 'what something is' is replaced by the relational retracing of 'how something is claimed to be' in a given context. In analyzing this context, the selection, structuring, and deployment of elements pertaining to various repertoires to produce claims and counterclaims becomes paramount, while keeping in mind the limitations of both the sources and the theoretical concepts at our disposal.

For the iconographical approach suggested in this study, this necessitates a conceptualization of Panofsky's 'history of styles' and 'history of types' or

⁹² Anna Comnena *Alexias*, 1, 95 [= 3,4,1].

Bourdieu's 'habitus' as fundamentally dynamic, open, and precarious. By situating tradition in the moment of deployment, I hope to be able to explain the decisive influence which contestation and negotiation have on the representation – and thereby, as I argue, the social existence – of authority in Islamicate (and other) societies.

2.4 Relational Iconography: Deploying an Iconographical Approach to 'Turkmen' Courtly Culture

After this brief review of the performativity of representations of authority, changing deployments of iconography, and the stability and openness of tradition, I now suggest a way of deploying iconography as a relational approach to the courtly representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu. It should be noted that I do not claim much methodological originality for the analytical and interpretative operations conducted in this study. Indeed, many of the best studies of pre-modern and modern Islamicate cultures approach material and textual sources through analytical frames that embed the evidence in relational and non-essentialist or substantializing networks of meaning and coherence.⁹³ Accordingly, I suggest the term 'relational iconography' not as a paradigmatic or revisionist methodological shift, but rather as a convenient label that may contribute to granting this longstanding tradition within our discipline greater visibility and methodological foundation. Nonetheless, I do believe that scholars engaging with Islamicate textual and material cultures could frequently be more outspoken and confident in the application of relational reflection on the micro-level to the 'de-colonialist' deconstruction of over-confident 'grand theories' that fail to do justice to the plurality and variation that characterizes Muslim and Islamicate societies.

In my view, the power of iconographical approaches lies in their focus on individual elements that appear in multiple but linked manifestations. These elements can then be used to analyze the particular contexts shaping the meaning conveyed by these elements in their specific manifestation. Accordingly, meaning is constructed through a two-step process. First, multiple and conflicting traditions are engaged by appropriating individual elements. Subsequently, these elements are deployed within the relational framework of

93 Indeed, Tamari 1992, Tamari 1996, and Tamari 1999 explicitly suggest an 'iconotextual' approach to Islamic(ate) cultural history. As far as I know, however, Shmuel Tamari has not published a systematic and theoretically grounded exposition of this approach.

their specific manifestation. This relational approach to iconography, which I explore in the following study, implies three systematic interventions.

1. I privilege the 'local' context of individual manifestations over totalities. While a totalizing approach may arguably be feasible for individual mediums such as the iconography of the numismatic legends of coins minted in the name of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers, this feasibility is in large part due to the particularly firm rules governing the genre of numismatic legends in Islamicate cultures. In contrast, totalizing approaches attempting to do justice to all the occurrences of all meaningful elements fail swiftly in other mediums or discourses such as historiography, negotiations conducted by means of performative acts, or poetry. These mediums and discourses are governed by rhetorical conventions that call for the sustained deployment of multiple levels of meaning, as well as double entendres and hyperbole. Accordingly, I attempt a totalization only for some very limited corpora of source material, such as the extant epigraphic foundation inscriptions recording architectural patronage of Qara- and Aqqyunlu patrons in and around Işfahān. By contrast, a sustained deployment of this approach to multiple mediums is neither feasible nor arguably meaningful, as it necessarily neglects the decisive influence of context on iconographical interpretation.
2. The occurrence of individual elements outside the realm of Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly representation is not traced systematically. As a rule, non-'Turkmen' contexts are only mentioned where they represent the chronologically earlier *locus classicus* of a particular iconographical field of authority that is consciously referenced by means of the re-deployment of these elements within Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture. In addition, I also include non-'Turkmen' contexts in cases of direct exchange between the Qara- and Aqqyunlu and other courts.⁹⁴
3. I privilege performative appropriation and functionality over stable systems.⁹⁵ To start somewhat polemically, the reference to the wife of

94 Arguably, the neglect of specific context in the perennial argument of 'well, this also appears somewhere else' constitutes the bane of systematic engagement with the wealth of Islamicate cultural history in contemporary scholarship. Islamic cultural history certainly represents a discursive tradition that resonates strongly for instance with Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Nonetheless, I believe that it is important to engage with specific contexts on their own terms to deconstruct substantialized visions that see Islam as fundamentally static. Therefore, I limit my investigation of the iconography of courtly representation under the Qara- and Aqqyunlu to those external occurrences set out above.

95 My exploration of this systematic stance is very much made possible by the magisterial realization of the opposite approach in Woods 1999, particularly 1–23.

the Aqquyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya'qūb as 'a second Queen of Sheba' (*bilqīs-i thānī*) and of his newborn son as 'a second *sultān* Ḥasan' (*thānī sultān ḥasan*) in his court historiography⁹⁶ cannot be taken literally as evidence of concepts of reincarnation in 'Turkmen' courtly culture.⁹⁷ Instead, they are governed by the dynamic and contested appropriation of tradition in the elaborate medium of court historiography. Straightforward as this case may seem, I apply a similar interpretation to terms such as *khalīfa* or *khilāfa*, which are commonly understood to reflect the factual proclamation of 'an (which?) Islamic caliphate'. Instead, I see this and similar 'titles' as evidence of a dynamic, experimental, and possibly contested negotiation of multiple and conflicting traditions as represented by individual iconographically charged elements. Finally, this systematic intervention has important implications for the interpretation of 'administrative' titles. These are commonly understood to refer to clearly defined positions within stable and institutionally structured administrative and military apparatus. By contrast, I interpret these 'administrative' titles as iconographical elements deployed within dynamic negotiations of courtly (relational) rank by means of an appropriation and conferment of functions. Accordingly, I systematically privilege function over institution and rank in my rendering of personal titles referring to courtly 'offices' such as *wazīr*, *parwānchī*, or *amīr*.

In the deployment of this iconographical approach to the courtly culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu, I explore two distinct lines of argument. In the upcoming chapter, I follow the gaze of contemporary narratives of emic and etic descriptions of the courtly performances at the 'Turkmen' courts. Thereby, I attempt a sustained and inductive reconstruction of the negotiation of traditions within particular courtly performances. I then follow Michel Foucault's suggestion of establishing 'dispersions' of contexts in which individual elements occur⁹⁸ to analyze the various contexts of the deployment of particular elements in Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly culture. In this way, I aim to establish the boundaries and permeabilities between the iconographical repertoires by means of which multiple and conflicting traditions were negotiated in 'Turkmen' courtly culture.

96 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 380, ed. 'Ashīq, 361. The uncomfortable syntax of *thānī sultān ḥasan* is due to its deployment in a poem presenting the chronogramm of his birth year.

97 Arguably and given a suitably nuanced concept of reincarnation, they could and should, but this is not something I explore in this book.

98 Foucault 2014.

Nexus between the Worlds: An Inductive Reconstruction of ‘Turkmen’ Courtly Culture

This chapter gives an overview of the main geographical and social configurations that structured the performance of authority by the Qara- and Aqquyunlu. The temporal focus is on the period between the emergence of Jahānshāh Qaraqayunlu as an independent ruler in 853 / 1449 CE¹ until the occupation of Tabriz by Ismā‘īl Ṣafawī in 907 / 1501 CE. Wherever additional external evidence is included, this is clearly stated and its applicability to the timeframe under discussion critically discussed.

The description of this timeframe as a coherent culture that can meaningfully be analyzed from a synchronical perspective should not be misconstrued as an *a priori* statement of stagnation. Instead, the deployment of a methodological synchronical perspective allows for the synthetic reconstruction of structures and mechanisms that were pertinent to the representational performance of authority. Accordingly, this chapter aims to ground the iconography of courtly representation in the social, spatial, and economic configurations of the court.

3.1 The Court as *Topos* and Representational Scene

The description of the ‘Turkmen’ courts between 853 / 1449 CE and 907 / 1501 CE as *topoi*, literally *places*, *commonplaces*, resonates with three main strands of theoretical reflection. The first strands engages with *topoi* as recurring and coherent ‘commonplaces’ that tie together traditions of literary, pictorial, performative, and other types of representation. Historicist approaches to such ‘commonplaces’ stressed their unreliability as ‘historical’ references to factual events and accordingly strive to identify and distinguish *topoi* from ‘historical’ references.² By contrast, recent work has underlined the importance of such *topoi* in tying narrative voices to their audience and establish a common

1 For Jahānshāh’s declaration of sovereign rule by means of the minting of coins in his own name in 853 / 1449 CE, see Album 2011, 268.

2 See fundamentally on *topoi* and culture Curtius 1963. A more historicist perspective was developed specifically for early and classical Arabic-Islamic historiography by Noth 1970.

framework of understanding and the production of meaning.³ According to this strand, we focus in particular on the ‘intertextual’ engagement of Qara- and Aqquyunlu court culture with specific commonplaces as established in the traditions of Islamicate and Persianate courtly representation.

The second strand of theoretical engagement with *topoi* goes beyond this descriptive and interpretative approach to *topoi* as manifest in extant sources. This strand argues for a spatiality of thought itself. According to this line of reasoning, each argument must be understood as situated in a particular dialectic space that governs its shape and effectiveness.⁴ Going beyond the intertextual identification of commonplaces of the preceding level, this strand of reasoning invites us to reflect on the argumentative frameworks and rationales that determined the effectiveness of a particular motif in the representational culture of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly performance.

The third strand, if we may call it such, follows the spatial resonance of *topoi* to ask about the ‘spatial’ embeddedness of culture within overarching social, economical, political, and other configurations. These configurations simultaneously govern individual representational performances and elements and are continuously reestablished and possibly changed by the ongoing performances that take place within them.⁵ This strand of reasoning ties our inquiry into representational culture back to ‘factual’ allocations of power or different forms of capital, as manifest in wealth, erudition, social status, and so on. Accordingly, this strand invites us to keep in mind the multilevelled and dynamically changing interlacement of iconography, representation, and social fields of power.

The three sections engaging with the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts as *topoi* follow the narrative of contemporary observers describing ‘Turkmen’ courtly performance. Accordingly, I do not attempt a systematical reconstruction of a static configuration of ‘Turkmen’ courts in my own overarching framework. Instead, I follow voices grounded in different traditions that describe Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly representation. Each section begins with a translation of some passages of narrative text, before offering commentary and contextualization to individual passages where appropriate. In this way, I aim for a relational framework that illustrates the most pertinent and meaningful

3 While already prefigured by Curtius 1963, this approach was further developed by Pratsch 2005, Vogt 2006, and Leube 2017.

4 This approach was paradigmatically developed by Kann 1998, cf. Wagner 2015, 30–31 and 176–179.

5 This thinking in terms of relational configurations was suggested most influentially by Althusser 2011, cf. the works of Spies, Seesemann 2016 and Seesemann 2018.

‘commonplace’-, argumentative, and configurational dimensions of ‘Turkmen’ courtly representation.

3.1.1 *Abīwardī Fayḍī: Approaching the Courts of the 15th-Century CE Persianate World*

When Ḥusayn Abīwardī returned to his native Khurāsān after an extended pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina sometime before 898 / 1492 CE, he gave the following rationale for his decision to travel between Istanbul, Cairo, and Tabrīz before his return to Herāt:

Why I am writing:

One night in Mecca of high origin / I sat in front of the door in the *ḥaram*,
My soul was troubled from thinking / And my stature was stooped like
a ring.

There was a ring affixed to that door / Which no human could describe,
It was like a halo among the stars / The realm’s imagination gathered
around it.

When I put my hand on the ring of that house / I whispered my sorrow
and anguish:

Oh God, how long will I be thus / Trampled upon by various sorrows,
How much of my life will I be in anguish / May I be forever in the dark
luck of war!

Oh, your black day, you have / no day without sorrow, no holiday or new
year,

My life a womb that may not cast forth / A place in Rayy or Rūm to cast
forth!

Suddenly a whisper came to my ear: / Do not be sad about this state of
exertion,

The good and bad you saw in this world / Is it not also a door to wisdom?
There are four thrones in the parts of the world / Each with a Sulaymān
of his time.

No throne is like these four thrones / No fortune is like these four fortunes!
When you have explored their secrets / Explain their manners to the
people.

When this letter will one day be finished / Name it ‘Four Thrones’ and
find peace.⁶

6 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 2r–2v, ed. Afshār 10.

The setting of this inspiration could not be more meaningful. Having completed his pilgrimage to the Ka'ba in Mecca, explicitly mentioned in line 5 of the translation as *ān khāne*, 'that house', Abīwardī is fraught with anguish and concern that even after completing his pilgrimage he still has not found his purpose.⁷ Seated in the *ḥaram* or holy precinct of Mecca and looking at the door of the Ka'ba, Abīwardī compares his own stooped posture with one of the rings affixed to the door. In his posture, he implicitly suggests some sort of parallelism between the mechanical pressure that formed the ring⁸ and the pressure of his sorrows that weigh upon him. The utter lack of direction felt by Abīwardī is formulated in his phrase of 'a place in Rayy or Rūm' in line 9. Here, Rayy or al-Rayy, a pre-modern Islamic city today forming a suburb of Tehran, and Rūm or Anatolia should be understood as a *hen dia dyoin* for 'anywhere within the Persianate world'. An additional level of meaning is given to this phrase due to the possibility of also reading *rayy*⁹ and *rawm* as Arabic verbal nouns, giving the meaning 'a place in irrigation, a place in seeking to cast forth'. While certainly somewhat contrived, this reading underlines the lack of direction felt by Abīwardī even while sitting at the geographical center of Islamic salvational geography and completing one of the most significant obligations of Muslim religious life.

In this situation of desolation amidst celebration, Abīwardī hears a whisper, literally 'from concealment (*az ghayb*), this came to my ear' (line 10). The term concealment, *ghayb*, is here deployed as an open nexus that lends itself to numerous interpretations, ranging from the inspiration by a mystical saintly figure to the philosophical inner voice that conveys guidance to the *Triebseele*. A normative religious background to this voice is suggested by the somewhat archaic and very dense Arabic phrase 'good and bad', *khayr-u sharr*, in line 11, which joins two of the most normative adjectives in the Qur'ān. This 'good and

7 For an independent contemporary account of this journey in the context of Abīwardī's biography, see Nawā'ī *Majālīs*, edd. Ġanieva, Zoḥidov, 151, ed. Hikmat, 97 and 273, as well as the biography of Abīwardī given by Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 350–351.

8 Rings at the door of the Ka'ba prior to the Ottoman reconstructions are described already in the 9th-century CE account of al-Azraqī *Akhbār*, 1, 244: 'And in the walls of the two frames of the door are fourteen iron rings covered with silver, seven on each side, by which the body of the door is tied to the covering of the Ka'ba. [...] And on the left wing of the door is a silver ring, through which the lock of the door is put when it is locked.'

Within Abīwardī's travelogue, this particular ring is described a second time during his description of 'The second throne: The kingdoms of the Arabs' or the Mamlūks, which contains descriptions of Mecca and Medina. This second description of the ring affixed to the door of the Ka'ba stands Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 22v–23r, ed. Afshār, 36.

9 The *fathā* clearly visible over *rayy* in Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 2v, precludes a reading of the word as *riyy*, a quenching of thirst. This *fathā* is not included in Afshār's edition.

bad' is deployed by the hidden voice as a door to wisdom, *ḥikmat*, elegantly alluding to the position of Abīwardī in front of the door of the Ka'ba. The place where this wisdom becomes manifest is at the four thrones, to which Abīwardī subsequently travels and which he describes in the main body of his travelogue. Besides the Timurid 'throne' of Herāt, these include the Ottoman court centered on Istanbul, the Mamlūk ruler Qā'itbāy and the various towns under Mamlūk rule, and the Aqquyunlu court, which is described while in its main residence of Tabrīz, in its summer encampment at Mount Sahand, and during a military expedition against the Georgian fortress of Akhaltsikhe.

The Persian phrase *Four Thrones* or *Chār Takht* also forms the title of Abīwardī's versified travelogue. Each of these four thrones is occupied by a Sulaymān of his time (line 12). The deployment of historical figures such as Sulaymān as re-materialized in contemporary persons is discussed numerous times in the following chapters. For the moment, I would like to refer to Melikian-Chirvani's as well as my own interpretation of the Aqquyunlu graffiti in Takht-i Jamshid to suggest that the Qur'ānic figure of Sulaymān stands in the context of Abīwardī's poem for a mystically charged synchronicity of religious and political power.¹⁰ The two hemistichs of line 13 are identical save for the dots above or below the undotted *rasm* that differentiate the Arabic letters *Tā'* and *Bā'* in *takht*, throne, and *bakht*, fortune. The precise interplay between (divine) fortune and the elevated social status granted by a throne is interpreted in more detail below. Nonetheless, the fact that the incumbents of these four thrones are described as re-materializations of the divinely chosen prophet and king Sulaymān in the preceding line underlines the transcendental foundation of the thrones to which Abīwardī travels.

The composition of elaborate poetry formed an important part of the performative 'princely pastimes' conducted at Persianate and Islamicate courts. This courtly setting, where the performance of the poem took place, is explicitly referred to in a note by the author himself on the title page of the *Chār Takht* in the autograph Uppsala manuscript, which reads as follows:

It shall not be hidden from those who think about this (*ūlū l-ibṣār*) that the first hemistich of this book was uttered by his highness the pivot-named, our master Nūr al-Dīn 'Abdalraḥmān Jāmī.¹¹

10 See Melikian-Chirvani 1971, as well as Leube 2018 and Leube 2021.

11 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 1r. This note is edited in the preface to the edition, ed. Afshār, 7.

While ‘Abdalraḥmān Jāmī (d. 18. Muḥarram 898 / 9. of November 1492 CE)¹² was the preeminent poet and scholar at the Timurid court of Herāt during much of the second half of the 15th-century CE, his mention in the Uppsala autograph manuscript by Abīwardī necessitates a detailed discussion of the chronology of the composition of the manuscript. In order to avoid further digression from the main argument of this chapter, this discussion of chronology has been relegated to Annex 1.

In the context of Persianate court culture, Jāmī’s composition of the hemistich that determines the meter of the following *mathnawī* passage in Abīwardī’s *Chār Takht* establishes Jāmī’s preeminence as the poetical master and center of the poetic court or *majlis* at Herāt. Simultaneously, Abīwardī frames himself as a subordinate member of this court, incorporating Jāmī’s hemistich as the first of his own work and thereby establishing himself as one of Jāmī’s admirors and pupils. Abīwardī’s claim of belonging to the courtly circle of Jāmī in Herāt is further underpinned by his reference to letters from Jāmī, as well as from the Timurid ruler *sulṭān* Ḥusayn and ‘Alī-shīr Nawā’ī, calling for his return to Herāt while he had been in Tabrīz.¹³ Abīwardī also adduces a dream-vision in which he saw Jāmī at the Ka’ba as the reason why he left his appointment as the overseer of the complex of Yıldırım Bayezid in Bursa, to which he claims to have been appointed by the Ottoman ruler Bayezid II.¹⁴ This dominant affiliation of Abīwardī to the court of Herāt is particularly significant in light of his praise of the other three ‘thrones’ he describes, suggesting as it does a stable world order of equal rulers, in which a claim to preeminence of the Timurid court at Herāt was not seen as contradicted by the existence of other legitimate courtly establishments.

True to the established format of Islamic literary culture, Abīwardī’s *Chār Takht* begins with a *basmala*, here given in a brief form composed in Arabic prose. This is followed in turn by three rhymed sections, the first of which is opened by the hemistich composed by Jāmī. These rhymed sections are entitled *tawḥīd*, or ‘praise of God’s one-ness’, and *na’t*, or ‘praise of the prophet Muḥammad’, before the *sabab-i ta’līf*, translated above freely as ‘why I am writing’, concludes this short preface to the rhymed description of the four thrones. Significantly, both the *tawḥīd* and the *na’t* construct their praise of God and Muḥammad respectively around the concept of the ‘throne’ within its surrounding court.

12 Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 338.

13 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 39r, ed. Afshār, 57.

14 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 13v–14v, ed. Afshār, 24–25.

Praise of God's one-ness

Oh you, at whose court kings ask for justice / We are subjects and you are
the king!

Everywhere, you are the king / Like the king in chess, we are mate before
you,

Because of poverty and destitution, oh king / Crowned heads lie in the
dusty road,

If a crowned head should burn with wisdom / Its golden crown is dust
to you.

You give a table of honor for men and spirits / Like Sulaymān, a table for
hundred,

The whole world eats from your munificence / Continuously from your
table.

Every day, an angel brings to your table / A flatbread on the dish of the
firmament.

Everybody smiles due to your general grace / A world in the shadow of
your favour,

As you set Khalil's table¹⁵ for the prophets / A fly on it is the table of
Jibra'il.¹⁶

In this opening *tawḥīd* of Abīwardī's *Chār Takht*, the hemistich composed by Jāmī stands in the first part of line 1. While this praise of God illustrates the importance of performative generosity and munificence at the court and its open table, the comparison of God to Sulaymān (line 5) and the notion that a fly on the table of Khalil or Ibrāhīm was the table of the angel Jibra'il (line 9) are somewhat puzzling. Nonetheless, the overreaching simile of an angel that daily brings the sun on the dish of the firmament to the divine table (line 7) underlines the reflection of God's – or by extension the ruler's – power in the status of his courtly servants. This notion of a resplendent group of courtiers surrounding the even more splendid ruler is taken up in the following praise of Muḥammad.

15 The expression *khiwān-i khalīl* or *Khalīl's table* is somewhat curious. It appears to refer to the story of Ibrāhīm as referred to in Qur'an 37, 83–109, as shown for instance by its appearance in the Persian verses in praise of Muḥammad concluding the rhymed commentary of Qur'an 37, 83, in Ismā'il Haqqī Bursalī *Rūḥ al-Bayān*, 3, 307. The verses in question can be translated as follows: *The table of Khalīl is the salt shaker of your table / On the table of divine choice, you are the salt of the prophets.*

Ismā'il Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-Maknūn*, 1, 440, mentions *khiwān-i khalīl* as the title of a Persian *risāla* by the poet Zuhūrī Tarshīzī (d. 1026 / 1617 CE).

16 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., iv, ed. Afshār, 9.

Oh *sultān* of the choosing throne / As angels, prophets ride with you,
 ʿĪsā and Mūsā needed you / Standing lower than the foot of your journey
 to heaven.

Your law is the heart of the divine throne / This point becomes clear from
 its heart,

Cavalier of the plaza of true guidance / King of the kingdom of power,
 Muṣṭafā.

Sole way, your light is a candle at dawn / Your clogs' dust scents the *ḥūrīs'*
 hair.

God built two worlds for your excellence / Your clogs tread both palaces.¹⁷
 You give a table of honor for the prophets / Even the table of Khalīl is
 deficient.

Forerunner of the first and the last / The whole world is invited to this,
 As he is no more a child, oh prophet / Receive well the arrival of poor
 Fayḍī.¹⁸

Here, the similarity of the illustrations with which Muḥammad is praised to the praise of God translated above is startling and probably caused the erasures visible in the sole extant manuscript. Muḥammad is portrayed as overseeing the selection of prophets (and therefore surrounded by them as his courtly entourage) (line 1) and uplifting the other Qurʾānic prophets, who are here exemplified by ʿĪsā and Mūsā (line 2). This praise of Muḥammad at the expense of other Qurʾānic prophets exemplifies the competitive tone that pervades Abīwardī's praise of God and Muḥammad respectively. This competitive strand in Abīwardī's praise is due to his overarching framing of God and Muḥammad as the enthroned pivots of hyperbolically resplendent courts. As argued in more detail below, courtly performance was embedded in a deeply competitive milieu, where the honors bestowed upon one individual necessarily came at the expense of another.

The following lines illustrate Muḥammad's exalted position by hyperbolically blurring the distinction between him and God himself. The law, *sharʿ*, of Muḥammad is the heart, *dil*, of the throne of God (line 3) and Muḥammad is the

17 In the first hemistich of this and the preceding verse, some words have been rendered unreadable in the Uppsala manuscript. While Afshār indicates blanks in his edition, I have attempted an *ad sensum* conjecture based on the traces of the words that remain visible and on the (somewhat inconclusive) metre of the following hemistichs. Accordingly, I tentatively read '*samt-i fardī, nūr-i tū shamʿ-i quṣūr*' and '*karda ḥaqq bahr-i tū dū ʿālam bannā*' as the basis of the above translation. The recurring excentricity that characterizes some of Abīwardī's verses is discussed below.

18 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 1v–2r, ed. Afshār, 9–10.

embodiment of the divine attributes of *rushd* and *hudā*, here translated collectively as divine guidance, as well as the king of the realm of the equally divine power, *ʿizza* (line 4). Accordingly, Muḥammad is presented as the rationale and driving force of God's court, a suggestion that likely caused the erasures in lines 5 and 6. Nonetheless, the hyperbolic praise of Muḥammad's clogs as stirring up dust which the *ḥūrīs* use to perfume their hair (line 5) and the suggestion that the excellence of Muḥammad is attested by his access to this world and the paradise during his journey to the heavens (line 6) very much illustrate courtly concepts of a representation of high social standing in bodily perfection and universal access. This blurring of the distinction between Muḥammad and God culminates in the first hemistich of line 7, which closely mirrors line 5 of the praise of God translated above, in presenting both as giving a table of honor. Thus, the first hemistich of line 7 of the praise of Muḥammad reads *chūn kashī bar anbiyā' khwān-i karam*, closely echoing the first hemistich of line 5 in the praise of God, *chūn kashī khwān-i karam bar ins wa-jān*. This is highly eccentric even when interpreted as a hyperbole. Nonetheless, it may arguably illustrate the competitive milieu of courtly performances, which motivated this comparison of the court of God and the court of Muḥammad in the preface of Abīwardī's *Chār Takht*.

That the eccentricity of Abīwardī's poetry was already remarked upon during his lifetime is attested independently in a curious episode reported in his biography as presented in the famous *Majālis al-Nafā'is* of 'Alī-shīr Nawā'ī, who succeeded Jāmī as the paramount poet and center of the Timurid court of Herāt. According to this episode, Abīwardī was after his return to Khurāsān (i. e. at the time when he wrote the Uppsala manuscript of the *Chār Takht* and the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn*) denounced as insane by envious courtiers based on a couplet supposedly lacking in both meter and meaning (*bū baytinīniñ ma'nāsī yūqtūr nā-mawzūn-dūr*).¹⁹ The couplet in question can tentatively be paraphrased as follows:

Boy brought by heaven's chance from the sun / They made a Yūsuf called Ya'qūb.²⁰

'Alī-shīr Nawā'ī presents this denunciation as a successful intrigue and hints at a likely meaning of the couplet in the specific setting of the court of the

19 Nawā'ī *Majālis*, edd. Ġanieva, Zoḥidov, 151, ed. Hikmat, 97 and 273.

20 Nawā'ī *Majālis*, edd. Ġanieva, Zoḥidov, 151, ed. Hikmat, 97 and 273.

Aquyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya'qūb.²¹ Nonetheless, the suggestion that Abīwardī was plainly insane on the evidence of his poetry clearly attests to his eccentricity at the very least. Coupled to his likely bad timing in connecting both his *Chār Takht* and *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* to Jāmī while the latter was dying, this eccentricity in some of Abīwardī's poetical imagery may well have contributed to his lack of success at the Timurid court of Herāt. It may also have caused the erasure of some of his more exuberant praise of Muḥammad in the Uppsala manuscript. The somewhat ambiguous position of Abīwardī at the Timurid court of Herāt is also reflected in the anecdote contained in his biography as presented in Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*. According to this anecdote, he was employed by 'Alī-shīr to present the collected works of Jāmī to *sultān* Ya'qūb's minister *qāḍī* 'Īsā and lost face in Tabrīz due to his idle boasting.²²

Nonetheless, Abīwardī's literary strategies illustrate the structures and mechanisms of courtly patronage in Middle Eastern Persophone court culture of the 15th-century CE. Crucially, he presents this 'courtly sphere' in an explicitly comparative frame binding together the 'thrones' of Istanbul, Cairo, Tabrīz, and Herāt. According to this comparative view of the thrones of the Persophone world, the throne and its surrounding court form the scene where a range of performative acts and interactions are conducted in a milieu characterized by more or less latent competition between courtiers and courts.²³ In this framing, the competition among the attendants of an earthly court mirrors the competition between rulers at the divine throne. This fractal structure, where the ruler and pivot of one court becomes the attendant and courtier competing with other rulers on the level of a superordinate court also extends to subordinate levels. As illustrated in the anecdote translated in the introduction, where Firdawsī gains acceptance at the *majlis* or court of 'Anṣarī, the courtiers competing at the court of the ruler themselves formed the center of subordinate courts where others competed for their attention and favor.²⁴ Accordingly, Abīwardī's dedication of his *Chār Takht* and *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* to Jāmī not only offered to performatively establish Jāmī as the preeminent poet of the Timurid court of Herāt. His dedication also represents an offer to

21 Nawā'ī *Majālis*, edd. Ġanieva, Zoḥidov, 151. This part of Abīwardī's biography is not translated in either of the Persian translations edited by Ḥikmat.

22 Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 350–351.

23 For the competition between Persianate courts trying to attract notable courtiers, see also the letters from the Bahmanī Indian minister Maḥmūd Gāwān inviting Dawwānī and Ṭīhrānī to come to India, Maḥmūd Gāwān *Riyāḍ*, 172–173 and 175–177.

24 This fractal model of courtly structures operating within an overarching cultural matrix resonates with Tambiah's 'galactic polity' in pre-modern Southeast Asia. Tambiah similarly draws on celestial metaphors in his 'totalizing' engagement with the shifting configurations of multi-levelled performances of governance that is explicitly related to a cosmological design in contemporary descriptions; see Tambiah 1985, 252–286.

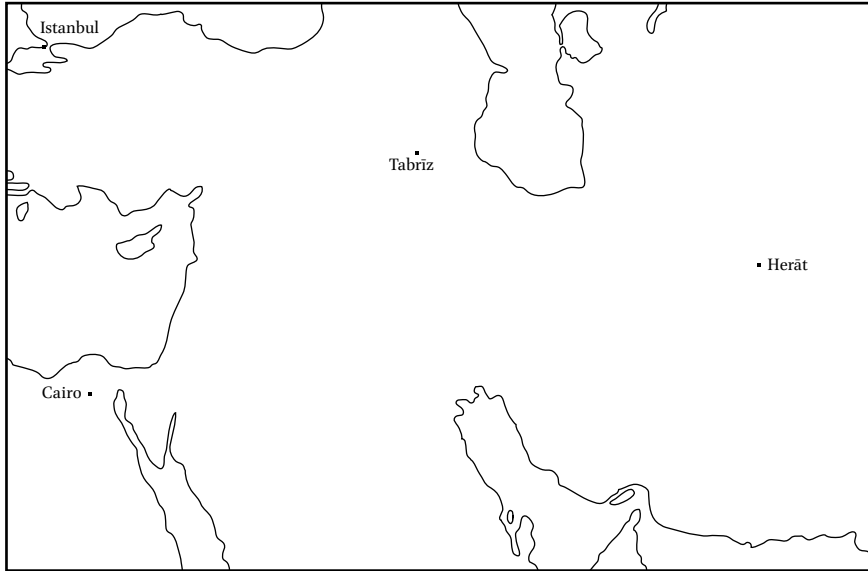


FIGURE 2 The 'thrones' of Abīwardī's travelogue

performatively establish the Timurid court as the preeminent court in the contemporary Persophone world.

At the same time, the significance of the court as the locale of contested performances of rightful authority derives from the interlacement of multiple mediums, traditions, and types of capital on this scene. Collectively, this interlacement suggests the interpretation of the court as a 'nexus between worlds'. According to this understanding, the courtly *topos* is a location where the successful deployment of multiple and conflicting performative acts and representational mediums is governed by resonance loops (*Rückkopplungsschleifen*). As vibrations in a mechanical component can either build up or cancel each other out depending on the differing resonance of particular frequencies, so the multidimensional resonance of courtly performance governs the allocation of political, spiritual, economical, administrative, and social capital between individual actors at the courtly *topos*.

3.2 Topoi of Courtly Interaction 1: The *Yaylāq* or Summer Pasture

One of the two types of recurring performative settings of Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly representation is the so-called *yaylāq* or summer pasture, which is described in the most exuberant terms. Crucially, this performative mode of life is not portrayed in the sources in opposition to the settled *topos* of courtly

representation within or near urban agglomerations. In contrast, it is necessary to understand this recurring performative setting as one of two structurally equivalent configurations where the whole range of courtly performance was enacted. This *caveat* is particularly important in light of the former tendency in Western scholarship, particularly in sociology and anthropology, of assuming settled representation as the only 'real' form of statal and courtly authority. This was contrasted with 'barbarian' modes of fundamentally unstable, egalitarian and frequently romanticised 'nomadism'.²⁵ By contrast, this chapter demonstrates that the *yaylāq* of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu cannot be understood as motivated by an atavistic longing of essentially 'barbarian' ruling houses longing for a 'simple life' of herding animals on the mountain pastures. Accordingly, this chapter aims for a dense description of courtly performative activity at the *yaylāq* of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers.

3.2.1 *Approaching the Yaylāq as a Configuration of Courtly Representation*

Let us once again start with Abīwardī's description of courtly activity when the Aqquyunlu 'throne' went out to the mountains in 890 / 1485 CE.²⁶ This section follows the introductory chapters of his description of the Aqquyunlu capital of Tabriz praising the Aqquyunlu ruler *sulṭān* Ya'qūb and his closest advisors.

Chapter on the decision of the *sulṭān* to go to Mount Sahand
 Afterwards, this king with his high fortune / Decided to go to the *yaylāq*
 of Sahand,
 As he saw this beggar worthy of service / He enrolled him among his
 servants,
 When he sat on the steed of the state / A thousand like me were in his
 retinue.
 This place was excellent like paradise / Boasting more plants than a sown
 field,
 On every side a spring welled up / Bringing the dead back to life with its
 grace,
 Green plants ringed every spring / As the Fountain of Youth is ringed with
 green.

25 See Sneath 2007 for a pathbreaking critique of this marginalization of non-sedentary societies in modern scholarship.

26 I follow Woods' dating of Abīwardī's sojourn in Tabriz as well as on Mount Sahand prior to his involvement in Ya'qūb's campaign against Samtskhe to 890, Woods 1999, 138, but cf. the uncertainty of the date of this campaign, Woods 1999, 273.

The plain was blue and yellow with flowers / Decked out with gold and
 lapis lazuli,
 At this time, this plain / held hundred advantages over any heaven,
 Had the heaven fogged over / Its moon would have been the face of the
sulṭān,
 Should the heaven have a new moon / Its sign is the shoe of the horse of
 the king,
 A hundred crescents from the hoof of his horse / Every flower yellower
 than a star.
 Amidst the mountains, Mount Sahand / Was higher than Mount Damavand,
 No eye could ever take it in / Each of its cliffs a Damavand!
 Should an erring bird fly toward its flank / He would turn back futile and
 tired,
 This great mountain surpasses the stars / The sun would split in two on
 its peak,
 Lest I utter another word: / Snow falls on it like the stars.
 Nonetheless, its foot is paradise / Very few places are like it:
 Due to the coming of this king / Every spring's flowers filled its foot.²⁷

In this description of the *yaylāq* on the flanks of Mount Sahand, the height of the fortune of the Aqquyunlu ruler (*bakht-i buland*) is coupled in rhyme with the toponym of *yaylāq-i sahand* (line 1). As the height of Mount Sahand is later hyperbolically referenced (lines 12 to 16), this height of the mountain is deployed in a parallelism to the height of the fortune of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb. The multitude of courtiers following the ruler as a reflection of the ruler's power (line 3) already appeared in Abiwardī's introductory praise of God translated above. The following deployment of natural fertility and abundance as an index of the ruler's beneficial influence (lines 4 to 6 and 18) is a *topos* that also extends to other genres. The representation of the ruler as the one who knows where the Fountain of Youth (literally 'water of life', *āb-i ḥayāt*) is to be found in choosing a suitable place for his courtly *yaylāq* (line 6) possibly alludes to the youthful age of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb, who in the spring of 890 / 1485 CE likely was in his early twenties.²⁸ This performative framing of the ruler as able to work

27 Abiwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 31r–31v, ed. Afshār, 47–48.

28 The main indication of Ya'qūb's birthyear is the remark by the Venetian diplomat Contarini concluding his travelogue, that Ya'qūb 'may have been' (*potea esser*) 15 years old during his stay at the court of *uzun* Ḥasan, presumably in 1474–1475 CE (Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 233, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 633, cf. Minorsky 1939b, 143). See also the information of van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 340, that Ya'qūb was 20 years of age when he visited Tabriz around 1483 CE.

miracles and bringing water and fertility to barren ground forms an abiding theme in the iconography of Persianate courtly representation. A good example of this representation of the ruler himself giving life to a particular place by means of his mere arrival there is contained in Dawwānī's account of the courtly session of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's brother Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan amongst the ruins of Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in Fārs.

The images of this house [the Achaemenid reliefs that continue to be visible at Takht-i Jamshīd] were confused when they beheld the sunshine-like image of his highness the *sulṭān* and second Sulaymān, remaining in their place while not remaining in their place. Contemplating the forms and shapes of the companions of the high court (*majlis*), the reliefs of this place were ruined by shame and took to the walls, while taking from the walls to the door.

If my painting enters a painting-house / The image breaks, a door opens in the wall.

Nay, nay, what am I saying? These images became bodies from the rays of the light of the presence of this soulful highness and these reliefs received the gift of life from the grace (*ḡayḡ*) of the souls of 'Īsā's power. The sleepy fortune of the residents of this throneroom, which had been trampled under the foot of events since the time of [the mythical king and eponymous founder of Takht-i Jamshīd] Jam, woke up. The hopeful eye of the servants of this residence, which had waited for countless centuries, was opened by the dust raised by the victorious retinue. Their sprouting hopes that had been dried out by the scorching winds of the change of the ages found fresh verdure by the greenness-bringing (or Khidr-like) arrival of the servants of his highness. Illustrating the saying *Everything changes, even the land!*, the rosebush of the state of this region, which had been sacked by the adversary winds of the changing times,

It should however be noted that the ages of Oriental rulers given by European travellers usually represent an approximation. Thus, Contarini gives the age of *uzun* Ḥasan around 1474–1475 CE 'in my view' (*al iudicio mio*) as 70 (Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 233, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 633), which starkly contradicts both *uzun* Ḥasan's birth year of 828 / 1425 CE given by Ghaffārī *Tārīkh*, 253, and the approximate birth year of 830–831 / 1427 CE rendered by the statement that he was 12 years old (*dar sinn-i dawāzda*) when he plundered the house and treasury (*khāna wa-khizāna*) of his uncle Ḥamza, most likely some time in 842–843 / spring – autumn 1439 CE, see Ṭīhrānī *Diwārbakrīyya*, 149. See also the caution concerning the ages of *uzun* Ḥasan's sons as given by Contarini that is expressed by Minorsky 1939b, 143.

was once again watered by the grace of the arrival of this lord of the state.
As in the verse:

Where you walk by²⁹ as the water of life / Water fills the mouths of
the dead,

Where your beauty's moon sets its tent / Cords of bound souls cover
the ground.³⁰

As the passage explicitly shows by its references to the Qur'ānic prophets Sulaymān, ʿĪsā, and possibly Khidr, this ability of the ruler to bring fertility and water, hyperbolically even reviving the dead, deploys the thaumaturgical qualities of the rightful ruler in an explicit analogy to (Islamic) prophecy.

Returning to Abīwardī's description of the *yaylāq* of *sultān* Ya'qūb on Mount Sahand, the flowers mentioned in lines 4 and 7 also appear prominently in 15th-century CE Persianate book paintings illustrating non-urban courtly settings, particularly in illustrated manuscripts of Persian epics. Together with the life- and water-giving agency of the ruler, this fertile and verdant setting is explicitly deployed as a parallel to paradise (line 4). The parallelism between the courtly space centered on the ruler and paradise centered on God was already alluded to in the introductory praise of God by Abīwardī translated above. While, however, the *yaylāq* is portrayed as somewhat of a natural space that is well-chosen or at best embellished by the ruler's presence, a more deliberately shaped likeness of paradise is established in the palatial gardens of the configurations of courtly representation in the *qishlāq*, which is discussed below.

The yellow- and blue-colored flowers mentioned in line 7 lead over to the comparison of the courtly sphere established by *sultān* Ya'qūb on Mount Sahand with the celestial firmament. Crucially, the firmament is deployed as a hierarchical sphere that is dominated by the moon. The full moon is likened to the face of the *sultān* and can be found by following the traces of his horse, as the waxing and waning crescent enables the calculation of the full moon. Hyperbolically, the 'heaven' established in *sultān* Ya'qūb's *yaylāq* is even presented as superior to the 'real' heaven, a claim that is substantiated by the argument that the ruler's horse leaves a hundred crescent-shaped impressions, surpassing the one moon in the heavens, and that the flowers outshine the stars (lines 8 to 11). The following hyperbolic depiction of Mount Sahand's height (lines 12 to 16) further establishes Abīwardī's inventiveness and rhetorical

29 I follow Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Afshār, 43, in reading *bikhurāmī*, you walk jauntily, you strut, as opposed to Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 287, *bargudharī*.

30 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 286–287, ed. Afshār, 42–43.

talent in finding new turns and images for this *topos* of the height of a mountain, which is firmly established in the intertextual networks of Persian poetry and prose. Within Abīwardī's comparative framework of courtly excellency, the height of Mount Sahand may arguably also mirror the exalted position of *sultān* Ya'qūb, as argued above. The concluding two lines (17 and 18) return the focus to *sultān* Ya'qūb's agency that brings spring to the meadows where the *yaylāq* is to take place.

In explicitly taking up the parallelism of the celestial court and the courts at the 'four thrones' of the world in his short poetic description of *sultān* Ya'qūb's *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand, Abīwardī demonstrates that the performance of courtly culture in the *yaylāq* indeed constituted a full deployment of the topical configuration of the ideal court. The resonance of Abīwardī's imagery not only with texts produced explicitly for the Aqqyunlu court, but also with other mediums of courtly representation shows the pervasiveness of the common iconography that is deployed in this representation of rightful authority. As shown by Abīwardī's own mobility and success at different courts, this iconography of courtly representation also transcended the borders of any single political realm. To move beyond the somewhat stereotypical verses of Abīwardī, we now turn to arguably the most elaborate literal representation of an ideal *yaylāq* performed by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

3.2.2 *Narrating the Ideal Yaylāq: Faḍlallāh's Depiction of Sultān Ya'qūb's 1490 CE Yaylāq at Ūjān*

The hierarchies of the celestial bodies circling each other are also deployed as an analogy to the motion of the court around the ruler in the description of the *yaylāq* contained in Faḍlallāh's history. This account describes the height of the power of *sultān* Ya'qūb during the court's assembly at the palace of Ūjān during the *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand in the year 895 / 1490 CE, some time after Abīwardī's presence at the Aqqyunlu *yaylāqs* of 890 / 1485 CE and 894 / 1489 CE.³¹ This passage combines poetry with elaborate rhymed prose or *saj'* and was likely motivated by the description of an ideal *yaylāq* of *sultān* Ya'qūb's father *uzun* Ḥasan at the same site of Mount Sahand and Ūjān in 876 / 1471 CE. The description of *uzun* Ḥasan's *yaylāq* similarly stands at the end of the Aqqyunlu court history of Ṭīhrānī, which Faḍlallāh continued.³² As Faḍlallāh's description arguably represents the most elaborate and paradigmatic extant

31 The date 894 / 1489 CE for Abīwardī's embassy from Herāt to Tabriz (cf. Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 50r–55r, ed. Afshār, 72–78) follows Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 83, in Minorsky's abridged translation.

32 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 559–563.

depiction of a *yaylāq* within Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly writing, it is translated and discussed in its entirety. Due to the length of this passage, I structure Faḍlallāh's narrative into separate headings to allow for a systematic discussion of this text.

3.2.2.1 Coming to Mount Sahand: The Introductory Poem

The turning of the high banners to the *yaylāq* of Sahand in the year [8]95:
 Good is the beauty of the days of spring / When the king pitches tent in
 the meadow,
 Good is the time when it stands like a blossom / A rose-bud among the
 pavillons,
 Good is the time when the steppe blooms / When the steppe seems like
 heaven,
 The meadow weeps with dew / The spring-wind shatters perfume.
 Missing the king, Sahand was cold and sad / Threw a hundred stones on
 its chest,
 In sprouting narcissi / It had thousands of eyes watching the way,
 In iris that grew all around / It told the story of its longing for the king.
 Like Khusraw, the king sat on Shabdīz / With a hundred joys, he came
 from Tabrīz,
 Countless grace he bestowed on every one / His fortune made the world
 anew,
 The time seemed like the days of youth / A time of life, glory, and joy.
 Where did all this pomp go, where? / With one gust, all went away
 with the wind,
 The firmament changes its color by the hour / God is the only true refuge.³³

The first four lines of this introductory poem, likely composed by Faḍlallāh himself, praise the beauty of spring. Interestingly, lines 1–2 present the ruler's tent as part of the ideal pasture of spring. This includes the courtly representation on the *yaylāq* within the natural order of the seasons, rather than setting it apart as its cause as in Dawwānī's hyperbolic comparison of the courtly *majlis* of Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan among the ruins of Takht-i Jamshīd to Qur'ānic prophets.

By contrast, lines 5–7 transfer the agency of bringing forth flowers to Mount Sahand. After having suffered grievously due to the absence of *sultān* Ya'qūb during the winter, this mountain now sprouts narcissi and iris exclusively to

33 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 383–384, ed. 'Ashīq, 363–364.

find out when its beloved ruler could be expected to return. This ascription of agency to the topographical area of Mount Sahand, which was one of the areas most sought out during the performative *yaylāq* in Qara- and Aqqyunlu court ceremonial gravitating around Tabrīz, may reflect a slightly mocking comment of Faḍlallāh on the almost proverbial dislike of *sultān* Ya'qūb for the capital city of Tabrīz and his lingering at various non-urban places.³⁴ This capacity of court historiography and other courtly genres, most notably poetry, to criticize the ruler forms an important component of the courtly setting. It indicates that notwithstanding its performative focus on the pivotal figure of the ruler, normativity was embodied in the functional elites tasked with inducing the ruler to adhere to the standards of appropriate conduct.

The following lines 8–10 present the ruler's (possibly idealized) answer to the longing of Mount Sahand. While leaving Tabrīz in a resplendent cavalcade and bestowing abundant gifts, he is explicitly compared to the proverbial Sasanian ruler Khusraw / Chosroes II Parwīz, most likely as represented in the Persian epic tradition by Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* and Niẓāmī's *Khusraw wa-Shīrīn*. An important part of this epic representation of Khusraw is his horse Shabdīz, who not only played an important role in the plot of the epics but is even said to have received an eponymous palace after its death.³⁵ As Shabdīz does not appear to be attested as a name for horses at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court, the claim that *sultān* Ya'qūb sat on Shabdīz likely constitutes a hyperbolic reference by Faḍlallāh to Khusraw's ideal kingdom. Nonetheless, the possibility that *sultān* Ya'qūb in fact owned a horse of this name cannot be ruled out. In this case, the performative parallelism between *sultān* Ya'qūb and Khusraw would transcend the genre of historiography to encompass the naming of courtly beasts.

The concluding lines 11–12 take up the pious motif of the vanity of earthly glory, which is also attested for instance in the verses selected for the Aqqyunlu calligraphic inscriptions that stand as the culmination of the tradition of a performative courtly inscription of verses into the ruins of Takht-i Jamshīd.³⁶ This is one of several portentous but vague references to future ruin included in Faḍlallāh's history,³⁷ the interpretation of which depends on the

34 See Woods 1999, 141–142.

35 Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, 5/6, 122–123 (*sub voce shibdāz*).

36 See Melikian-Chirvani 1971, as well as Leube 2018 and Leube 2021.

37 See for instance the polemic against the political ambitions of *shaykh* Ḥaydar of Ardabil, Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 261–279, ed. 'Ashīq, 255–271, where it is similarly unclear whether the reference is indeed exclusively to *shaykh* Ḥaydar, rather than implicitly also directed against the political success of his son Ismā'īl Ṣafawī. For a particularly striking example of Faḍlallāh's subsequent polemic against Ismā'īl, see the two poems likely

somewhat inconclusive chronology of the composition and possible revisions of the text. To avoid further digression from the main argument of this chapter, this discussion of chronology has been relegated to Annex 2. Regardless of the exact bearing of the future ruin prophecied in lines 11–12, however, the motif of the vanity of earthly glory is firmly established in Persianate performances of courtly poetry and represents a fitting conclusion to this well-composed introductory poem by Faḍlallāh.

3.2.2.2 The Journey to Saʿdābād and the Delegation of the *Maḥmal*

After the poem, Faḍlallāh's description of *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb's *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand continues as follows:

In the season of spring, which as a marvellous craftsman had drawn the shapes of flowers and herbs on the panel of the earth and had thereby brought the call of 'so behold the signs of the mercy of God [how He gives life to the earth after her death, He gives life to the dead and can do anything]!' (Qur'ān 30, 50) to the ears of those who beheld this workshop of wonders, while the waiting-maid of vegetation had adorned the ears and neck of the bride of the meadows with pearls of dew and rubies of tulips and had arranged an ornament of colors of herbs, narcissi, and jasmine on the face of the world, the joy-bringing banners moved from the house of rule (*dār al-salṭana*) Tabrīz toward the *yaylāq* of Mount Sahand. On the first day, the resting-place of Saʿdābād³⁸ was delighted by the rest of the auspicious fortune, an exhilarating station with life-giving air, the terrace of its meadow surrounded by colorful herbs and the expanse of its ground the envy of the turning heaven, the fragrant breeze of its scent pure ambergris and the water of its stream the pure water of companionship. In this august and agreeable station, the high command to prepare the delegation (*maḥmal*) to the Ḥijāz was given and the herold 'and announce the pilgrimage to the people, who will come on foot and on every emaciated camel' (Qur'ān 22, 27) was appointed over the sending out of those who turned to the holy house of God to revive the observances of the pilgrimage of Islam.³⁹

attributable to Faḍlallāh, which he wrote to encourage the Ottoman ruler Salīm I to annihilate Ismāʿīl after the battle of Chāldirān, as included in Farīdūn *Munshaʿāt*, 1, 367–369.

38 Cf. for this toponym Krawulsky 1978, 550, as well as its likely depiction by Matrakçı under the label Saʿdābād in Matrakçı *Bayān*, pl. 29b.

39 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 384, ed. 'Ashiq, 364.

This description of spring as a craftsman (*ṣānī*) that had drawn the shapes (*nuqūsh*) of flowers on the panel (*lawḥ*) of the earth could hint at the presence of craftsmen employed in the royal workshops as part of the courtly performance at the *yaylāq* of Mount Sahand. While such craftsmen are not mentioned during the elaborate presentation of the various groups involved in this performance of courtly authority (see below), the presence of craftspeople at the *yaylāq* is suggested by coins bearing the mint-name Urdū, which can possibly be related to these coins having been minted in mobile camps (see below).⁴⁰ In any case, the parallelism between spring as a craftsman and the Qurʾānic praise of God as the life-giver extends over much of the material culture produced at the courtly workshops. Thereby, these courtly artefacts simultaneously represent the splendor of the court and the splendor of God. The following simile comparing spring to a waiting-maid takes up the motif of Mount Sahand's yearning for the king that already featured in the introductory poem in gendered terms. Thereby, the ruler's march from Tabriz to Mount Sahand is endowed with the festive spirit of a royal marriage.

In the depiction of the resting-place of Saʿdābād, the range of words used interchangeably to convey the concept of a resting-place should be remarked upon. The first such term is *yūrt-i saʿdābād*. Nonetheless, the possible assumption that the Turkic origin of the word *yūrt*⁴¹ could be significant is immediately disproved by the subsequent description of this place with the term, derived from Arabic, of *manzil* in the phrase *manzilī-yi dilgushā*, translated above as *exhilarating station*. This synonymous coupling of words derived from different linguistic backgrounds is very common in the courtly historiography and writing represented by Faḡlallāh and other authors at the 'Turkmen' courts. It suggests that a difference in etymological history of particular terms did not signify a difference in register in their use of the Persian language. By contrast, the deployment of as great a range of terms from the lexical wealth of the Persian language within a Persian linguistic matrix that could incorporate quotations and phrases in Arabic or Turkic appears to have been undertaken as an index of rhetorical brilliance and style.

This phenomenon calls for a reflection on the positionality of modern scholars and their schooling in philological and linguistic history. According to our experience with 'language reforms' and 'language purification' in the course of the long 20th-century CE, we are tempted to assume a 'political' significance

40 See also the decree of *uzun* Ḥasan assigning payment to a carver (*naqqār*) in or near Kāshān edited by Keçik 1976, 214–215, and Fekete 1977, 195–197.

41 See Nişanyan 2009, 680, and Doerfer 1963–1975, 4, 212–216.

of the etymological background of terms employed in public speech.⁴² On similar terms, an inspired recent article by Daniel Zakrzewski searched for a particular density of ‘pastoral’ metaphors in the Persian-language Aqquyunlu court historiography of Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī. Accordingly, a specific dense of an etymologically ‘Turkic’ or ‘Central Asian’ background of particular terms would reflect the supposed Central Asian, ‘pastoral’, or ‘nomadic’ background of this dynasty.⁴³ In his conclusion, Zakrzewski suggests a somewhat stronger emphasis on ‘pastoral’ aesthetics in the work of Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī as compared to the historiography of Samarqandī.⁴⁴

Nonetheless, I would argue that this difference in aesthetical emphasis is still firmly embedded in the linguistic and literary matrix of Persian court historiography and courtly writing. Accordingly, I strongly mistrust notions of ‘stable identitarian belonging’ suggested by our upbringing within the scholarly configurations of modern nation-centered education. Instead, I privilege concepts of appropriation and contestation within a relational framework that shows how different repertoires were deployed in courtly culture. Accordingly, the synonymic deployment of terms from different etymological background such as *yūrt* and *manzil* does to me signify that this ‘modern-etymological’ dimension of terminology was not ‘straightforwardly’ relevant to the linguistic registers deployed in Persian courtly writing under Qara- and Aqquyunlu patronage.

This resting-place of Saʿīdābād is described in the by now familiar terminology of a likeness to paradise. As reported by Faḍlallāh, the *maḥmal* or litter that is carried by the pilgrims to Mecca is dispatched from this non-urban setting. This indicates that the *yaylāq* constitutes a ‘complete’ manifestation of the ideal courtly configuration of Qara- and Aqquyunlu performative culture. As the reference to the Qurʾānic injunction to embark on the pilgrimage shows, the *yaylāq* constituted a suitable environment for a ‘public’ display of Islamic governance, rather than being conceivable in terms of ‘pastoral solitude’.

The dispatch of a *maḥmal* to the Ḥijāz representing the support and protection of the ruler together with the pilgrims constitutes one of the most important public performances of Islamic governance in 14th- and 15th-centuries CE Islamicate cultures. Accordingly, it was frequently contested between different

42 The literature on the multiple language reforms and policies undertaken during the long 20th-century CE is immeasurable. Probably one of the best introductions is still offered by Anderson 2006.

43 Zakrzewski 2011.

44 Zakrzewski 2011, 179–182.

rulers.⁴⁵ Its function in the competitive context of Islamicate courtly culture lay in its ability to inscribe the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts into the symbolic geography of the 15th-century CE Islamic world, as is argued in more detail during the discussion of all instances of the dispatch of a 'Turkmen' *maḥmal* from the *qishlāq* below. In the context of the delegation of the *maḥmal* from the *yaylāq* of Saʿīdābād, it should be noted that this delegation of a *maḥmal* from a non-urban context appears to have been the exception in Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture. The only other reference to the courtly *yaylāq* as a suitable place to embark on the pilgrimage is implicitly suggested by Faḍlallāh's decision to travel to the *yaylāq* of *sultān* Ya'qūb in the year 892 / 1487 CE when he planned to perform the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz for a third time. Nonetheless, no *maḥmal* is mentioned during this occasion and, instead of going to the Ḥijāz, Faḍlallāh remained at the court of *sultān* Ya'qūb to serve as a secretary and compose his historiographical work.⁴⁶ Although the scarcity of Qara- and Aqqyunlu court historiography makes arguments *ex negativo* somewhat problematic, it is accordingly probable that the *maḥmal* described in the above passage by Faḍlallāh was in fact prepared and joined by the pilgrims in Tabrīz, as I argue in the description of courtly performances in an urban setting below, even if it should have travelled together with the court until the first waystation of Saʿīdābād.

The exceptionality of the 'public' performance of Islamic governance by *sultān* Ya'qūb in Faḍlallāh's description of the *yaylāq* at Mound Sahand can also be explained as an intertextual reference to similarly exceptional 'public' displays of Islamic governance involving the *maḥmal* that are described in the context of the ideal *yaylāq* of *sultān* Ya'qūb's father *uzun* Ḥasan in 876 / 1471 CE at the end of Ṭīhrānī's history, which Faḍlallāh continued. In this context, it is significant that both ideal *yaylāqs* are centered on the locale of Ūjān, which therefore may function as an intertextual nexus deployed by Faḍlallāh to refer to the work of his predecessor. According to this line of reasoning, Faḍlallāh refers to Ṭīhrānī's description of *uzun* Ḥasan's *yaylāq* of the year 876 / 1471 CE as the *locus classicus* of a courtly *yaylāq*, deploying the somewhat unlikely statement that the *maḥmal* was in fact sent out from Saʿīdābād as another

45 Cf. Jomier 1953, particularly 42–56, on the inter-court repercussions of Yamanī and ʿIrāqī rulers challenging Mamlūk suzerainty over the *hajj* as represented by their sending out of a *maḥmal* from Egypt. A particularly interesting account of the development of the *maḥmal* out of the custom of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr of sending his litter, *miḥaffa*, with the pilgrimage to Mecca whenever he did not join the pilgrimage himself is contained in Faḍlallāh *Sulūk*, 364–365. See Behrens-Abouseif 1997 for a tradition that attributes the introduction of the *maḥmal* to Egypt to Shajarat al-Durr.

46 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 71–72, ed. ʿAshīq, 69–70.

rhetorical nexus that references the work of his predecessor. According to Ṭīhrānī's report, *uzun* Ḥasan's courtly performance at Ūjān coincided with both the *milād-i muṣṭafā* or birthday of Muḥammad, and the return of the *maḥmal* and the pilgrims from the Ḥijāz.⁴⁷ Accordingly, Faḍlallāh's description of the delegation of a *maḥmal* from Sa'īdābād in his ideal *yaylāq* of *sultān* Ya'qūb at Mount Sahand and Ūjān also constitutes an intertextual reference to Ṭīhrānī's *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*.

The other main instance where the *yaylāq* is deployed as the setting for a 'public' performance of Islamic governance by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts concerns the Islamic ritual of the *'id al-aḍḥā* or Feast of the Sacrifice of 875 / 1471 CE, which *uzun* Ḥasan is said to have performed near the *yaylāq* of Jakjakī⁴⁸ between Qazwīn and Sulṭāniyya. In his depiction, Ṭīhrānī chose to deploy this *yaylāq* rhetorically as a topographical copy of the Salvational Geography of the Ḥijāz, which is established through the performative actions of the ruler:

Having left Qazwīn on the seventh of the month Dhū l-Ḥijja, [*uzun* Ḥasan] commanded to halt at a *yaylāq* between Sulṭāniyya and Qazwīn to celebrate the Feast of the Sacrifice (*'id al-aḍḥā*). On the day of 'Arafa, he commanded to go from the *yaylāq* of Jakjakī to a plain where, as in the plain of 'Arafāt [where the Feast of the Sacrifice is performed during the Islamic pilgrimage of the *ḥajj*], mercy descends and the saddles of blessings are taken off, and which resembles the cultic stations of the *ḥajj* of the *ḥarām* [or sacred precinct] and the permanent house [of the Ka'ba] in purity and sincerity. [...]

Your face shows the joy of the Feast / As to the Ka'ba the pious pray toward you,

Whoever comes as a pilgrim to the dust of your court / Happily finds his purpose.⁴⁹

The establishment of the Salvational Geography of the Ḥijāz in the mountains between Sulṭāniyya and Qazwīn by means of a courtly performance underlines the nexus between the Ka'ba in Mecca and the ideal Islamic court that also underlay Abīwardī's travels to the thrones of the world. Regardless of the factual accuracy of Faḍlallāh's claim that *sultān* Ya'qūb sent out the *maḥmal*

47 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 560.

48 This toponym to my knowledge represents a *hapax legomenon*. It is not included in either Yāqūt *Mu'jam* or Krawulsky 1978.

49 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 557.

and the pilgrims from the waystation of Saʿīdābād, this rearrangement of geography by means of courtly performance underlines the potency of ‘public’ performances at the *yaylāq* within the courtly representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu.

3.2.2.3 The Journey to Ūjān, State of the Palace

On the next day, the resplendent cavalcade rested at the station of Kūl⁵⁰ and turned the coast of this lake into the ocean of the sea of ‘Umān and the expanse of the embrace of favour. From there, the high-ranking cavalcade turned to the palace of Ūjān.⁵¹ During the past year, the magnanimous architect of high resolve, having established the foundations of the house of favour and completed the building of the palace of the world, had turned his attention to the repair and renovation of the palace of Ūjān. This palace stands in the middle of the plain of Ūjān. Its foundation had risen like a towering mountain, and the height of its building had thrown the stone of shame toward [the proverbial pre-Islamic palace of] Khawarnaq and the Pyramids. They say that *sultān* Ghāzān had erected the building of this high palace when he founded the town of Ūjān.⁵²

The reference to the figurative enlargement of the small lake of Kūl until it was as large as the Indian Ocean underlines the miracle-working power of courtly performance. Stylistically, it is also motivated by the rhyme of (*sāhil-i ān daryācha-rā*) *muḥīt-i baḥr-i ʿumān / wa-basīt-i muḥīt-i iḥsān* (*sākht*). Particularly significant is the following presentation of the site of Ūjān, which was to constitute the location where the ideal courtly configuration of the *yaylāq* is performed (see below). As Faḍlallāh states, Ūjān had indeed briefly served as the second capital of the Īlkhānid ruler Ghāzān besides Tabriz⁵³ and remains of the Īlkhānid palace have recently been investigated by an Iranian archaeological campaign.⁵⁴ The considerable detail with which Ghāzān’s palace at Ūjān

50 Not included in Yāqūt *Muʿjam* or Krawulsky 1978. This toponym most likely represents Persian *kol*, Old Persian *kōl*, equivalent to Turkic *göl*, *köl*, indicating the *lake* that is subsequently and unambiguously referred to as *daryācha*: See Nişanyan 2009, 212.

51 See the depiction of the palace of Ūjān by Matrakçı reproduced in Matrakçı *Bayān*, pl. 30a.

52 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 384, ed. ‘Ashiq, 364.

53 See Krawulsky 1978, 45–46 and 560–561. I have not been able to verify her reference to a pre-Īlkhānid eyewitness-report cited by Yāqūt in my edition of his *Muʿjam*.

54 According to Iranian newspapers, the third season of archaeological excavation took place at Ūjān in 2019 CE under the leadership of Raḥīm Wilāyatī / Velayati. I have not yet been able to get in touch with him. The newspaper articles available online do not mention the Aqqyunlu repairs described by Faḍlallāh. Cf. Kārang 1351 / 1972, 610–620 for

is described in the Īlkhānid history of Rashīd al-Dīn suggests that Faḍlallāh's choice of this site as the location of his ideal *yaylāq* could again be motivated on intertextual grounds. Thereby, Ya'qūb's performative *yaylāq* at Ūjān is linked not only to the precedent of the *yaylāq* of his father *uzun* Ḥasan that has already been mentioned, but also to performative *yaylāqs* of Ghāzān.⁵⁵

As, however, neither the palace nor its remains are described in either Faḍlallāh's or, for that matter, Ṭīhrānī's accounts of earlier Aqquyunlu *yaylāqs* at this site,⁵⁶ it is difficult to estimate the factual extent of the deterioration of the site. As is argued in more detail below, the reference to the proverbial pre-Islamic palace of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra at al-Khawarnaq⁵⁷ and to the Pyramids (*haramān*)⁵⁸ serves to continue the Īlkhānid precedent of Ghāzān to pre-Islamic times. Thereby, the Aqquyunlu repairs to the palace and their courtly performance are presented as part of a stable and perennial tradition of just and 'proper' rulership that encompasses the *mundus significans* of 15th-century CE Islamicate learning:

By the passing of the years and the sequence of nights and days, the greedy hand of time had brought this building close to collapse, almost annihilating the roof and walls, so during the *yaylāq* of the year four [894 / 1489 CE], while resting at this *yaylāq*, the high command was given to restore this palace to its original shape, constructing it even better and more perfect. Prince 'Alī *bik*, the son of *sultān* Khalīl, who at that

the history of the palace until *qara* Yūsuf according to historiographical and geographical sources.

- 55 See the translation and commentary of the pertinent passage (unfortunately given without closer indication of its source, which should be supplemented as Rashīd al-Dīn *Tārīkh, Dāstān-i Ghāzān khān*, 137–138) in Golombek, Wilber 1983, 181–182. An even longer tradition of rightful rulership represented in Ūjān is suggested by Evliya Çelebi's remark that the first founder of the palace was the pre-Islamic Persian king Bizhan b. Kayūmarth, see Evliya *Sīyāhatnāma*, 2, 269–270.
- 56 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 73 and 364. In the later case, Ūjān is described as the place (*maqām*) where Jahānshāh had his camp (*mu'askar*). During *uzun* Ḥasan's *yaylāq* at Ūjān described above, the palace is not mentioned (Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 560). Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 236, ed. 'Ashīq, 232, states that the court was in the vicinity of the palace (*dar ḥawālī-yi qaṣr*) of Ūjān in 892 / 1487, but does not describe the palace any further.
- 57 See Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, 3 / 4, 256–259. The story of Bahrām Gūr at Khawarnaq (see below) is mentioned on page 258.
- 58 See Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, 7 / 8, 473–476, where Yāqūt states that there are so many stories about the Pyramids that it is as difficult to say what of these stories is true, as it is difficult to state the truth about a dream (*ḥaqīqatu aqwālihīm fihā ka-l-manāmi*). Incidentally, Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 18r–18v, ed. Afshār, 30–31, also includes a short description of the Pyramids, which he describes as the *domes of Ahraman*.

time held the great leadership of the high chancellery (*dar dīwān-i a'lā ba imārat-i kubrā maṣṣūb shuda*) and had placed his seal on the breast of the commanders (*bar ṣadr-i umarā' muhr zāda*), had been entrusted with the completion of this task and had in a short time rebuilt this high building and restored it to its original shape and splendour.⁵⁹

‘Alī b. Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan is well represented in the narrative and epigraphic sources as a member of the Aqquyunlu family that did not claim sovereign rulership by means of delivering the Friday sermon, or *khuṭba*, or minting coins in his own name, or *sikka* (see below). While his supervision of the repairs to the Īlkhānid palace of Ūjān is quite clear in the above passage, the vocabulary of his presentation brings up the somewhat thorny question of the degree to which pre-modern and early modern Persianate courtly culture drew on a stable and institutionalized set of ‘offices’. Traditionally, the existence of offices has been taken for granted in studies of modern and pre-modern Islamicate and Persianate societies. This methodological assumption of a direct and exact correspondence of titles and clearly defined ranks within institutions has been most influentially deployed by Uzunçarşılı in his monumental *Introduction to the Institutions of the Ottoman State*.⁶⁰ For the present passage, such an institutionalized interpretation is offered by the translation suggested by the eminent scholar of the Turkmen dynasties, Vladimir Minorsky. He translates the titles of ‘Alī *bik* as follows:

Prince ‘Alī-beg, son of Sulṭān Khalīl, who at that time was appointed as the Great Amīr in the Supreme Divan and confirmed as the president of the amīrs⁶¹

In a footnote to this passage, he transliterates the sentence and expresses his doubts regarding the precise interpretation of this titulature in the context of Persianate chancellery practices, asking ‘Does the doubtful text mean that the prince opposed his seal above that of the president [...]?’⁶²

This interpretation of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts as structured by a stable set of clearly defined offices is *prima facie* strongly supported by the

59 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 384–385, ed. ‘Ashīq, 364–365.

60 Uzunçarşılı 1970. See also Woods 1999, 10–19.

61 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 85, in Minorsky’s abridged translation.

62 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 85, in Minorsky’s abridged translation. See Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 3, 431, for a similar description of a bestowal of administrative power by *sulṭān* Ya’qūb to *qāḍī* ‘Īsā Sāwajī and Najm al-Dīn Mas‘ūd in terms of granting them the authority of sealing decrees.

description of a provincial parade held by Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan, incidentally the father of the 'Alī *bīk* described in the above passage. Here, Dawwānī describes the gathering of the military and civil personnel of the Aqqyunlu 'state' in the Southern Iranian region of Fārs on the plain of Marwdāsht near Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in 881 / 1476.⁶³ In a commentary on the translation of this text, Minorsky attempted a reconstruction of the various mentioned 'offices',⁶⁴ while notwithstanding his eminent erudition frequently acknowledging his uncertainty as to how a particular term should be translated.⁶⁵ True to his 'institutionalized' framework of interpretation, Minorsky implicitly attempted a differentiation of the referential usage of Persian technical terms, where they did indeed indicate a particular office, from the frequent instances where the same technical terms attested in the administrative and chancellery practices of pre- and early modern Persianate and Islamicate courts are deployed in a counterfactual manner during the narrative *mise en intrigue* of the episode in question by the author.⁶⁶ Nonetheless, the results of this approach remain doubtful, as Minorsky himself frequently expresses doubt about how to precisely translate a particular term in terms of 'offices'. At a more fundamental level, this scholarly distinction between referential and narrative functions of historiography fails to do justice to the entanglement of both, which stipulates that successful historical storytelling should simultaneously operate on the two levels of reference and narration.⁶⁷

As a pragmatic step-out from this dilemma, I suggest privileging 'function' over 'office'. In this view, the two are differentiated mainly by their different approaches to agency. Where a 'functionalized' approach accommodates the assumption of multiple functions and agencies by any particular individual, an 'institutionalized' framing privileges the stability and abidingness of

63 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*.

64 Minorsky 1938.

65 See Markiewicz 2019, 42–43, for a somewhat less drastic account of the difficulties in connecting specific functions to clearly defined titles within the Aqqyunlu administrative establishment, aptly summed up as an 'ad hoc approach to governance.' (Markiewicz 2019, 43).

66 Cf. the multi-levelled deployment of technical terms pertaining to accounting at the Timurid court in the anecdote discussed by Hinz 1950a, 1.

See Vogt 2006 for the fruitful application to Islamic historiography of the concept of the *mise en intrigue* following the hermeneutical tradition of Paul Ricoeur. One of the most profound theoretical reflections on the *mise en intrigue* / *mise-en-scène* with a special focus on cinematic media is given by Ritzer 2017.

67 Some reflections on the interdependencies between discourse and audience as a possible rationale for the emergence and stabilization of narrative *topoi*, which exemplify this interlacement of referential and narrative functions, are suggested in Leube 2017, 75–82.

clearly delimited offices that crucially even continue to exist while not held by any individual actor. Such a 'functionalized' understanding where individuals acquire and shape various functions in multiple contexts also allows for a greater or lesser degree of stability of particular functions. In some cases, stable 'functions' may therefore even be described as 'offices' according to the classical 'institutionalized' interpretation as sketched above. Nonetheless, I strongly argue that even in cases where an interpretation in terms of 'office' is feasible due to the abiding and clearly delimited existence of the institution in question, this stability is not the result of some detached authority of this institution. Instead, it should be approached as the outcome of the collaborative or competitive strategizing of individual actors within a relational and dynamic configuration. This 'functionalized' approach to titles arguably represents a counterpart of the principle of 'methodological individualism' in institutional economics,⁶⁸ which similarly states that institutions do not act, as agency instead resides in individuals acting out of a particular institution.

A good example of how such a 'functionalized' interpretation can be used to make sense of various stages of a courtly career is offered by the career of *darwīsh* Qāsim⁶⁹ at the Aqqyunlu court:

[After serving for almost twenty years as a trusted companion of Jahānshāh's son Yūsuf *mīrzā*, *darwīsh* Qāsim falls victim to an intrigue and is imprisoned by *uzun* Ḥasan.] Finally, the mother of the king [*uzun* Ḥasan] interceded on his behalf. [...] The king was convinced by her argument and after some days had him [*darwīsh* Qāsim] brought from jail and given the function of receiving and taking care of courtly ambassadors (*mihmāndārī*). After he had taken care of this function for some time, he found his veracity and resourcefulness to be above this function and employed him as a secretary and courtly servant (*parwānchī*). Finally, his esteem rose to such a height and became so important that he was the sole confidant of the court (*maḥram-i ān dargāh*) and guarded the secrets of the king (*ṣāhib-i asrār-i pādishāh*).⁷⁰

Unfortunately, this methodological intervention makes the adequate discussion of the fundamentally open vocabulary deployed by the sources somewhat

68 For the principle of a 'methodological individualism', cf. the fundamental argument of Schumpeter 1970, 88–98.

69 *Darwīsh* Qāsim's responsibility for the foundation of the Naṣriyya is discussed in greater detail below, as are the circumstances of his execution by *sultān* Ya'qūb.

70 Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 90.

more complicated, as no translation can do justice to the multiple levels of meaning and resonance on which any particular Persian term deployed by a skilled historiographer such as Faḍlallāh operates.

Nonetheless, I aim to offer a legible representation of the passages under discussion. Accordingly, I pragmatically translate *ṣadr* as *breast* in the above passage indicating the place where ‘Alī *bīk* is said to have stamped his seal. By contrast, an interpretation of this term that turns on the courtly ‘office’ or ‘function’ of a *ṣadr* or high-ranking administrator does not, as noted by Minorsky, render a convincing meaning in this context. Nonetheless, the deployment of the administratively connotated term of *ṣadr* in this context during Faḍlallāh’s *mise-en-scène* of the above passage can confidently be claimed to draw on this administrative connotation, which the term doubtlessly possessed. Accordingly, ‘Alī *bīk*’s – as I argue – rather uncommon and personalized assumption of a set of important functions is described as rooted in the administrative configuration of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s court.

3.2.2.4 Initiating the Ideal Court: *Sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s Arrival at the Palace of Ūjān

At this time, when the auspiciously descending cavalcade decided to alight in the plain of Ūjān, the restoration of the palace had been completed. The heaven-protected king came to the pinnacle of this high-built palace as the sun with its army of stars comes to the pinnacle of heaven, and in this well-built palace, that had fixed the eye of its hope on the main road of the white king, suddenly good fortune entered through the door.

Verses:

The king ascended the palace of Ūjān / Which became like the turning of the sky,

Reminiscent of the turning of the days / The story of seven portraits and Bahrām,

Seven portraits gain light from the king / Hunting a hundred onagers like Bahrām.⁷¹

The hyperbolic comparison of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s arrival to the restored palace of Ūjān with the hierarchical movement of the celestial bodies has already been discussed. We have also already encountered the transferral of agency to topographical markers such as the palace, which is said to have hoped for the ruler’s arrival, echoing the longing of Mount Sahand for *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s return

⁷¹ Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 385, ed. ‘Ashiq, 365.

discussed above. Nonetheless, the statement that the palace *dīda-yi umīd dar shāhrāh-i pādshāh-i safīd karda būd*, translated above as *that had fixed the eye of its hope on the main road of the white king* merits some further discussion. While quite clearly informed by the rhyme of *dīda-yi umīd* / *pādshāh-i safīd*, which also extends to the words *khūrshīd*, *barāyad* (?), *mushayyad*, and *sa'īd* in the surrounding lines, this line can also be read as *dīda-yi umīd[-rā] dar shāhrāh-i pādshāh safīd karda būd*, syntactically shifting *safīd* from *pādshāh-i safīd* or *white king* to *safīd kardan* or *to make white*. Accordingly, the line can thus be translated as *that had whitened the eye of its hope on the main road of the king*.⁷²

While both readings clearly illustrate the agency of the palace in longing for *sultān* Ya'qūb's arrival at Ūjān, this passage illustrates the ambiguities and multiple meanings encountered in color adjectives in Qara- and Aqquyunlu court ceremonial. In the first reading of *pādshāh-i safīd*, the color adjective 'white' conveys both a referential meaning pointing to the possibility that *sultān* Ya'qūb may indeed have worn white garments and an associative meaning of white in the sense of 'resplendent' or 'auspicious'. This simultaneous deployment of multiple levels of meaning made possible by the polyvalency of the color adjective 'white' also appears in Dawwānī's account of the parade in Fārs. Here, a white flag or *rāyat-i bayḍā* carried before a particular body of troops similarly leaves it open whether this flag was indeed white or whether white is here deployed as an index of auspiciousness.⁷³ In this context it should be noted that this openness of the color adjective 'white' to multiple levels of signification is tied to the semantic concept of whiteness rather than its linguistic materialization, as the Persian *safīd* of Faḍlallāh clearly displays the same suitability for deployment in this context as the Arabic *bayḍā* chosen by Dawwānī.

Due to the literal translatability of the Turkic name of Aqquyunlu as 'those with white sheep' and of the equally Turkic name of Qaraquyunlu as 'those with black sheep', the description of banners and persons as white and black is discussed in more detail below during the focus on the function of 'ethnic' affiliation in Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly representation. Nonetheless, this

72 For a very similar example of rhetoric drawing on ophthalmological imagery of eyes and roads to illustrate longing, see the letter from Maybudī to 'Alī bīk, Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 123.

73 Dawwānī *'Ard*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 293, ed. Afshār, 49, cf. Minorsky 1939b, 154. Further instances of the color white as a crucial nexus for the simultaneous deployment of multiple levels of meaning exist in Dawwānī's account. Cf. also Barbaro's report that 'some white [...] and square flags' (*alcune bandiere [...] bianche e quadre*) were carried before *uzun* Ḥasan when he was riding during his muster of the Aqquyunlu army near Sultāniyya in 1474 CE, Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 135, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 544.

case illustrates the intertwined function of historiographic writing as reference and, in this case, assessing narrative.

A further level of meaning is opened up by the possibility offered by the omission of the *kasra* indicating the attributive Persian particle *-i*, *-yi* in the text as written according to the conventions of Persophone scriptural practices. Thus, reading *dīda-yi umīd[-rā] safīd karda*, the semantic field of white is shifted toward the ‘making white’ of an eye. This reading would reference ophthalmological discourses which Faḍlallāh arguably also mastered, as shown by his parade of functional elites and their associated fields of knowledge translated in the next passage.

The three lines of verses take up the analogy of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb ascending to the pinnacle of the palace of Ūjān with the movement of the celestial bodies. Subsequently, *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb is compared to the pre-Islamic ruler and hero Bahrām Gūr as portrayed in Nizāmī’s epic *Haft Paykar* or Seven Portraits.⁷⁴ As the palace of al-Khawarnaq forms one of the most important settings of Nizāmī’s *Haft Paykar*, this comparison between *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb and Bahrām Gūr may have already been prepared in the comparison of the palaces of Ūjān and al-Khawarnaq that has been discussed above. While the motif of Bahrām’s hunt for wild onagers (*gūr*) strongly resonates with the courtly pastime of hunting at the *yaylāq* to be discussed in the next chapter, it also draws on the homophony of the Persian words for ‘wild onager’ and ‘grave’, which are both designated as *gūr*. Accordingly, it may well be possible that the second hemistich of the last line of Faḍlallāh’s poem plays on this double meaning of *gūr*. Thereby, it ostentatiously refers to the successful princely hunt, while portentously hinting at the subsequent death by plague and war of many of the most influential figures at *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s court.

3.2.2.5 Establishing the Court: The Functional Groups of *Sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s *Yaylāq*

The following description of the multiple groups of functional elites involved in this courtly performance at the *yaylāq* of Ūjān paradigmatically inscribes the Aqqyunlu court of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb into the topography of the most prestigious *lieux de mémoire* of Islamicate and Persianate intellectual and cultural history. I retain the original syntax of Faḍlallāh to give an impression of the elaborateness of this passage of rhymed prose (*saj‘*). To somewhat ease the navigation through this wall of elaborate prose, I put in bold the rhetorical anacoluthon and the verb governing the multiple groups of subjects, both of

74 I do not uphold the conjectures about these verses suggested in my earlier translation in *Der Islam* (Leube 2018, 481).

which stand near the end of this passage, while also indicating the various paratactically aligned groups with (a), (b), etc.

Around this high palace, (a) the excellent princes, each of whom was a sun on the firmament of good fortune and a Jamshīd on the throne of splendor, (b) the notable commanders, each of whom appeared to belong to the time of Iskandar and the story of Rustam, (c) the scholars of high worth, whose views concerning the truths of tradition were equivalent to the reasoning of al-Shāfiʿī and Nuʿmān [Abū Ḥanīfa] and whose thoughts concerning the details of reason were on par with al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, (d) the safety-radiating ministers, who in the quiver of their governance held a hundred arrows that would have tired the firmament, while the writing-reed of their composition brought the pen of abrogation to the account-book of Mercury, (e) the scientists and doctors, for whom the *Law of Cures* was inserted among their salutary advice, while the intricacies of illnesses found healing from the *Compendium* of their interpretation, (f) the excellence-spreading secretaries, alongside whose learning the miracles of Badīʿ Hamadānī were ignorant fables and the wonderful contrivances of Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābiʿ were a toy for boys, (g) the poets of elegant speech, whose highly resplendent character brought the water of the shining garden to the praise of the *khāqān*, while the splendour of their Khusraw-like first verses erased the name of the sun of the blueish sphere from the page of the days, (h) the pleasant-voiced singers, whose voice would have made the sound of Bārbad bad every time, while in the tune of their harmony Venus would not have had the power of pleasant sound, (i) the heart-pleasing musicians, who from the harmony of their strings, I ask God's forgiveness!, brought forth pleasant thoughts, while the sound of the harp of Venus (but I add insult to injury!) was in the psalter of their play, **in this way, the various groups of people had pitched different types of tents, canopies, and umbrellas**, according to their differing ranks and indicating their various positions, harvesting the fruit of happiness from the sown field of hopes and security.⁷⁵

Before beginning the commentary on the elaborate rhetorical and deeply cultured presentation of these nine groups that are named at the court of *sultān* Yaʿqūb during his performative *yaylāq* at the palace of Ūjān, some thoughts on the structural features of this passage are in order. The first structural feature of this paradigmatic representation of courtly authority lies in the opposition

75 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 385–386, ed. ʿAshīq, 365–366.

of the one ruler with the multiple individuals mentioned in each of the functional groups presented by Faḍlallāh. This opposition is arguably continued on a topographical level in the opposition of the one palace (*qaṣr*) of Ūjān with the multiple tents, canopies, and umbrellas (*khargāh wa-kandulān wa-khayma wa-sāyabān*) pitched around the palace.⁷⁶ This topographical opposition also extends to the opposition of the stable and (at least on condition of its adequate maintenance) perennial construction of the palace from brick and stone to the transient erection of tents that are pitched around it due to the prior foundation of the stable topographical landmark of the palace of Ūjān. The secondary agency of the tents that blossom due to the prior agency invested in the palace also mirrors the secondary agency of the court's enjoyment of peace and security that is equally dependent on the ruler's ascent to the pinnacle of the palace of Ūjān described in the preceding passage. This concept of a secondary agency of the courtly groups that is contingent upon the primary agency of the ruler / God is taken up again in the image of the courtly groups' orderly harvest of 'the fruit of happiness from the sown field of hopes and security' in the concluding lines of this passage. Keeping in mind the fractal structure of courtly configurations suggested above, we can accordingly reconstruct a sequence of God / the cosmos = the ruler / the court and the sun / the celestial bodies = the palace / the tents, in which divine and cosmic attributes and structures are mirrored by the courtly configuration of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān.

The second structural feature of this passage concerns the stability of the hierarchies between the various groups of courtiers. While certainly secondary to the fundamental and stable hierarchy between the ruler / center and the court / periphery, Faḍlallāh does *prima facie* suggest some hierarchical concept as underlying his deployment of the various courtly groups. This hierarchization operates both implicitly through the order of their description and explicitly by his well-polished Arabic interjection that they pitched their tents 'according to their differing ranks and indicating their various positions' (*'alā khtilāfi darajātihim / wa-tabāyuni ṭabaqātihim*). Due to Faḍlallāh's *stretto* (*Engführung*) of hierarchy and topography as reflected simultaneously in the administrative configuration of *sultān* Ya'qūb's court and the topographic configuration of their pitching of tents, we can however deduce some qualifications to the clear-cut ordinal hierarchy of (a) > (b) > (c) etc. of the different functional groups at *sultān* Ya'qūb's courtly *yaylāq*.

76 Tents of courtly functionaries erected during the courtly *yaylāq* near Tabrīz (*tabrīz yāylāghunda*) are also mentioned in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 31.

The first consequence of this interlacing of courtly hierarchy and topography at Ūjān lies in the significance of Faḍlallāh's omissions. It is clear that numerous functional groups vital to the success of the performance of *sultān* Ya'qūb's courtly *yaylāq* are not mentioned by Faḍlallāh (see below). A possibly even more significant omission lies in the depiction of the various groups as essentially homogenous and embodied in the persons of their respective representatives. Due to the importance of well-established hierarchies within any configuration of governance and administration, this deployment of *commanders*, *ministers*, *secretaries* etc. as internally homogenous notwithstanding the hierarchical internal distinction of the various personnel employed in each of these groups strongly suggests that Faḍlallāh's main concern in this paradigmatic representation of courtly performance lay not in hierarchy, but in function. If we draw on the topographical manifestation of this courtly organigram, we accordingly find a configuration of different tents standing for different functionally differentiated groups involved in courtly performance, that are pitched around the person of the ruler and the palace of Ūjān.

At the same time, the sequential alignment of the different groups toward *sultān* Ya'qūb and the palace in their center does not preclude permeabilities between the groups.⁷⁷ As the example of Faḍlallāh himself shows, a single individual could easily qualify for inclusion among various functional groups by, for instance, combining functions in the chancellery (f) with the courtly practice of poetry (g). Accordingly, the learned contextualizations of each of the groups offered by Faḍlallāh reflect the ideal practice of the group's function without necessarily calling for an exclusive occupation of the individuals included in this group with this function alone.

According to the seminal tradition represented by Mottahedeh⁷⁸ and Paul⁷⁹ among others, a special focus on *access* and *proximity* to the ruler rather than on *hierarchy* structures the pragmatics and rhetoric of Persianate and Islamicate administration and courtly culture. If we keep this focus on access and proximity in mind, it appears likely that the spatial configuration of the tents and their associated functional groups was not in fact in the form of concentric circles establishing a clear-cut ordinal hierarchy, as possibly suggested by the ordinal succession of the different groups in Faḍlallāh's description. Due to constructional and topographical difficulties, I argue that the most likely spatial configuration envisaged by Faḍlallāh would not have been in clearly

77 See Markiewicz 2019, 43–46, on the aspiration of Aqquyunlu secretaries 'to develop their talents in the widest array of fields applicable to administration.' (Markiewicz 2019, 43).

78 Mottahedeh 2001.

79 Paul 1991, particularly 63–88, and Paul 1996, particularly 1–16 and 147–179.

demarcated concentric circles of tents. Rather, we should envision a deployment of different tents and functional groups as individual clusters arranged around the palace and *sultān* Ya'qūb in the center. Therefore, it is unlikely that the proximity of the various tents to the center did indeed precisely indicate their relative position in the courtly hierarchy. Instead, the internal hierarchies of the various functional groups would arguably have been spatially represented by privileged access and proximity to the ruler granted to the predominant actors within each of the groups. Accordingly, the 'tent' of poets would be pitched somewhere around the palace without being clearly super- or subordinated to the 'tents' of the various other functional groups. In addition, the preeminence of some poets would be manifest in their privileged access to the center / the person of *sultān* Ya'qūb in the palace of Ūjān and the correspondingly greater chance of attention and patronage.

In this model, a privileged formal access to the ruler as the center of the court translates to greater visibility both in courtly performance and in the representation of Faḍlallāh's courtly historiography. The more visible a particular functional group or member of a functional group is in the court's performative representation in historiography and other genres and mediums, the better their access to the ruler / center and the better their chances for substantial patronage. Faḍlallāh displays his exceptional mastery of the multiple discourses of Islamic and Islamicate-Persianate learning during his presentation of the functional groups by comparing them to historical precedents. The visibility of a particular functional group in Faḍlallāh's historiographical representation accordingly appears to be structured by the visibility of this group in the established scholarly and courtly discourses of Arabic-Islamic-Persianate learning. Thereby, a group such as the singers, who are compared among others to the singer Bārbad of the paradigmatic Sasanian king Khusraw II Parwīz, is qualified for its prominent inclusion among the functional groups described by Faḍlallāh precisely due to its established inclusion in earlier descriptions of paradigmatic courts. The omission of further groups that also doubtlessly contributed to the performance of *sultān* Ya'qūb's *yaylāq* in Faḍlallāh's description, such as cooks, carriers, or groups comprising female individuals,⁸⁰ accordingly reflects their comparatively lesser visibility in the established discourses of Arabic-Islamic-Persianate learning and cultural history.⁸¹ This translates to

80 The possibility that Venus or *zuhara* mentioned among the singers (h) may constitute an allusion to a female singer of this name is briefly discussed below.

81 Cf. the testimony of Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 130–134, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 541–544, describing the presence of various kinds of men and women during a courtly *yaylāq* of *uzun* Ḥasan conducted near Sulṭāniyya in 1474 CE.

an even greater importance of female and other less visible functional groups wherever they are depicted in the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts.

But let us now turn to the framing of the various functional groups by means of which Faḍlallāh sketches their paradigmatic and idealized functions. As stated above, I argue that the idealizing depiction of a particular group's function by Faḍlallāh does not preclude an engagement of individual members of this group with the functions presented for a different group. This permeability of different groups is shown by the first two groups of the princes (a) and commanders (b). Faḍlallāh presents the princes (*shāhzadihā*) statically as possessing the eminence of the sun. In Dawwānī's account of the Aqquyunlu parade near the ruins of his eponymous palace of Takht-i Jamshīd, they are compared to the mythical Persian king Jamshīd and likened to the sun.⁸² By contrast, Faḍlallāh compares the commanders (*umarā'*) to the Persianate heroes Iskandar and Rustam. That the function of Iskandar and Rustam as paradigmatic generals was not incompatible with princely descent is shown by the practice of naming Qara- and Aqquyunlu princes Iskandar or Rustam.⁸³

The scholars (*ulamā'*, c) are functionally characterized by Faḍlallāh in a bipartite framework. Within the science of Islamic tradition, the eminent jurists and founders of the two main *sunni* schools of law represented within the Aqquyunlu domain, al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān, are hyperbolically presented as equals of the scholars taking part in *sultān* Ya'qūb's performative *yaylāq* around the palace of Ūjān. Both al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfa gained fame mainly in the field of the Islamic sciences. By contrast, the scholars at *sultān* Ya'qūb's court are presented by Faḍlallāh as simultaneously on par with two of the most influential natural philosophers and logicians of pre-modern Islamicate culture, namely Ibn Sīnā / Avicenna, who is again deployed as a paragon of medical aptitude during Faḍlallāh's presentation of the scientists and doctors in (e), and al-Fārābī.

The presentation of the ministers (*wuzarā'*, d) underlines their resourcefulness and influence without explicitly making any direct comparisons. Instead, the ministers are hyperbolically depicted as holding power on a cosmic scale, as the scope of their plans transcends the limits of heaven, and their decrees even abrogate fate itself as manifest in the motion of the celestial bodies. While the belief in a preordained fate and fortune that is made comprehensible through astrology is discussed below during the analysis of the significance

82 Dawwānī *Arḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 286, ed. Afshār, 41–43, cf. Leube 2018.

83 For numismatically attested 'Turkmen' rulers who claimed sovereign rule by minting coins in their own name, see Album 2011, 269 and 272.

of religious affiliation in the representational iconography of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, for now it is sufficient to note that the ministers are characterized by their aptitude instead of by means of a hyperbolic comparison with the paradigmatic ministers of Islamicate cultural history.

During his presentation of the scientists and doctors (*ḥukamā' wa-aṭibbā'*, e) and the following groups (f–h) Faḍlallāh showcases his masterful command of the entirety of the scope of established discourses of learning. His reference to Abū Ḥanīfa as 'Nu'mān' during his presentation of the scholars in (c) had also been motivated by the rhyme of this passage of *saj'* or rhymed prose (*ra'y-ishān* / *Nu'mān* / *fikrishān* / *ham-inān*) and accordingly does not necessarily represent a deliberate riddle. By contrast, the framing of the scientists and doctors (e) draws on an abiding double meaning that results from subtle allusions to the titles of the most famous medical compendia of Faḍlallāh's time. While it is possible that further allusions to less-known titles could be found, the phrase that can be translated and literally understood as *Law of Cures* (*qānūn-i shifā'*) combines the titles of Ibn Sīnā / Avicenna's *Law of Medicine* (*kitāb al-qānūn fī l-ṭibb*)⁸⁴ with the word Cure (*shifā'*) that appears in the titles of several medical texts.⁸⁵ In the second part of this passage, the *Compendium* (*mūjiz*) ('of their interpretation') alludes to the famous epitome of Ibn Sīnā's *Law of Medicine* by Ibn al-Nafīs known as the *kitāb mūjiz al-qānūn*.⁸⁶

The phenomenal talent of the following group comprised of the secretaries (f) is underlined by Faḍlallāh by hyperbolically ranking them far above some of the best-known masters of elaborate Arabic style. In this case, Faḍlallāh alludes to the names of the authors rather than to the titles of their works, as in the preceding group. Thus, his phrase *the miracles of Badī' Hamadānī* (*badā'i' i badī' i hamadānī*) plays with the name of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī / al-Hamadānī, whose sobriquet can be translated as *the miraculous of his time*. In an even more refined fashion, Faḍlallāh plays on the affiliation of the famous poet and scholar Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābi'⁸⁷ to the so-called Sabians of Ḥarrān with his phrase *toy for boys* (*mal'aba-yi ṣibyān*), as *ṣibyān* and *ṣābi'* could arguably be grouped under the same root according to the conventions of Arabic 'national' grammar. In addition to displaying

84 Ullmann 1970, 152–154.

85 It is not clear to which of these texts that feature *shifā'* as a main part of their titles Faḍlallāh refers here. Ullmann 1970 mentions the following candidates: The *shifā' al-asqām* of Philagrios (79), the *kitāb shifā' al-asqām wa-dawā' al-ālām* of al-Āyidīnī (180), the *kitāb shifā' al-ālām fī ṭibb ahl al-islām* of al-Surramarrī (187), and the *kitāb shifā' al-ajsām* of al-Kirmānī (188).

86 Ullmann 1970, 173.

87 For his identification see al-Qifṭī *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'*, 75, and Ibn al-Nadīm *al-Fihrist*, 167.

his personal mastery of elegant allusions and the canon of Arabic stylists, Faḍlallāh's choice of these two individuals as opposed to possible references to stylists connected to areas outside the Aqqyunlu domain may also have been influenced by the inclusion of both Hamadhān / Hamadān and Ḥarrān in the Aqqyunlu realms, possibly inferring some sort of abiding stylistic excellence for the areas under *sultān* Ya'qūb's rule.

After thus demonstrating his masterful command of the learned discourses of medicine and stylistics as conducted in Arabic, Faḍlallāh showcases his mastery of the intertextual networks⁸⁸ of Persian poetry in his subsequent presentation of the poets (*shu'arā'*, g). In this way, the phrase *highly resplendent character* (*ṭab'ī anwarī-yi*) alludes to the *takhalluṣ* (pen-name) of the famous poet Awḥad ad-Dīn Anwarī,⁸⁹ as the *water of the shining garden* (*āb-i ḥadīqa-yi sinā'ī*) refers to the *takhalluṣ* of the equally well-known poet al-Sinā'ī.⁹⁰ In the phrase translated as *praise of the khāqān* (*madā'ih-i khāqānī*), the word *khāqānī*, literally *of the khāqān* or *khāqānish* is almost as contrived in Persian as in my translation, as it represents a deliberate allusion to the *takhalluṣ* of the famous poet Afdal al-Dīn Khāqānī.⁹¹ The following *their Khusraw-like first verses* (*maṭālī'ī khusrawīshān*) references the poet *amīr* Khusraw Dihlawī,⁹² while the *blueish sphere* (*charkh-i azraqī*) concludes this who-is-who of well-established but not too current pre-Aqqyunlu Persian poets with a reference to the *takhalluṣ* of the famous poet Azraqī.⁹³ The omission of the names of the 'first tier' of pre-Aqqyunlu Persian poets that are most frequently referenced at the Aqqyunlu court, such as Firdawsī, Nizāmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Sa'dī, in this passage could be explained by metrical considerations. In light of Faḍlallāh's stylistic brilliance, I nonetheless argue that their inclusion would certainly have been feasible should Faḍlallāh have attempted it. Accordingly, it seems that Faḍlallāh chose to showcase his command over Persian poetry by referencing somewhat lesser known (if still undoubtedly canonical) poets.

The presentation of the singers (*gūyandahā*, h) concludes this sequence of different courtly groups that are embedded in multiple traditions of learning and culture by Faḍlallāh's presentation. In the above discussion of the poets

88 The intertextuality inherent in Persian poetical discourses is frequently remarked upon by contemporary authors such as Dawlatshāh. One of the most comprehensive reconstructions of intertextuality as informing the shape and afterlife of 15th-century CE Persian poetry at the Aqqyunlu court is given by Losensky 1998.

89 See for him Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 83–86.

90 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 95–99.

91 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 78–83.

92 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 238–247.

93 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 72–73.

(g), I argued that Faḍlallāh refrained from referring to the *takhalluṣ* of poets like Firdawsī and Niẓāmī precisely due to their notoriety in Aqquyunlu court culture. This hypothesis is given additional substance by Faḍlallāh's allusion to the name Bārbad borne by the singer of the proverbial Sasanian ruler Khusraw II Parwīz in his hyperbolic praise, according to which the singers *would have made the sound of Bārbad bad every time* (*nawā-yi bārbad har bār bad namūdī*). Although Bārbad is mentioned in numerous Arabic and Persian sources dealing with the *locus classicus* of the ideal court of Khusraw II Parwīz,⁹⁴ the most pertinent reference to Faḍlallāh's audience would likely have been the Persian epic tradition as represented by Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* and Niẓāmī's *Khusraw wa-Shīrīn*. Accordingly, both poets are by means of this somewhat contrived allusion to Bārbad indirectly included in the cosmos of courtly learning and elegance deployed by Faḍlallāh. The following reference to the planet Venus in the assertion that *Venus would not have had the power of pleasant sound* (*zuhara-rā zahra-yi ham-āwāzī nabūdī*), *zuhara* or *Venus* may also, possibly in the alternative readings of *zahra*, flower, or *zuhra*, splendor, have been the name of a proverbial, possibly female, singer. Nonetheless, I have so far not been able to find any reference to a singer of this name.

The concluding description of the musicians (*nawāzandahā*, i) in turn plays not on paradigmatic precedents but instead establishes the creativity and power of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's musicians contributing to the performative *yaylāq* at Ūjān by hyperbolically likening them to God. Thus, Faḍlallāh's Arabic interjection *I ask God's forgiveness!* (*astaghfiru llāh*) serves to frame the author as a pious spectator who, while aware of the impossibility of any other creation than by God Himself, is compelled to attributing the power of *bringing forth pleasant thoughts* to the musicians by his veracity. The following reference to the sound of the harp of the planet Venus (*nāhīd*) refers to the Music of the Spheres that supposedly underlies the motion of the celestial bodies. Thereby, the musicians of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb are again presented in their play as rivalling God as the creator of the system of the heavenly spheres. Faḍlallāh again includes an Arabic interjection to express his awareness of how seriously he transgresses, which has been translated as (*but I add insult to injury!*). Literally, this interjection translates as *to add melody to the lute* and constitutes an Arabic proverb designating a sequence of evils. While the lute (*ṭunbūr*) makes this proverb particularly suited for its deployment within a description of musicians, Faḍlallāh once more underscores his rhetorical brilliance as well as the erudition of his audience by only quoting the first part of the proverb, *to add to the lute* (*zāda fī l-ṭunbūr, scilicet naghmatan*), confidently assuming that

94 See for instance Mustawfī *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 123, and Yāqūt *Mu'jam* 5/6, 122–123.

anybody reading or hearing this description of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's ideal courtly *ṡaylāq* would as a matter of course be well-schooled in Arabic proverbs.

The power of this *tour de force* sketch of some of the functional groups involved in *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's *ṡaylāq* at Ūjān lies in the breadth of traditions and discourses to which Faḍlallāh alludes by means of *double entendres* and hyperbole. While it may be prudent not to overstate arguments turning on the sequence of the various functional groups, as stated above, it may well be significant that Faḍlallāh chose to include explicit comparisons between *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's court and the divine court of God in his presentation of the last group or musicians (i). In this passage Faḍlallāh also playfully preempts allegations of exaggeration by inscribing himself into this courtly topography as a God-fearing and veracious observer, deploying the linguistic code-switching from Persian to Arabic as a marker for authorial comment, while arguably also drawing his audience into the courtly scene by leaving it to us to supplement the missing part of the Arabic proverb.

3.2.2.6 Situating the Court within the Islamic World

The state made haste from every side / Fortune was awake while temptation slept.

Apart from the crowd of dispersed idols / Temptation only dwelt in Turkish eyes.

The affairs of the realm and state had reached such a degree of consolidation that from the bord of the river Euphrates and the borderlands of Anatolia and Syria to the coast of the Sea of Oman and the islands of India, and from the Gate of Gates of Shirwān⁹⁵ almost until pleasant Medina, best of blessings and praise be to its inhabitant!, which equals the length and width of the well-protected domains, no trace of disobedience and no sign whatsoever of an opponent remained. The regional and provincial rulers guarded the treaty of consent and had erased the customs of opposition (*mulūk-i aṭrāf wa-nawāhī 'aqd-i muwāfaqat-rā ḥāmī wa-ruqūm-i mukhālafat-ra māhī būdand*).

The *sulṭān* of Egypt, the Dome of Islam, who is the father of *sulṭāns* and *shaykh* of rulers, had sent a legate to confirm the treaty, continuing the regular exchange of envoys. The high-renowned ruler and *shaykh* of the land of Anatolia, who is characterized by the splendor of his might

95 I arbitrarily vocalize this toponym and its derivatives according to the Persian standard reading, *pace* the opinion of Arabic geographers and grammarians who read it as *sharwān*. Cf. Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, 5/6, 137.

and whose judgements are enforced as his instructions are obeyed, as the sound of his power sends forth a thousand pains and afflictions from the throne of Istanbul (*qusṭanṭiniyya*) to the lands of the unbelieving Europeans (*ifranj*),⁹⁶ had sent a most welcome envoy to this environs. He had written the numerics of unity on the page of love. The ruler of Khurāsān, whose power and might frighten the heart of the enemies, had come to the station of love, unity, agreement, and docility and had entered by the door of public supplication to dispatch embassies. The king of India had set envoys in motion to the world-sheltering throne and sent presents and good wishes to the foot of the high throne. These confused the mind by their quality and obscured the gaze by their miracles, among them a throne made from rattan (*khayzurān*) that was crowned with a canopy of the most artful and pleasing technique.

The king of Bandar ‘Abbās (*jarūn*) and the coastal regions restated his servitude (*bandagī*) and added handsome good wishes to the stipulated tribute (*kharāj*). Muḥsin Musha‘sha‘, the grandee (*‘aẓīm*) of Ahwāz, Baṣra, and the islands sent supplications and plentiful good wishes. The governor (*ḥākīm*) of Gīlān and Daylam had made himself honored by offering prayers and services and had raised the flag of the rule of his servants (*rāyat-i ḥukūmat-i bandagān-i khud*) in the provinces of Māzandarān. In general, there remained no king on the whole face of the earth that did not read the verses of docility (*āyāt-i inqiyād*), the word of unity, or the letter of love from the page of its circumstances.

Indeed, the end of the eminence of the kingdom and the fulfillment of divine blessing became one. Thus, at this time, when the palace of Ūjān became the resting-place of the moon of prosperity and the pinnacle of the sun of splendour, offerings of rulers and good wishes of the regions had been assembled, as they were presented at the occasion of the courtly session (*nuzūl*) at this palace.⁹⁷

The poem at the beginning of this passage links the preceding presentation of the different courtly groups to the following motif of amiable external relations. The first line contains two of the most influential terms of Arabic-Islamic political thought, namely *dawlat*, translated as *the state*, and *fitna*, translated

96 I normalize the various and arguably non-standard readings of the manuscripts (*afranj*, *franj*, as well as other possible vocalizations) established by the editors in Faḡlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 387, ed. ‘Ashīq, 366, according to the standardized Arabic form of this designation to Europeans or ‘Franks’.

97 Faḡlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 386–388, ed. ‘Ashīq, 366–367.

as *temptation*. While *dawlat* or, in its original Arabic form, *dawla*, literally designates a *turning*, it had been deployed as the emblematic term describing the succession of dynasties since the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution around 750 CE.⁹⁸ Within the propaganda of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, *dawla* was functionalized to convey the notion that the earlier dynastic rule of the Umayyads was due to be overcome by the hegemony of the 'Abbāsīds. After the overthrow of the Umayyads and the establishment of the 'Abbāsīds, *dawla* signified the continued support of divinely ordained fate for the ruling dynasty, opening the path to its modern Arabic meaning of *state*. Within Faḍlallāh's classical learning, it accordingly combines the notions of sovereign Islamic rule within a succession of various dynasties with a note of foreboding that no dynasty will last for ever.

Fitna as the pivotal term deployed in the second hemistich transcended its literal meaning of *temptation* in the reception history of the traumatic civil wars or *fitan* of early Islamic history.⁹⁹ By highlighting the horror of inner-Islamic strife, it was seen as a by-product of unjust rule, such as the rule of some of the Umayyad caliphs during the early Islamic *fitnas*, that could signal the advent of a new *dawla* of stable dynastic rule by another lineage. Within the political rhetoric of the 15th-century CE, *fitna* is often described as 'sleeping', thereby conveying an explicitly political sense to *bakht*, *fortune*, that here accordingly denotes the felicity that derives from stable and just rulership.

Who is intended by the *crowd of dispersed idols* in the second verse is not entirely clear. If this poem should indeed have been written by Faḍlallāh in its present form after the rise of Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, this term could conceivably be related to the dispersal of the Ṣafawid followers after the death of *shaykh* Ḥaydar described earlier in Faḍlallāh's history.¹⁰⁰ In this case, the term would refer to the subsequent reassembly of the Ṣafawid followers under Ismā'īl Ṣafawī. The second hemistich takes up the literal meaning of *fitna* in its reference to the proverbial beauty of Turkish slaves that made the term *turk* into a synonym of a beautiful beloved.

The following geographical overview assembles a meaningful topography of polities bordering the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms that can best be understood within a galactic model of ongoing negotiations of super- and subordination. The abiding influence of the term of *well-protected domains* or *mamālik-i maḥrūsa*, which Faḍlallāh deploys to describe the entirety of the regions under

98 See Sharon 1983 for the deployment of *dawla* as a pivotal concept in the ideological structure of the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

99 For this context, see the pioneering studies of Rotter 1982 and van Ess 2001.

100 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 261–307, ed. 'Ashīq, 255–297.

sultān Ya'qūb's rule that participated in the performance of the courtly *yaylāq* at Ūjān, is demonstrated by its currency in Ottoman rhetoric until the beginning of the 20th-century.¹⁰¹ The concluding wordplay on *māḥī* and *ḥāmī*, *to guard* and *to erase*, describing the stance of other rulers toward *sultān* Ya'qūb, demonstrates Faḍlallāh's rhetorical skill and somewhat overshadows his derogatory framing of external rulers as *mulūk-i aṭrāf wa-nawāḥī* or *regional and provincial rulers*.¹⁰²

The ordering of the non-Aqqyunlu rulers reflects an implicit hierarchy in the external relations of *sultān* Ya'qūb's court. The preeminence of the *sultān* of Egypt is underscored by the qualification of his realms centered around Egypt as the *qubbat al-islām* or *Dome of Islam*. His personal qualification as *abū l-salāṭīn wa-shaykh al-mulūk* or *father of sultāns and shaykh of rulers* draws on a terminology of genealogical descent to describe amiable interpersonal relations between political realms as impersonated in their rulers. The use of Arabic for all three of these epithets should arguably reflect the greater prestige of the Mamlūk ruler, rather than the high standard of Arabic-Islamic learning in the realms under his rule. The prestigious position of the Mamlūk *sultān* over Egypt is also reflected in the abiding importance of the Mamlūk realms as a safe exile for Qara- and Aqqyunlu pretenders in times of crisis,¹⁰³ which notwithstanding occasional conflict indicates a remarkable stability of the mutual zones of influence between the comparatively stable Mamlūk domains and their northern neighbors.

101 See for instance the eponymous work by Deringil 1999.

102 Cf. the occurrence of the same wordplay of *māḥī* and *ḥāmī* in the foundation inscription of the Buq'a-yi *shakḥ* Abū Mas'ūd in Iṣfahān in the name of *sultān* Ya'qūb, inscription 895 Iṣfahān a, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 357, and Rafī' Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807.

103 See for instance the exile of *qara* Yūsuf and his son *pīr* Būdāq Qaraqyunlu together with *sultān* Aḥmad Jalāyir, which predates the beginning of the period under close analysis, in the Mamlūk realms (Qazwīnī *Lubb*, 347–348), the support of the Mamlūks for *qara* 'Uthmān against *qara* Yūsuf (al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 5, 120), the exile of *uzun* Ḥasan's father and uncle in Aleppo (al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 50–51), the exile of *uzun* Ḥasan's brothers Jahāngīr and Ḥusayn *bīk* Aqqyunlu with the Mamlūk *sultān* al-Ashraf [Barsbāy] (Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakriyya*, 140), and the meeting between Abīwardī and the Aqqyunlu prince Ḥusayn b. *ughurlu* Muḥammad in Cairo (Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 16v–18r; ed. Afshār, 28–30, see also the short biography of Ḥusayn b. *ughurlu* Muḥammad given by al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 3, 140). The Mamlūk realms are also suggested as a possible destination for exiles for the widow of *sultān* Khalīl after her inopportune marriage with Ḥusayn *chel-eḥī*, the brother of *qāḍī* 'Isā, in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 94–95, where an itinerary from Tabriz via Van, Hasankeyf, Urfa, and the crossing of the Euphrates at Birecik (*bire qal'ası*) on the way to Aleppo is suggested.

Within the geographical framing of the sphere under *sultān* Ya'qūb's direct control, Faḍlallāh already somewhat marginalized the Ottoman *sultāns* in the preceding paragraph by using the term *thughūr* or *borderlands* for the Anatolian and Syrian borders of the Aqquyunlu. This term had been particularly influential under the 'Abbāsīd dynasty in the 2nd- and 3rd-centuries / 8th- and 9th-centuries CE to designate a zone of permanent warfare with Byzantine powerbrokers outside the scope of Islamic rule.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, the Ottoman realms are portrayed as marginal and possibly outside the core lands of the Islamic world by Faḍlallāh's use of this term.

Faḍlallāh follows up on this subtle marginalization by portraying the Ottoman ruler as the *high-renowned ruler and shaykh of Anatolia*, whose power is represented in purely regional terms by the terror he casts into the hearts of the Europeans. Significantly, Faḍlallāh does not give the Ottoman ruler the title of *sultān*, which implies some sort of Islamic legitimation, but rather frames him as a ruler or king, *malik*. A similar strategy of rhetorical marginalization is deployed toward the Timurid ruler Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, who is also described as a *malik* rather than a *sultān*. The wordplay on the name of his realms in Khurāsān with *dil-i a'dā hirāsān ast*, *frighten the heart of his enemies*, arguably represents another polemical jibe, as *hirāsān* literally means *frightening, dreadful* and therefore does not constitute a sympathetic association with the name of the geographical region of Khurāsān. This rhetorical marginalization of the Ottoman and Timurid neighbors of *sultān* Ya'qūb's realm can be seen to reflect political tensions between them and the Aqquyunlu realm in their midst. Nonetheless, both Ottoman and Timurid domains continued to function as safe exiles for 'Turkmen' pretenders in a similar fashion as the Mamlūk realms discussed above.¹⁰⁵

104 For a concise overview of this area, see the chapter on the *Syrian borderlands* or *al-thughūr al-shāmiyya* in al-Balādhurī *Futūḥ*, 203–211, as well as the lemma *al-thaghr* in Yāqūt *Mu'jam*, 3/4, 12–13. The mobilization of Muslim warriors from within the Islamic domain to defend the frontiers of Islam at the *thughūr* is discussed by Meier 1981, the Central Asian part of the interpersonal networks aimed at mobilizing volunteers to guard the *thughūr* is analyzed by Paul 1996, 103–117.

105 The Ottoman realm is mentioned as a safe haven for *uzun* Ḥasans' father and brother 'Alī and Uways Aqquyunlu (Ṭihirānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 140, cf. 'Ashiqpāshāzāda *Tārīkh*, 247–248), subsequent Ottoman support for *ughurlu* Muḥammad and his son Aḥmad *bīk* was influential in the bids for power advanced by both pretenders, see for instance Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 526, and 'Ashiqpāshāzāda *Tārīkh*, 245 and 248–249. As edited by Fekete 1977, 223–224, and corroborated by the facsimile on *Tafel* 83, this son gave his name as Maḥmūd on a missive to his maternal grandfather, the Ottoman ruler Muḥammad *fātiḥ*.

After having in this fashion gone through the other three of Abīwardī's 'four thrones' of the Islamicate-Persianate world, Faḍlallāh finds more favorable terms to describe the ruler of India. The historiographic sources produced at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts are rather brief in describing relations with the (Muslim) rulers of India. By contrast, some evidence of the importance of (mostly sea-borne) trade between India and the 'Turkmen' realms, Fārs in particular, is contained in the Russian travelogue of Afanassij Nikitin,¹⁰⁶ in the reports of the Venetian ambassador Barbaro to the Aqquyunlu,¹⁰⁷ and in the literary network of dedications and correspondence between 'Turkmen' and Indian scholars,¹⁰⁸ as well as possibly in the numismatic evidence of Aqquyunlu countermarks on Ottoman coins from the Southern Iranian regions of Fārs.¹⁰⁹ In Faḍlallāh's presentation, the Indian king is given the Persian title of *pād-shāh*, *king*, and his presents are favorably mentioned. A possible hierarchical subordination of the Indian ruler under *sultān* Ya'qūb may also be implied by the aggrandizing designation of the Aqquyunlu court as the *world-sheltering* and *high throne*, to whose foot the presents are delivered, as such terms are absent from the description of the Mamluk, Ottoman, and Timurid relations.

The relations between the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts and the rulers of Bandar 'Abbās / Jarūn and the regions bordering the Persian gulf are also

Timurid support to Qara- and Aqquyunlu exiles is by contrast mainly mentioned before the timeframe under closer analysis, see for instance the decisive support of Shāhrukh granted to Jahānshāh, Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 498.

A closer analysis of the factual state of relations between *sultān* Ya'qūb and the Mamlūks, Ottomans and Timurids is offered by Woods 1999, 136–137.

106 His itinerary from Shirwān to India is contained in Afanassij Nikitin *Hoždenie*, 11, his return is described on page 50. See also the route from Tabrīz to the Indian Ocean as described in van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 342.

107 See Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 120–124 and 147–148, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 533–536 and 554–556.

108 Cf. the dedication of Dawwānī's commentary on al-Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-Nūr* to the Indian Persianate scholar and *wazīr* Maḥmūd Gāwān, Dawwānī *Sharḥ*, 52–53, as well as the discussion by the editor of Dawwānī *Rasā'il*, 43, but cf. the reference to a double dedication to Maḥmūd Gāwān and 'one of the rulers of Iran' in Shushtari *Majālis*, 2, 226. See also the famous letter of Maḥmūd Gāwān *Riyād*, 172–173, inviting Dawwānī to come to India.

This linkage between scholars within the 'Turkmen' realms with scholarly elites in India is also paralleled in the networks connecting the Syriac Christians from India to members of the Church of the East inside the 'Turkmen' realms. See the reference to a delegation from India visiting patriarch Shem'ōn in Cizre, Murre-van den Berg 1999, 240–241, and Carlson 2018, 30.

109 See the very brief discussion of this topic by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 88.

treated rather briefly in the extant Qara- and Aqqyunlu historiography.¹¹⁰ A curious colophon records the completion of an autograph copy of Dawwānī's commentary on al-Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-Nūr* and refers to a convent, *zāwiya*, that was endowed by Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu on the island of Hurmuz.¹¹¹ Nonetheless, no traces of Qara- or Aqqyunlu architectural patronage remain. Hurmuz and the other towns of the region also do not appear to have minted coins in the name of Qara- or Aqqyunlu rulers. Indeed, the existence of variant readings of the toponym in the colophon as *Tabrīz* suggest that there may in fact never have been a foundation of Jahānshāh on the island of Hurmuz.¹¹² Nonetheless, the subordination of the ruler of this region is clearly implied by Faḍlallāh's claim that he 'restated his servitude' (*bandagī*) in addition to paying a stipulated tribute (*kharāj*) to his Aqqyunlu overlord.¹¹³

The career of the Musha'sha' rulers in southern Iraq and Khuzistān is somewhat more accessible due to their treatment in the Baghdādī chronicle of al-Ghiyāth¹¹⁴ and the Aqqyunlu, Timurid, and Mamlūk historiographers. Their relation to *sultān* Ya'qūb is described as somewhat of a grovelling

110 See the treatment of an abortive attack on Hurmuz during the rule of *sultān* Ya'qūb ca. 890 / 1485 CE in Woods 1999, 134 and 270, as well as the contributions of Aubin 1953, Aubin 1969, Aubin 1971, Wuthūqī 1380 / 2001, Wuthūqī 2010, and the balanced synthesis by Gaube 2013, 397–410.

111 This colophon is quoted in Dawwānī's biography as presented in al-Ziriklī *A'lām*, 6, 32–33. Due to the interest of this unique testimony given by al-Ziriklī in the first person, I give a full translation of the text as quoted by al-Ziriklī. '[Dawwānī's commentary on al-Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-Nūr*]: I [al-Ziriklī] obtained a copy of this text written by the *shaykh* and *muftī* of the Egyptian lands Muḥammad 'Abduh [!], that ends as follows: "[W]ritten by the hand of its author after the evening prayer [...] in the year 872 in the abode of the monotheists (*dār al-muwahhidīn*) Hurmuz in the blessed convent (*zāwiya*) named al-Muẓaffariyya, may God thank the effort of its builder the late *sultān* Ibn [read: Abū] al-Muẓaffar Jahānshāh and raise his rank in the heighest heavens (*fi l-'illiyīn*). He went forth to the Diyār Bakr in the beginning of this year, where his enemies fell upon him, so he was killed on the 13th of the month Rabī' al-Awwal of the named year."

This colophon is absent from text of Dawwānī's commentary on the *Hayākil al-Nūr* as edited by Muḥammad 'Abdalḥaqq and Muḥammad Kawkan (Dawwānī *Sharḥ*).

112 Ökten 2014, 377, has the colophon refer to the Muẓaffariyya complex in Tabrīz, which is discussed below. This reading is also given by Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 652–653. In fact, it may even be tempting to think about a scribal error in the transmission of Dawwānī's colophon translated above of the name of the town from the very common and rhyming honorary epithet of the town of Qazwīn as *dār al-muwahhidīn qazwīn* to *hurmuz*. Due to the similar shape of the names of both towns when written in Arabic letters (هرمز / قزوین), this transformation may well be possible. Nonetheless, no other indication of a foundation of Jahānshāh in Qazwīn remains.

113 See also the letter congratulating Jahānshāh on his conquest of Bandar 'Abbās / Jarūn in Maḥmūd Gāwān *Ri'yāḍ*, 205–207.

114 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, passim.

subordination by Faḍlallāh in their sending of supplications, *taḍarruʿ*. The ruler of the Caspian regions of Gīlān, Daylamistān, and Māzandarān attended Yaʿqūb's *yaylāq* in person, reflecting both the close relations between him and the Aqquyunlu ruler¹¹⁵ and the relative proximity of Ūjān to his realms.

The pivotal concept within Faḍlallāh's depiction of ideal external relations surrounding the Aqquyunlu court that underlays the relations with external rulers is unity, *ittiḥād*. As Faḍlallāh argues, this unity transcends the ongoing multipolar negotiation of super- and subordination. Within the structure of Faḍlallāh's history, this ideal of amiable unity is contrasted with the splintering, *tashaʿub*, of the Islamic realms, which is emblematically captured in the following Arabic poem quoted in the introduction:

And they splintered into pieces and every island / Had its own caliph on his pulpit.¹¹⁶

This splintering into pieces (*tashaʿabū shuʿaban*) is semantically related to the polemic factionalist ethnicism of the so-called *shuʿūbiyya* in the ʿAbbāsid period. Faḍlallāh was also likely aware of the quotation of this verse in Mustawfi's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*,¹¹⁷ as he included this book in his list of exemplary historiographical works.¹¹⁸ Like Faḍlallāh, Mustawfi attributes this poem to an anonymous poet, *shāʿir*, possibly mistrusting the inclusion of the verse in a poem by the somewhat obscure poet al-Musāwir b. Hind¹¹⁹ in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām.¹²⁰ Faḍlallāh quotes this verse in his introductory praise of the Aqquyunlu general Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan. By contrast, Mustawfi followed the lead of the *Tārīkh* of al-Yaʿqūbī¹²¹ in using the verse to illustrate the

115 See Woods 1999, 134–136, on the in fact much more complicated relations between *sultān* Yaʿqūb and the rulers of the Caspian coast, as well as the military demonstration against Gīlān in 892 / 1487 CE described by Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 238–242, ed. ʿAshīq, 235–239. For the context, see Marʿashī *Tārīkh*, 459–470. Attempts by Qaraqayunlu rulers at integrating the Caspian provinces within their realm are described in Marʿashī *Tārīkh*, 276, 278, and 315.

116 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 61, ed. ʿAshīq, 59.

117 Mustawfi *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 269.

118 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 87–88, ed. ʿAshīq, 84.

119 See his mention in al-Iṣfahānī *Aghānī* 10, 366.

120 Abū Tammām *Ḥamāsa* 1, 252.

121 al-Yaʿqūbī *Tārīkh*, 2, 184. It should be noted, however, that al-Yaʿqūbī only quotes a truncated version of the poem and substitutes the metrically equivalent term tribe, *qabīla*, for island, *jazīra*, while attributing the phrase to al-Musāwir b. Hind. Al-Yaʿqūbī's brilliant image of the four flags of the four rivalling caliphs meeting on the plain of ʿArafāt during the Islamic rites of the pilgrimage is also not taken up by Mustawfi.

utter fragmentation and splintering of the Islamic domain during the second Islamic civil war, immediately prior to the accession of the Umayyad restoration of unified rule over the Islamic realms under ‘Abdalmalik b. Marwān. In this context, the unfortunate state of utter fragmentation is overcome by the decisive political action of the able Umayyad caliph ‘Abdalmalik, aided by capable generals such as al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. Due to their military and political success, ‘Abdalmalik was then able to carry out his ambitious program of iconographical and administrative reform that encompassed, among others, a reform of the administration, the introduction of an aniconic coinage, and a program of architectural patronage continued by his successors. The appropriation of this verse by Faḍlallāh to describe the desolate state of Islamic affairs before the fortunate agency of Sulaymān bīk b. Bīzhan and *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb Aqquyunlu accordingly casts the Aqquyunlu ruler *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb, or rather his son Bāysunghur, in a marked parallele to ‘Abdalmalik b. Marwān, while possibly framing Sulaymān bīk b. Bīzhan as something of a *Wiedergänger* of ‘Abdalmalik’s general al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

Sulṭān Ya‘qūb certainly did not annihilate his external rivals militarily and comparisons of his rule to that of ‘Abdalmalik do in hindsight appear rather hyperbolic. Nonetheless, the *unity* of the Islamic rulers performed around *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb during his 1490 *yaylāq* at Ūjān according to Faḍlallāh’s account echoes the unification and consolidation of the Islamic realms under the able and in so many ways pathbreaking rulership of ‘Abdalmalik. This ideal unity of the Islamic rulers is summed up by Faḍlallāh in the statement concluding the passage translated above that ‘the end of the eminence of the kingdom and the fulfillment of divine blessing became one’.

3.2.2.7 Establishing Internal Networks through Gifts to the Ruler

On the second day that this resplendent palace had become the envy of the turquoise-colored heavenly pinnacle of the sky due to the arrival of the king of Saturn’s height and Bahrām’s magnificence, the people (*mar-dumān*) were allowed to offer good wishes. Firstly, the abundant present of prince ‘Alī, the son of *sulṭān* Khalīl, who was entrusted with the renovation of the high-built palace and held the rank of the leadership of the chancellery (*dāwān*), found the honor of being received. He presented a huge sum of money, no, a famous treasure, and numerous good wishes, as well as uncountable stores (*asbāb*), namely camels adorned with saddles and different kinds of horse-cloths, whose quality fulfilled the command of ‘And you shall have an adornment in them [cattle], when you bring them back to the resting-place in the evening and when you send

them out on the pasture in the morning' (Qur'ān 16, 6). [He also presented] Arabic horses that were clad in armour and mules carrying costly burdens, who were formed according to the command of 'And [God created] horses, mules, and donkeys, so you may ride and as an adornment.' (Qur'ān 16, 8). Furthermore, he presented an exalted present and great amounts of money in numerous cloths and huge numbers of servants (*ghilmān*). The grace of the highest excellency decided to accept some of them and bestowed the remainder back to its owner.

After this offering of the present of the prince, the good wishes of the commanders of the army (*umarā-yi tawāchī*),¹²² who had recently been admitted to this high rank, came forward. The greatest, superb, and most noble commander Nizām al-Dawla wa-l-Dīn Qulī *bīk*, who exhibited a singular command of knowledge and learning, and the most noble and renowned commander Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan'alī *bīk*, who is singular in his time on the path of bravery and courage and who had during these times arrived at the leadership of the chancellery of the army (*imārat-i dīwān-i tawāchī*) from the foot of the rank of royal secretaries (*parwānchī*), brought forth worthy presents and proper rarities to the honor of being presented. On this day, the splendor of divinely appointed government (*zaynat-i jahānbānī*) and the bravery of the kings of the Kāyanid dynasty reached their completion, so that the fear of ruin and the apprehension of being struck by the eye of perfection butted their heads.

Verses:

By this majesty, kingdom and wealth / We feared the strike of the eye of perfection.

The perfection of nobleness marks its decline / Anything perfect is near its decline.

A deserving scholar spoke thus: / What is called perfect is destined to perish.¹²³

Faḍlallāh's claim that 'the end of the eminence of the kingdom and the fulfillment of divine blessing became one' that concluded the preceding passage is carried through in his description of how Aqquyunlu courtiers were admitted to *sultān* Ya'qūb on the second day of his performative *yaylāq* around the palace of Ūjān. This leitmotif is first taken up in the description of *sultān* Ya'qūb as 'the king of Saturn's height and Bahrām's magnificence', in which the height

122 See Minorsky 1939b, 163, for this term in the context of the Aqquyunlu review in Fārs, cf. Doerfer 1963–1975, 1, 260–264.

123 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 388–389, ed. 'Ashīq, 367–368.

of the planet Saturn references the divinely ordained fate as mirrored in the celestial bodies. The name of the Sasanian ruler Bahrām Gūr ties this passage to the description of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s arrival at the palace translated above and references the splendor of the pre-Islamic Persian kings as the epitome of worldly rulership.

This leitmotif is then taken up again in the last sentence before the concluding poem in the claim that ‘the splendor of divinely appointed government (*zaynat-i jahānbānī*) and the bravery of the kings of the Kāyanid dynasty reached their completion’. In this context, the kings of the pre-Islamic Persian dynasty of the Kāyanids reference the glories of pre-Islamic Persian royal tradition as recorded in Persianate historiography and epic tradition. In addition, this term may possibly also allude to the descent of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s wife and mother of his son Bāysunghur from the so-called Shirwānshāhs, who claimed direct genealogical descent from the pre-Islamic Persian dynasty of the Sasanians.¹²⁴ The divine support for *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s ideal rule is here clad in the phrase *zaynat-i jahānbānī*, which, while rendered somewhat freely as ‘the splendor of divinely appointed government’ in the above translation in fact directly references the splendor of God as the builder of the world (*jahānbānī*). Arguably, God as the Creator is therefore credited with establishing the splendor of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s ideal *ṣaylāq* and court, who rightfully form the culmination of creation. This leitmotif of a joint deployment of the iconographical repertoires of divine support according to Islamic theology and Persianate traditions of kingly rulership extends beyond Faḍlallāh’s description of this *ṣaylāq* and arguably underlies much of the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu. As such, it is discussed in greater detail below.

Subsequently, Faḍlallāh presents a near-ideal account of how networks of loyalty and patronage were established by the performative offering and exchange of sumptuous gifts.¹²⁵ In this manner, the great wealth and influence of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s nephew and possible rival contender to the Aqquyunlu throne ‘Alī *bīk* b. Khalīl is established as a pillar of the well-protected domains by his performative offer to transfer huge sums of economic capital to *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb. By merely accepting some of it and returning the rest to its owner, *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb in turn both appreciates the offer of his nephew and bestows on him the means to continue his economic and political career within the Aqquyunlu state. This fractal structure of the galactic courtly sphere is also represented in the incidental mention of ‘a chest of presents and rarities arriving

124 See Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 374.

125 For an anthropological theory of the exchange of gifts, see the seminal works collected in Mauss 1983, cf. for Mamlūk practices of exchanging gifts Behrens-Abouseif 2014.

from the region of Shīrāz' (*shīrāz tarafindan bir şandūq-i tuḥaf wa-tafārīq gelir*), which was offered to *dede* 'Umar Rawshanī and Ibrāhīm Gulshanī by *sultān* Ya'qūb's influential minister *qāḍī* 'Īsā Sāwajī according to the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*.¹²⁶ Accordingly, the offering of gifts and presents served to establish networks of loyalty and patronage among the courtiers attending the courtly *majlis* of *sultān* Ya'qūb in the same manner as these courtiers in turn performatively offered presents to the ruler at the center of the court.

The presents offered by 'Alī *bīk* b. Khalīl include large numbers of camels, horses, and mules, as well as money and stores. Interestingly, Faḍlallāh pre-empted possible criticism of the pastoral and rural background of this part of the gift, that might be expected from members of the urban scholarly elites living on religious endowments (*awqāf*) of land and buildings, by densely interweaving the description of the animals offered by the Aqquyunlu prince with Qur'ānic verses. This manner of underlining the righteousness and firm foundation of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly customs by demonstrating their close accordance to some of the most influential contexts of Islamic cultural memory also forms an abiding motif in the representational iconography deployed at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, which is discussed in more detail below.

The concluding verses return to the motif of presaging future doom. In a virtuoso mixture of Arabic and Persian hemistiches,¹²⁷ Faḍlallāh stresses the evanescence of worldly glory. Intertextually, Faḍlallāh references the famous *qaṣīda* mourning the Būyid ruler Rukn al-Dawla composed by the poet al-Khwārizmī¹²⁸ by deploying two of the emblematic hemistiches of this *qaṣīda* as the second hemistiches of his lines 2 and 3. This redeployment is made possible by the differently structured rhymes of al-Khwārizmī and Faḍlallāh. As a true *qaṣīda*, al-Khwārizmī's hemistiches feature the rhyme structure A / A // B / A // C / A etc. in the meter *mutaqārib*. Faḍlallāh's (much shorter) poem retains al-Khwārizmī's meter but is structured according to the *mathnawī* structure of A / A // B / B // C / C. As the verses taken up by Faḍlallāh do not stand at the very beginning of al-Khwārizmī's *qaṣīda*, their endings do not rhyme (*naqṣuhū* / *tamma*). Accordingly, Faḍlallāh rhymes *naqṣuhū* with *naqṣuhū* and *tamm(a)* with *raqam*.

In al-Khwārizmī's *qaṣīda*, Rukn al-Dawla is presented as the ideal of a cultured and well-mannered ruler.¹²⁹ This sentiment is echoed by another of the

¹²⁶ Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 103.

¹²⁷ Of the six hemistiches, 1.1 and 3.1 are in Persian, while 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, and 3.2 are composed in Arabic.

¹²⁸ al-Khwārizmī *Dīwān*, 397–398.

¹²⁹ See the preface by the editor Ḥāmid Sidqī to al-Khwārizmī *Dīwān*, 37–38, on the close relation between al-Khwārizmī and Rukn al-Dawla.

historiographical works presented as exemplary in Faḍlallāh's introduction,¹³⁰ the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr.¹³¹ Following up on his earlier implicit comparison between *sultān* Ya'qūb and 'Abdalmalik regarding the establishment of amiable unity within the Islamic world, Faḍlallāh accordingly intertextually likens the Aqquyunlu ruler's court to the Būyid court of one of the epitomes of a ruler steeped in Arabic-Islamic learning. By quoting verses mourning the fragility and evanescence of earthly glory in his intertextual reference to the Būyids, Faḍlallāh inscribes the scholarly and cultural splendor of the Aqquyunlu court of *sultān* Ya'qūb into the continuous succession of courts flourishing under dynastic *dawlas* that were destined to fade with the end of their dynastic patrons. This inscription of the court into the succession of earlier dynastic performances forms a third leitmotif of Qara- and Aqquyunlu representational culture that goes beyond Faḍlallāh's account of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* of 1490 CE performed at the palace of Ūjān.¹³²

3.2.3 *A Functional Overview of Activities at the Yaylāq*

Building on this extensive discussion of Faḍlallāh's elaborate description of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* centered on the rebuilt palace of Ūjān in 895 / 1490 CE, I now briefly review some of the functionalized performances that are described at Qara- and Aqquyunlu *yaylāqs*. In this overview of performative courtly activities in the *yaylāq*, I complement the narrative sources speaking from a privileged position emic to the courtly sphere of the Persianate world with the pertinent evidence from other sources, notably external descriptions and contemporary material culture.

As stated above, I argue that the *yaylāq* represents a complete manifestation of the configuration of courtly representation under Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule. Accordingly, possible differences between the functionalized performances described by contemporary sources at the *yaylāq* and in the urban contexts of courtly representation that are discussed in the following chapter do not necessarily imply a factual difference between the activities that were conducted in both locales. Due to the defective nature of our sources and blind spots in the established emic and etic discourses describing the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, we can only discuss what is narrated to us.¹³³ Accordingly,

130 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 89, ed. 'Ashīq, 85.

131 Ibn al-Athīr *al-Kāmil*, 7, 364–365.

132 Cf. my work on the Aqquyunlu epigraphy at Takht-i Jamshīd, Leube 2018, and Leube 2021.

133 For the rootedness of this methodological stance in pre-modern Islamic scholarly discourses, see al-Ṭabarī *Tārīkh*, 1, 11.

this chapter aims for a plausible reconstruction by reading the various sources and circumstances into each other to establish a suggestion of what the world of the ‘Turkmen’ courts may have looked like.

Notwithstanding this stability of the configurations of courtly representation in its two ideal manifestations, the difference between the economic and political resources in an urban and a non-urban context cannot be ignored. Accordingly, I adopt a pragmatic distinction between courtly performances that are attested both in the non-urban context of the *yaylāq* and within towns under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule as opposed to aspects of courtly representation that appear to be specific to either one of these manifestations of the ideal configuration of the court. To this end, I begin with a brief overview of the performative activities of the court that are attested both in the *yaylāq* and *qishlāq*. Subsequently, I turn to the activities and circumstances specific to non-urban settings due to the greater personal mobility and livestock-based manifestation of economic capital outside of urban contexts.

3.2.3.1 Courtly Performances Not Specific to the *Yaylāq* and Non-Urban Contexts

In the above translation and discussion of Faḍlallāh’s and Abīwardī’s accounts, we have already come across several performative courtly activities that are not specific to the *yaylāq* alone. While Faḍlallāh may have taken some liberties in glossing over the prior arrival of delegations within his narrative of *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s performance of an ideal *yaylāq* at the palace of Ūjān in 895 / 1490 CE,¹³⁴ political embassies were doubtlessly received and dispatched from courtly *yaylāqs*. The courtly reception of scholars and courtiers is also attested in the *yaylāq*, for instance in Faḍlallāh’s own account of his arrival at the Aqqyunlu court of *sultān* Ya‘qūb during a *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand in 892 / 1487 CE.¹³⁵ In his account, he gives his motivation for coming to the courtly *yaylāq* as driven by his wish to render the pledge of allegiance, *bay‘at*, and serve the rightful *imām*, to whom he intended to dedicate his commentary on the well-known allegoric story by Ibn Ṭufayl of Ḥayy b. Yaqzān. After being courteously received and having read a portion of this work, Faḍlallāh claims to have been showered with favors and asked to compose a history of the reign

134 Cf. Faḍlallāh’s careful phrasing that *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s Mamlūk, Ottoman, and Timurid neighbors ‘had sent’ envoys during his account of the ideal *yaylāq* in 1490.

135 But cf. Minorsky’s critical discussion of the date in his Annex v to his abridged translation: Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 105, in Minorsky’s abridged translation.

of *sultān* Ya'qūb, thereby being included in his court.¹³⁶ We have also already seen that a *maḥmal* signalling the ruler's protection extended to the pilgrims embarking on the Islamic pilgrimage to the sacred sites in the Ḥijāz could be dispatched from a non-urban setting.

As Faḍlallāh's elaborate panorama translated above demonstrates, *yaylāqs* could also form suitable environments for the maintenance of interpersonal networks of loyalty and leadership by means of the exchange of gifts and honors. Similarly, courtly festivities could also be celebrated in the *yaylāq*, such as the two great Islamic feasts of the *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and the *ʿīd al-fiṭr*¹³⁷ or the festivities of the circumcision of royal princes.¹³⁸ The extent of sumptuous courtly patronage as manifest in a huge feast is neatly summed up in the following two verses used by Ṭihrānī to describe the banquet given by *uzun* Ḥasan during his ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān in 876 / 1471 CE.

By the smoke of the various dishes / Birds were roasted in flight,
Until the air became an ocean and these birds / All became waterfowl in
the water.¹³⁹

The repairs to the Īlkhānid palace of Ūjān that were overseen by 'Alī *bīk* b. Khalīl demonstrate that the non-urban setting of the *yaylāq* could also be a suitable focus for architectural patronage. Epigraphic patronage of Aqquyunlu courts inscribed into non-urban settings during the passage from *yaylāq* to *qishlāq* (see below) is attested among the ruins of the so-called Tachara within the Achaemenid palace of Takht-i Jamshīd.¹⁴⁰ Finally, the minting of coins in the mobile camp (*urdū*) of the *yaylāq*, as attested by the mint-name of Urdū,¹⁴¹ is confirmed in Aqquyunlu countermarks.¹⁴² In addition, an undated coin with

¹³⁶ Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 71–75, ed. 'Ashīq, 69–72.

¹³⁷ See for instance Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 557.

¹³⁸ See for instance Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 244–245.

¹³⁹ Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 562.

¹⁴⁰ See Dawwānī *Arḍ* for a contemporary account of the inscription of the calligraphies by the Aqquyunlu courtly *majlis*, as well as Minorsky 1939b, Muṣṭafawī 1343 / 1964, Sāmī 1348 / 1969, Melikian-Chirvani 1971, Leube 2018, and Leube 2021.

¹⁴¹ For this interpretation of the mint-name, see Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 36. Cf. the parallel Timurid practice of using Urdū as a mint name, Album 1976, 118–119, and Smith 1970, 176.

¹⁴² Hinz 1936, 105, and 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 100 (*uzun* Ḥasan); 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 146 (*sultān* Ya'qūb); Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 79, 91, 108 (Bāysunghur); Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 88 and 90, and 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 209 (*sultān* Rustam). One of the countermarks of *sultān* Rustam, Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 90, and 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 209, is dated to the year 899, the others are undated.

this mint was produced in the name of Jahānshāh,¹⁴³ while another coin in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan is dated to 875 / 1470–1471 CE.¹⁴⁴ As the ability to overcome the technical challenges implied by the minting of coins attests, a courtly *yaylāq* could evidently include highly specialized personnel and facilities.

As in part already implied by this occasional minting of coins and stamping of countermarks in a non-urban environment, the encampment of the courtly *yaylāq* also had the important function of storing money and precious items at the ready disposal of the ruler and his retinue. This function of the ruler's encampment is mainly attested on the occasion of enumerations of booty made during the plundering of such courtly encampments in the *yaylāq*. The most important example where great amounts of wealth were obtained during the plundering of a courtly *yaylāq* of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is probably the spoils taken by the army of *uzun* Ḥasan during the successful attack on the encampment of Jahānshāh in the *yaylāq* in the plain of Muş to the West of Lake Van in 872 / 1467 CE. These are described as including innumerable amounts of money, as well as of stores and animals.¹⁴⁵ Notwithstanding the (likely somewhat hyperbolic) testimony of the Aqquyunlu court historiographer Ṭihrānī, however, the factual amount of the non-livestock-based amount of capital in Jahānshāh's courtly *yaylāq* must have been limited and intended to cover current expenses as some sort of ready capital at the disposal of the ruler. This is strongly suggested by the subsequent importance of the main treasure of the defunct Jahānshāh, which was stored in the strong fortress of Alinjaq / Əlincə and played a significant role in the power struggles between his relatives and *uzun* Ḥasan.

Besides minted money and the animals that are discussed below, the courtly *yaylāq* also served to store capital at the disposal of the ruler in the form of valuables that could be easily transported and kept. As common in pre-modern Islamicate societies,¹⁴⁶ the most important form of non-monetarized capital that was employed in the representation of authority was textiles, both in the form of cloth and as finished garments. Incidental evidence of the exchange of textiles as gifts in the courtly *yaylāq* during the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks of loyalty and patronage comes from the inclusion of 'some cloths of silk' in the list of presents which one of the sons of

143 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 53.

144 See Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 51; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 92, and zeno.ru #251158. It would be tempting to situate this coin in the context of *uzun* Ḥasan's military interventions in Khurāsān in 875 / 1470–1471 CE, cf. Woods 1999, 113.

145 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 430, as well as the Armenian colophon of 1472 CE translated in Sanjian 1969, 303–307.

146 See Stillmann 2000.

uzun Ḥasan offered to his father when he joined him during Barbaro's stay at the court.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, it appears likely that this storage of non-monetarized capital at the disposal at the courtly *yaylāq* was limited to the objects needed for the regular performative acts of the court. This is suggested by the comparatively easier storage of goods in urban settings and the much more extensive accounts of the treasures employed in the performance of courtly representation in urban contexts (see below).

In contrast to this greater importance of urban and settled environments for the storage of monetarized capital and non-monetarized inanimate valuables, which is also reflected in the minting of the great majority of Qara- and Aqqyunlu coins in urban mints, the dominant form of capital that was transmitted by donation or plunder in the *yaylāq* is animals. In addition to the gift of horses, mules, and camels by 'Alī *bik* b. Khalīl to *sultān* Ya'qūb in the *yaylāq* at Ūjān translated above, the gift of horses and camels given to *uzun* Ḥasan by his son and the retinue of his son (*i baroni de ditto figliol*)¹⁴⁸ should be mentioned in this context. This storage and exchange of capital to maintain and negotiate networks of loyalty and patronage has already been mentioned as one of the 'regular' courtly performances at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. Nonetheless, the livestock-based form in which this capital was predominantly embodied in the *yaylāq* appears to have been particular to the courtly *yaylāq* and is accordingly treated in the next part of this discussion of activities specific to the *yaylāq*.

147 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 130, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 541.

See also the reference to the use of 'golden and silver vessels and Chinese porcellain' (*zurūf-i zarīn wa-sīmūn wa-ālāt-i chīn*) during *uzun* Ḥasan's ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān in 876 / 1471 CE (*Ṭīhrānī Dīyārbakrīyya*, 562), and the 'golden and silver bowls and ewers' placed before Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan during his review in Fārs in 1476 CE (*Dawwānī 'Arḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifāt, 291, ed. Afshār, 47). *Dawwānī*'s report does not explicitly state that these had indeed been carried with the court from the courtly *yaylāq* near Mingbulāq or Tang-i Bulāq (see *Dawwānī 'Arḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifāt, 284, ed. Afshār, 40) to the scene of the review in the plain of the Band-i Mīr near Takht-i Jamshīd. Accordingly, these costly bowls and ewers could also have come from urban contexts, probably in Shīrāz, together with the civil personnel participating in the review. We also have an indication of golden and silver vessels among the spoils taken from *uzun* Ḥasan's camp after his defeat by the Ottomans; see Angiolello *Vita*, 384.

148 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 130–131, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 541. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazioni e Viaggi*.

3.2.3.2 Courtly Performances Specific to the *Yaylāq* and Non-Urban Contexts

Turning to those aspects and activities in the performance of courtly authority under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule that appear to have been specific to the *yaylāq*, we first need to differentiate our interest in the iconography employed in this representation from the mode(s) of production that were established in the non-urban contexts of the *yaylāq*. As they continue to be practiced until contemporary times in the mountain ranges of the Near and Middle East, the seasonal migrations of pastoralists with their flocks form one of the classical cases of what is commonly designated ‘nomadic pastoralism’.¹⁴⁹ This mode of production operates through the dispersal of herds and herders across the *yaylāq* or rich pasture on the higher altitudes of the mountain ranges in summer. Subsequently, this is followed by the migration to the *qishlāq* or winter quarter, which is typically located in an environment that is more sheltered from the seasonal cold and where the density of agriculturalist and pastoral population becomes much higher. Accordingly, this mode of production of nomadic pastoralism is characterized by a great degree of mobility, both in the *yaylāq* and during the seasonal migrations. In the summer, it is characterized by the dispersal of the grazing flocks and their herders in the *yaylāq*.

In contrast to earlier views that tended to underline the mutual exclusiveness and clear-cut separation between nomadic pastoralism and other modes of production, notably agriculture, current scholarship convincingly argues for a great degree of permeability of modes of production and the mutual interdependency of farmers and pastoralists in the Near and Middle East.¹⁵⁰ Accordingly, the argument for a social separateness of farmers and pastoralists, frequently even clad in terms of ethnic and linguistic opposition, should be rephrased to allow for a greater degree of permeability between different modes of production. This greater permeability enabled individuals and lineages to engage in and negotiate different modes of production and their respective languages and discourses.

At the same time, we need to differentiate between the courtly *yaylāq* as a performative manifestation of the ideal configuration of courtly authority and the *yaylāq* as the emblematic locale of a mode of production of seasonally migrating pastoralists. It is very clear from the contemporary accounts that the

149 Cf. de Planhol 1975, as well as the theoretical discussion of a ‘modes of production approach’ to Iranian economic history by Foran 1988.

150 See for instance Morony 1984 and Sneath 2007. A differing view on nomadism in the Near East was suggested by de Planhol 1975, particularly 253–264.

courtly *yaylāq* by no means entailed a dispersal into small groups herding their respective flocks.¹⁵¹ Here as elsewhere, the court formed the focus of a greatly refined ceremonial and apparatus of representation. The few examples where the *yaylāq* in the non-courtly, dispersed and pastoralist mode is mentioned in the sources¹⁵² accordingly form a marked exception from the general use of the term to describe the courtly configuration in non-urban contexts. The emic sources produced at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts in particular focus almost exclusively on the courtly *yaylāq*.

Notwithstanding this important distinction between the *yaylāq* as a pastoralist mode of production and the representative configuration of the courtly *yaylāq*, the comparatively lesser density of population and greater mobility that came as a by-product of the *yaylāq* as a mode of production were drawn upon in the representation of the court in the *yaylāq*. Thereby, the *yaylāq* as a mode of production enabled the performative courtly activities of the hunt and the general review as a possible precursor to military expeditions. We have already noted the courtly hunt of *sultān* Ya'qūb in the *yaylāq* of Mount Sahand, as it was alluded to in Faḍlallāh's account translated above in an explicit parallel between *sultān* Ya'qūb and the famous pre-Islamic royal Persianate hunter Bahrām Gūr. That the locales for Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly *yaylāqs* were consciously chosen according to their suitability for this type of performative hunting is explicitly indicated by Ṭihrānī:

[The Qaraqyunlu ruler Iskandar *mīrzā* and his retinue] went to the *yaylāq* of Minkūl / Bingöl,¹⁵³ which is a great hunting ground between the domains of the Aqquyunlu and the Qaraqyunlu. Because no cultivation (*ma'mūra*) is practised in these parts, there is a great hunt of mountain-cows (*gāw-i kūhī*), wild donkeys, and deer, as well as of different predators in this *yaylāq*. Iskandar *mīrzā* held a great hunt in this place.¹⁵⁴

151 See Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 198–199, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 601–602.

152 E.g. the testimony of Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 192, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 595, and Ṭihrānī *Diṣyārbakrīyya*, 191, where the dispersal of *uzun* Ḥasan's army in the *yaylāq* is described as a stratagem to shake off his enemies.

153 Of course, the reference here is to the region of *minkūl* / *bingöl*, literally 'thousand lakes', west of Lake Van, rather than to its main urban center known today under this name, as this town was known as Çapakçur until the 20th-century CE.

154 Ṭihrānī *Diṣyārbakrīyya*, 96.

In the context of an attempt to murder *sultān* Ya'qūb in the *yaylāq* of Qizil Āghāch, it is also suggested that the conspirators attempted to induce the ruler to hunt for waterfowl from a boat (*kashtī* or *gemi*).¹⁵⁵ In addition to attesting to the possibility of courtly hunts conducted from boats, this also suggests that individual members of the court could influence the choice of locale for performative hunting.

A geo-political significance of the locations of courtly *yaylāqs* of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers is suggested by Ṭīhrānī's presentation of a *yaylāq* between Erzurum and Pasin, which follows immediately after his description of the good hunting grounds around Minkūl / Bingöl translated above:

A description of some of the wonders (*gharā'ib*) of these lands:

Firstly, there is a mountain saddle in the *yaylāq* between Erzurum and Pasin, which people call Deve Boynu [Turkic *camel saddle*],¹⁵⁶ which is connected to the Alaca Dağ [...] and which is the source and spring of great rivers that flow into three seas. The first is the river Aras, which springs from the eastern side of this mountain, and flows by Avnik,¹⁵⁷ Pasin, and Sürmeli to the Caspian Sea. The second is the river Euphrates. It springs from the western side of this mountain and passes Erzurum, Erzincan, Kemah, [two names are unreadable],¹⁵⁸ 'Āna, Ḥaditha, Ḥilla, and lower Mesopotamia (*jazā'ir*). Then it flows into the Tigris and toward al-Baṣra and the Indian Ocean. From the northern side of this mountain, two rivers spring, one named Tortum and the other Oltu Çayı, that flow into the Çoruh and into the Black Sea. Therefore, people call this mountain the navel of the world.¹⁵⁹

155 See Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 207–208, ed. 'Ashīq, 198–199, as well as the account given of this episode in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 115–169, where the agency of 'Umar bīk Chākirlu, the governor of Mughān, in convincing *sultān* Ya'qūb to embark on this type of hunt is described in greater detail.

156 For this toponym, see Evliya *Şyāḥatnāma*, 2, 220.

157 I follow the identification of the unclear 'K in the text with Avnik suggested by the editors, Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 97.

158 Although it is tempting to speculate whether these names may be misspellings of towns such as Malatya, Birecik or al-Raqqā, I believe the editors wisely leave these toponyms *inter cruces*, as no ready identification appears possible. I do not follow the suggested emendation of the second of these names as Ghallazār, about which the editors express their doubt with a question mark, as a qualification of 'Āna as a *bread-basked* in the phrase *ghallazār-i 'āna* appears to constitute an exception to the pattern of enumerating the toponyms without qualifying adjectives throughout this passage.

159 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 97–98.

Notwithstanding the strategic location of this *yaylāq*, the significance of this mountain as the origin of rivers flowing into different seas is not explicitly linked to the performance of Qara- or Aqquyunlu *yaylāqs* in this place by Ṭihrānī or any other contemporary source. Accordingly, the discourse in which Ṭihrānī participates with this short digression may not after all be one of geo-political eminence of the courtly *yaylāqs* held by his patrons. Instead, this passage may pertain to the literary genre of the description of mirabilia firmly established in Arabic-Islamic geographical traditions, as suggested by his use of the term Arabic *terminus technicus* for such ‘wonders’, *gharā’ib*.

An account that deploys the agency of the ruler as the pivot of the courtly hunt in the *yaylāq* is included in Abīwardī’s poetic description of *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s hunt at Mount Sahand, immediately following his narrative of *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s journey from Tabrīz that has been translated above:

Chapter on the hunt of this one [*sultān* Ya‘qūb] of Sulaymān’s power
Should the king decide to ride out / No wild animal or bird escapes his
arrow,
As he spanned the notches of his bow / Birds alerted the animals of his
arrow,
Whoever could among lions and birds / Flew away when he brought out
his arrow.
Drunk from the cup of the king and commander / Everyone became a
lion-catcher,
Every spring, his hand made the world / A field of tulips by the blood of
the hunt,
On the day of battle, every lad became / More eager than on the day of
banquet.¹⁶⁰
When his falcon rose up / It caught a royal game, a hundred *phoenices* at
once,¹⁶¹
The bird of fate came into its grasp / As its fellow prey, the phoenix of the
state.
Every time his falcon approached a crane / The face of the sky tightened
for it,

160 I emend Afshār’s reading of the last word of the second hemistich as *narm* to *bazm* based on the rhyme with the last word of the first hemistich, *razm*, as the rhyme *bazm* / *razm* constitutes one of the most common rhyming couplets in 15th-century CE Persianate writing. This reading is also allowed by the manuscript, Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 32r.

161 The reading of the manuscript differs slightly from the text as edited by Afshār (*wa-ba-yakdam*, metrically *wa-bikdam*, instead of *ba yakdam* as edited by Afshār), however the meaning is hardly affected. See Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 32r, ed. Afshār, 48.

When a dove fled from it / It sent the clothes of its wing and feathers to
 the ground,
 Until its eye saw the shape of its owner / Throwing it to him from the sky.
 Which flying eagle could find safety / When its king threw it into the sky?
 Anywhere he went hunting that day / I followed like his shadow, riding
 myself.
 One day, the king came from the hunt on Sahand / A new situation had
 come up,
 In his mind the firm proposition: / How much blood of deers have
 I spilled?
 I have hunted so many boars / That now I search for a new target,
 As we do not find it in this steppe / No better boar remains than the
 unbelievers!¹⁶²

Abīwardī's description of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's hunt at the *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand highlights the personal prowess of the royal hunter overcoming birds and animals of prey and hyperbolically frightening lions so much as to literally take wing (line 3). The following verses (lines 4–6) portray the ruler as a facilitator inciting his retinue to brave deeds. These deeds significantly do not result in an image of desolation and killed carcasses, but in an ornament of the meadows that bring forth blood-red tulips. The allusions to the consumption of alcohol (lines 4 and 6) form a recurring *topos* in Persianate courtly discourses notwithstanding their ambivalence from the point of view of Islamic normativity. They are included during the discussion of the significance of (factionalistic) religious affiliation to the iconography of authority at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

In the following verses (lines 7–12), *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's falcon becomes an index of his ruler's power already mentioned in the title of this passage. Its prey is described in four different ways. As the falcon belongs to the ruler, its prey is royal (*ṣayd-i shāh*). Subsequently, the prey is hyperbolically described as a hundred *phoenices* or birds of fable (*humā*) at once (line 7). In the following verse, the falcon's prey is described as the bird of fate (*murgh-i iqbāl*) and the *phoenix* of the state (*humā-yi dawlat*, line 8). Accordingly, *sulṭān* Ya'qūb rules both destiny and the succession of dynastic states alluded to with the word *dawlat* (see above). Thereby, he hyperbolically frees himself and his reign from the endless circle of succession that characterizes the sequence of rightful dynasties described in Arabic-Islamic traditions with the pivotal term of *dawla*. Even the largest birds (*kulang*) cannot escape *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's falcon (line 9) and as an

162 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps., 32r–32v, ed. Afshār, 48.

obedient servant of its owner, the falcon returns its prey to *sulṭān* Ya'qūb (line 10–11). The multilevelled meaning inherent in this elaborate description of the hunting of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb and his falcon is then made explicit in the flying eagle (*naṣr-i ṭāyir*), as this phrase is the common name of the constellation of Aquila in Persian courtly discourses (line 12). Accordingly, the power and prowess of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's rightful rule is referenced through his falcon, who rules among birds as *sulṭān* Ya'qūb rules over fate itself.

In the following verse (line 13), Abīwardī inscribes himself into this image, claiming that he followed the ruler like his shadow during the hunt. In the concluding verses (lines 14–17), the change of subject from hunt to war is brought about exclusively by the resolution of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb. This change comes suddenly (*nāgāh*, line 14) and without any exterior cause, instead the new mode of his state (*tarḥ-i naw-i dawlatash*) is lodged in the solitary figure of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb returning from the hunt on Mount Sahand. Nonetheless, his resolution is firm: He has killed enough deer and wild boars and needs to find a new hunting-ground (lines 15–17). The image of the wild boar (*khūk*) serves as an interface for this shift from hunt to war due to the established *topos* of the pig in the polemical discourses between Muslims and Christians.¹⁶³

The greater mobility granted by the pastoralist mode of production in the *yaylāq* also enables the function of the courtly *yaylāq* as an occasion for the mustering and review of troops made up in part or wholly by nomadic pastoralists spread out over the *yaylāq* with their flocks during the warm season. The greater mobility of pastoralist armies has frequently been remarked upon as a crucial factor in the success of such diverse political bodies as the Mongol or early Islamic empire. Nonetheless, the practical management of this concentration and mobilization of spread out pastoralists is somewhat unclear for the Qara- and Aqquyunlu contexts. Regarding the spread of information among mobile pastoralists, the anthropological studies of Thesiger and others have been quoted as evidence for the rapid and acephalous spread of news among contemporary nomads.¹⁶⁴ In light of the criticism of this confident application of contemporary anthropological observations to historical contexts convincingly voiced by Lecker,¹⁶⁵ it is, however, probably better to refrain from any

163 See for instance the story of the image of a pig (*khinzīr*) hidden by one of the Christian craftsmen working in the great mosque of Medina (Ibn Rusta *al-A'lāq*, 69), or the anecdote of pigs healing the ill in the Christian monastery of Abū Hūr near Siryāqūs in Egypt (al-Shabushṭī *al-Dīyārāt*, 200).

164 Thesiger 1984, *passim*.

165 See Lecker 1989, xii.

too detailed conjectures regarding the exact mode in which such information could have been disseminated.¹⁶⁶

Notwithstanding this uncertainty regarding the information technology by which the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts were able to assemble mobile armies during the season of the *yaylāq*, two points can be made with a reasonable degree of certainty. The first concerns the mode of mobilization, which proceeded along interpersonal networks of loyalty and patronage. These networks may have been formulated in terms of collective bodies or 'tribes', although the notion that a 'tribe' was necessarily formulated around notions of shared descent has convincingly been criticized by Sneath.¹⁶⁷ In any case, this mobilization most likely displayed a fractal structure of loyalty which linked each smaller unit to their 'multiplier', as this multiplier was in turn linked to a multiplier on a higher level. According to this model, we should understand the named courtly figures in the extant sources as multipliers that served to transmit the agency and representation of the court to their own personal networks. Even though evidence of this is scarce, we should accordingly expect something of a parallel to the courtly gifts described in such exuberant fashion by Faḍlallāh and others for the Aqquyunlu court to have been enacted on a smaller level within the interpersonal networks that were in turn focussed on the courtiers of *sultān* Ya'qūb. Regardless of the precise means of how the information was conveyed (likely by some sort of messenger) to the pastoralists spread out over the *yaylāq*, this process of mobilization likely followed the interpersonal networks of loyalty and leadership that were performed on multiple fractal levels of 'courtly' interaction and exchanges. This is suggested for instance by Barbaro's description translated below of how the muster of the Aqquyunlu army of *uzun* Ḥasan near Sultāniyya proceeded by mustering the leaders (*i capi*) by name before checking whether the troops they had mobilized had shown up as expected. This is also suggested by the structure of Dawwānī's report, discussed in greater detail after that of Barbaro, that proceeds from one named notable or multiplier to another.

The second observation that emerges from the limited evidence on Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly reviews in non-urban contexts concerns the season of these reviews. These reviews appear to have taken place in spring or autumn, at the beginning or end of the season of the *yaylāq*. In light of the relative

166 But cf. the report of Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 285, ed. Afshār, 40, according to which an 'august command' (*yarligh-i humāyūn*) was sent out to the commanders (*umarāʾ*) from the court of Khalil ordering them to assemble for the review in the plain of the Band-i Amīr near Takht-i Jamshīd.

167 See Sneath 2007.

regional concentration of individuals engaging in seasonal nomadic pastoralism during the winter-season or *qishlāq* (see below), this scheduling of musters in spring or autumn suggests that the transition from *qishlāq* to *yaylāq* or *vice versa* presented the best opportunity of reviewing collective bodies too large to be sustained in one place for longer periods of time. This suggests that the seasonal nomadic pastoralists mobilized within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu armies were already mobilized during these transitional seasons for the journey to the *yaylāq* or *qishlāq*, without having already spread out too far in the *yaylāq* for effective gathering, or by contrast being ‘demobilized’ in the *qishlāq* to a degree that made trans-regional mobility impossible. This seasonal restriction on the large-scale mobilization of troops had important consequences for the timing of Qara- and Aqquyunlu military expeditions, to which large-scale reviews frequently formed a precursor.

According to its scheduling between the seasons of *yaylāq* and *qishlāq*, the review of troops appears to constitute some sort of liminal phenomenon between *yaylāq* and *qishlāq*. Accordingly, it should perhaps be assigned a special category dedicated to *rites de passage* in this overview of the performative activities of ‘Turkmen’ courts during the long second half of the 15th-century CE. Due to the defective nature of our sources, I nonetheless separate the non-urban reviews discussed here as the last courtly activity in the *yaylāq* from the parades that are mentioned in urban contexts (see below), as this engagement in reviews and parades constitutes virtually the only performative activity that is regularly attested as a *rite de passage* linking *yaylāq* and *qishlāq* for the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts.

Due to the interlacement of the performative courtly *yaylāq* analyzed so far with the seasonal migrations of nomadic pastoralists during the courtly review, these musters are described in markedly differing terms by emic and etic contemporary observers. Accordingly, I begin with a translation of what probably constitutes the most detailed contemporary report of a Qara- or Aqquyunlu muster by an observer who was not schooled in the courtly discourses informing the performance of the review. I then continue with the remarkable emic report of a provincial review in Fārs written by the courtly scholar Dawwānī.

In his account of the muster conducted by *uzun* Ḥasan near Sulṭāniyya in 1474 CE upon the news that his son *ughurlu* Muḥammad had revolted in Shīrāz,¹⁶⁸ Barbaro describes this review as follows:

168 Angiolello *Vita*, 386, dates this occasion to May 1474 CE.

After these festivities, the lord [*uzun Hasan*] decided to go to the *yaylāq* (*alla campagna*) with his people according to their custom and asked me if I wanted to come with him. [...] After he had left the town [Tabriz] with his people, he rode toward where he knew that the best pasture and water (*herbe et aqua*) were to be found, travelling in the beginning around 10 to 15 miles per day. [..., news of *ughurlu* Muḥammad's rebellion arrive at the court.] At this time, the review (*monstra*) of people and animals was performed in the following manner: In a very large plain (*campagna grandissima*), a space of about 30 miles was surrounded by horses so that each touched the head of the other, with the men upon them, some armoured and some not. Thus they stood from the morning until night-fall. One [an official?] was walking around ordering and counting, not by noting the names or the signs of the horses, as one would expect. Instead, he asked who their leaders were, noting their names and whether they were as ordered. Then he went on. I walked around with a servant and counted them with some beans, throwing one into my pouch whenever I had counted to fifty. After the review, I counted them [the beans] and found the following numbers and types, which I quote according to my written notes:

6000 tents, 30.000 camels, 5000 mules of burden, 5000 horses of burden, 2000 donkeys, 20.000 noble horses (*cavalli da conto*), [...],¹⁶⁹ 2000 noble mules, 20.000 herds of small livestock [likely sheep and goats, cf. Arabic *naʿam*], 2000 [herds?] of large livestock, 100 leopards for hunting, 200 tame and wild falcons, 3000 greyhounds, 1000 hunting dogs, 50 goshawks.

15.000 men armed with swords, 2000 servants, cameldrivers, merchants (*bazarioti*)¹⁷⁰ and similar men armed with swords, 1000 armed with bows, around 25.000 horsemen in total. 3000 infantry on foot with swords and bows, 10.000 noble and middle women, 5000 female servants, 6000 children of both sexes under 12 years of age, 5000 children in tents and bowers [?].

Among this number of men and horses, around 1000 are lancers, 5000 carry shields (*targete*), and 10.000 archers. The others use various weapons.

169 Omitted from my translation here is a passage on the fabrication and properties of horse armor.

170 This form is likely due to the Greek transmission of Persian words into the *lingua franca* of the Levante, cf. Persian *bāzārgān* vs. Middle Greek **bazariōtēs*, **mpazariōtēs*.

In the market (*ne li bazari*), the following things are [available] as described with their prices and makers: Firstly artisans making clothing and shoes, smiths, saddle-makers, arrowmakers, and artisans making anything else that is necessary in the field in great numbers. Then there are those who make bread and meat and who sell fruits and wine with the greatest degree of order, all of which is available. There are also some spice-traders (*speciari*).

Bread costs a little more than in Venice, wine about four *ducati* for our *quarta*,¹⁷¹ not because there is none in this country, but because many of them do not drink it (*in bona parte non ne usano*). Meat costs around three or four *marcheti* per pound, cheese three *marcheti*, rice 2,5 *marcheti*, all sorts of fruits 3 *marcheti*, as well as melons, some of which weigh 24 to 30 pounds. Oats for the horses cost about 8 *marcheti* per *prebenda*, horse-shoes for one horse around 30 *marcheti*. There was a great supply of straps, felts [as horse-blankets?], horse-leather, saddles, and other things necessary for horses.

No horses but old nags were for sale, of which one was worth around 8 to 10 *ducati*, as well as those that come from Tartaria (as we have said above) with the horse-sellers in flocks of 4000 to 5000 horses. These are sold for 4, 5 or 6 *ducati* a piece and are used for burden, as they are small. Of the number of camels that is given above, about 8000 have two humps. Their tack is embellished with cowbells, bells, and beads (*pater-nostri*) of various types. According to their rank, they have 10, 20, or 30 of them tied one in front of the other, so that everyone drives his own for the sake of pomp (*per pompa*), without anything put on them. The other camels of one hump carry the pavillions and the property of their owners in chests, bags, and burdens.¹⁷² Similarly, some 2000 of the number of mules given above do not carry anything but are only driven along for the sake of pomp, covered with pretty tack that is embellished in an even better fashion than the tack of the camels. In the same way, around 1000 of the number of horses given above are equipped in this manner. [...]

This is only a part of what I have seen concerning the custom, order, dignity, and pomp to which these people are accustomed when their lord

171 For the equivalent of these Venetian measures see note 278 by Morozzo della Rocca in Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 283–284.

172 See the tantalizing remark in Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakriyya*, 370, according to which grain from Rayy was put on Arabian camels (*shutur-i 'arab*) apparently driven by Arab bedouins (*a'rāb*) for Jahānshāh's campaign against his son *pīr Būdāq* in Baghdād.

is in their camp while they stay in the *yaylāq* (*campagna*). I could, however, say much more.¹⁷³

This etic report testifies to Barbaro's interest in the daily management of military mobilization. Its focus on the extra-courtly aspects of the review is almost ideally complemented by Dawwānī's account of the provincial review for the region of Fārs held by *uzun* Ḥasan's son Khalīl in the plain of the Band-i Mīr adjacent to the Achaemenid ruins of Takht-i Jamshīd in 1476 CE. As is to be expected from an account written in elaborate Persian poetry and prose and dedicated to an Aqquyunlu prince, Dawwānī's report differs from Barbaro's account by a much greater focus on the courtly figures as multipliers in the networks of mobilization and patronage that participated in the performance of this provincial review. Because this account has been discussed in detail in one of the earliest pathbreaking articles engaging with the periods of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule, which also includes an abridged translation,¹⁷⁴ I restrict my full translation to merely one of the pertinent passages of this text. Before translating this passage, I briefly discuss the mobilization and deployment of this review as far as it illustrates the workings of a non-urban review conducted by the Aqquyunlu princely court.

After deciding on holding his review in autumn of 1476 CE, an 'august command' (*yarlīgh-i humāyūn*) is sent out to the commanders (*umarā'*)¹⁷⁵ of the troops to convene in the plain adjacent to Iṣṭakhr, the Band-i Mīr, and the remains of the Achaemenid residence at Takht-i Jamshīd in Fārs. All of these locales form important *lieux de mémoire* in Islamicate cultural memory.¹⁷⁶ The choice of this area is motivated by its location in the center of the victorious flag (*markaz-i rāyat-i nuṣrat-āyāt*),¹⁷⁷ likely the provincial orbit supervised by Khalīl. The recipients of the missive are ordered to come to the sunshine (*āftāb*) of the presence of the ruler like mots of dust (*dharrawār*).¹⁷⁸

The review conducted by Khalīl appears to have constituted an exception to regular 'Turkmen' reviews of the army in its inclusion of the civil personnel of the province. The mobilization of the mainly urban personnel of this 'spiritual

173 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 130–135, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 541–544. The Italian wording quoted above follows Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*.

174 Minorsky 1939b.

175 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 285, ed. Afshār, 40.

176 See Soucek 1975, as well as the discussion in Leube 2021. The 'intermediary' description of Jamshīd / Jamshādh in al-Maqdisī *Bad'*, 3, 140, should be added to the sources discussed there.

177 In this passage, I follow the text as edited by Afshār.

178 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 285, ed. Afshār, 40.

army' (*lashkar-i ma'nawī*), described as consisting of 'the leaders of schools, convents, and the notables, as well as the turban-wearing leaders of the great descendants of Muḥammad [...], the scholars of the signs, the *shaykhs* and leaders of the hearts' (*arbāb-i madāris wa-khawāniq wa-a'āzim wa-arbāb-i 'amāyim-andāz-i sādāt-i 'izām ... wa-'ulamā-yi a'lām ... wa-mashāyikh wa-arbāb-i qulūb*)¹⁷⁹ was overseen by the minister (*ṣadr*) 'Alā' al-Dīn Bayhaqī.¹⁸⁰ It is tempting to speculate on the factual motivation behind the inclusion of the 'spiritual army' of the Aqquyunlu provincial governor in this review. The province of Fārs had only recently been occupied by Aqquyunlu troops headed first by *ughurlu* Muḥammad and then by his brother Khalīl.¹⁸¹ In light of the stability and resilience of the status and networks of non-military urban elites in Southern Iran during this period of frequently changing overlords,¹⁸² it may therefore be possible that this exceptional inclusion of the 'civil' component of Aqquyunlu networks of mobilization and patronage was intended to convey the stability and power of the new rulers to the urban Islamic elites.

In line with this twofold mobilization of the 'military' and the 'spiritual' army, the deployment during the review is jointly overseen by the high military commander Ḥusayn *bīk*, likely Ḥusayn *bīk qūja* Ḥājīlu,¹⁸³ and the aforementioned minister 'Alā' al-Dīn Bayhaqī respectively.¹⁸⁴ As during the courtly performance of Ya'qūb's *yaylāq* at the palace of Ūjān, Khalīl as the princely center of the court is immobile on a terrace (*manẓar*) of the palace of Sar-i Band, built by the Būyid ruler 'Aḍud al-Dawla.¹⁸⁵ He sits on a throne surrounded by his personal retinue and costly vessels of gold and silver.¹⁸⁶ There, he receives the 'spiritual' army as it is introduced by 'Alā' al-Dīn Bayhaqī, giving the appropriate compliments to each group as it comes forward.¹⁸⁷ As most of the individuals identified by name as notables and multipliers within the review of the 'spiritual' army are rooted in urban or settled contexts, the functions of

179 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 285, ed. Afshār, 40.

180 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 285, ed. Afshār, 41.

The minister (*ṣadr*) of *sulṭān* Khalīl during his governorship of Shīrāz, 'Alā' al-Dīn Bayhaqī, should be identified with the military judge (*qāḍī 'askar*) of *sulṭān* Khalīl during the same time, who is referred to as '*mawlānā* 'Alā'ī' in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 35, and as '*qāḍī 'Alā*' in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 41.

181 See Minorsky 1939b, 143–154.

182 See Aubin 1956a and Aubin 1956b, Dunietz 2015, as well as Zakrzewski 2018.

183 See Leube 2021, 285–287, as well as Woods 1999, 196.

184 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 290, ed. Afshār, 46.

185 Cf. Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 289–290, ed. Afshār, 45–46.

186 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 291, ed. Afshār, 47.

187 Dawwānī 'Arḍ, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 291–292, ed. Afshār, 47–48.

these networks are analyzed below during the discussion of the performance of courtly representation in and near towns.

At this juncture, Dawwānī inscribes himself into the scene, using the literary strategem of claiming to have fallen into poetic delusion (*takhayyulāt-i shī'ri*) to advance a hyperbolic comparison of Khalīl supervising this review with God reviewing the dead on the Day of Judgement:

[Due to poetic delusion], I was able to compare the rule of the *sultān* as the 'shadow of God on earth' on this day to the Day of Reckoning. While the *sultān* showed us his personal kindness like the Lord of Lords, may His state be exalted and His beneficence of pure and eternal grace and never-ending kindness be perpetual!, the bridge [of the Band-i Mīr] became in my delusion a likeness of the righteous path (*ṣirāt-i mustaqīm*, Qur'ān 1, 6), that will show the mercy and kindness of Him on the Day of Reckoning. But God is the highest likeness (*mathal*) in the heavens and on earth, may His praise be aloof of any blemish and delusion, as nothing is like Him, He is the all-hearing and all-seeing.¹⁸⁸

On the following day, the 'regular' review of the military army took place. Again, a great number of names of individuals are mentioned who similarly should be understood as leaders and multipliers mobilizing individuals affiliated to their personal networks of loyalty and leadership during the performance of the review.¹⁸⁹ As the much greater length of this passage indicates, this part of the review may have included a larger number of individuals than the preceding day.¹⁹⁰ Alternatively, this greater length of the description may also be motivated by a greater measure of control and supervision from the courtly administration over this part of the networks of mobilization and patronage, as compared to the comparatively autonomous networks of religious and scholarly urban elites supported by Islamic endowments (*awqāf*).

On the third day, the review is concluded by a general *yāsāl*¹⁹¹ formed by both the 'spiritual' and the 'military' army supervised by Khalīl as the provincial ruler of Fārs. Dawwānī's description of this *yāsāl* suggests that this may have been the designation of the huge mustering-circle described by Barbaro.¹⁹² In this

188 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 292, ed. Afshār, 48.

189 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 292–303, ed. Afshār, 48–60.

190 See Minorsky 1939b, 162–169 for a reconstruction of the factual size and structure of this provincial army.

191 For this term, see Doerfer 1963–1975, 4, 82–92.

192 See Minorsky 1939b, 161.

report, however, Khalil himself moves among the attending functional groups and contingents, rather than the anonymous delegate described by Barbaro.¹⁹³

In conclusion, I argue that the courtly *yaylāq* as a full manifestation of the ideal configuration of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu court engaged in the full range of performative activities attested for ‘Turkmen’ courts by emic and etic sources. Notably, this includes the dispatch and reception of delegations, the establishment and performative maintenance of networks of loyalty and patronage, and the storage of costly goods at the disposal of the court for the performance of courtly splendor. In this sense of a manifestation of courtly configurations, the courtly *yaylāq* must be differentiated from the *yaylāq* as the summer pasture within the seasonal migrations of nomadic pastoralists inside and outside the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms.

Nonetheless, the royal hunt in the *yaylāq* emerges as an activity specific to these contexts of courtly representation, which draws on the established traditions of the princely hunt in the Near and Middle East to display the personal courage and leadership of the ruler as the pivot of the court. Within the framework of courtly representation proposed in this chapter, this royal hunt as well as the performative reviews conducted at the beginning and end of the seasonal *yaylāq* emerge as recurring performative activities of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu court. Both draw on the comparatively lesser density of population and greater mobility of nomadic pastoralists during the seasonal migrations between *yaylāq* and *qishlāq*.

3.3 Topoi of Courtly Interaction II: The *Qishlāq* as an Entangled Urban Sphere

The term *qishlāq*, literally *winter quarters*, is used in sources contemporary to the ‘Turkmen’ rulers to describe both the establishment of the court and the sojourn of seasonally mobile nomadic pastoralists in and around towns. Within my investigation of the courtly representation of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule, I propose this term as a consolidated counterpart to the *yaylāq* to describe the courtly *topos* of an ‘entangled urban sphere’ encompassing the town together with its surroundings.¹⁹⁴ In this sense, I understand the courtly *qishlāq* as the second full manifestation of the ideal configuration of the ‘Turkmen’ courts.

193 Dawwānī *ʿArḍ*, ed. Kilisli Rifat, 304–305, ed. Afshār, 61–62.

194 See Wirth 2000 for an authoritative overview of the abundant literature on this entanglement of urban and suburban / rural features in and around towns. For the context of the towns under Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulership, this entanglement is ideally represented in

As in the *yaylāq*, the courtly *qishlāq* where Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule was represented must be differentiated from the winter quarters of seasonally mobile nomadic pastoralists also described using this term in the sources. Parallel to the term *yaylāq*, however, the *qishlāq* of the court and the *qishlāq* of nomadic pastoralists spatially occupy the same entangled urban sphere that goes beyond the limits of the town in its more circumscribed sense. For the courtly *qishlāq*, this entanglement of towns and their surrounding countryside is particularly pronounced in the representational topography of various palaces and religious endowments that were included in the representation of the authority of the court during its manifestation in the *qishlāq*. Thus, palaces and endowments inside and outside the walls of (walled) towns like Diyarbakır, Mardin, Yazd, Qumm, Kāshān, or Işfahān were jointly used in the performance of courtly activities, as is illustrated below.

The *qishlāq* as the quarter of seasonally mobile nomadic pastoralists during the cold season similarly transcends the limits of the town as demarked by defensive walls or the fringes of closely built residential neighborhoods. In this sense, it includes both the cultivated suburban spaces commonly designated as ‘gardens’ within the limits of the towns and the surrounding areas under intensive agricultural cultivation. These enabled the provisioning of the families and flocks of nomadic pastoralists in and around urban agglomerations during the cold season. The economic sphere of the *qishlāq* as an area that was intensively cultivated by sedentary agriculturalists and offered seasonal shelter to nomadic pastoralists is frequently characterized by a great degree of diversity and specialization in modes of production. This is reflected in the coexistence of various and competing interpersonal networks formulated in linguistic, religious, cultural, political, and ethnic terms. As a consequence, the maintenance of stable relations and ‘public order’ emerges as one of the pivotal topics of courtly performance in the ‘Turkmen’ *qishlāq*.

True to this chapter’s focus on the agency of the court, I do not attempt a ‘complete’ reconstruction of the dynamic configurations of social, political, economic, and scholarly networks characteristic for Islamicate towns and their surroundings. As shown by the important and developing genre of ‘histories of towns’, these attempts at ‘complete’ historiographical engagement with urban configurations need to be focused on particular locales to do justice to the specific and dynamically changing configurations that set apart towns such

Ibn Karbalā’ī *Rawḍāt*, a guidebook to the spiritual topography of Tabrīz and the surrounding countryside at the beginning of Ṣafawid rule in the 16th-century CE.

as, for instance, Mardin and İsfahān.¹⁹⁵ Instead, I build on a very generalized framing of towns under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulership as dynamic configurations where different normative frameworks were performed and negotiated by multiple actors to show how courtly agency engaged with this *topos* of diversity by means of performative acts.

Due to the importance of urban topography in Islamic and Islamicate cultural discourses,¹⁹⁶ the reflection of courtly agency in the mediums of urban structure and architectural patronage is of particular importance during the following discussion. In this context, two aspects of the material environment of Islamicate towns are of special importance. The first is the interplay of appropriation and re-endowment in the engagement of patrons with individual monuments protected by the Islamic normative view of constituting *awqāf* or inalienable properties of God. As part of their responsibility for upholding public order, Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers could only engage with existing endowments in so far as could be framed as *repairs* (*ʿimāra*).¹⁹⁷ Indeed, they found themselves bound to rigorous normative scrutiny of Islamic scholars to refrain from any unlawful infringement upon existing structures in building programmes within urban contexts. The factual extent of this normative protection of existing structures was subject to multilateral negotiations between various actors rooted in courtly and urban networks.¹⁹⁸ Accordingly, the material heritage of towns that were the recipients of architectural patronage of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts represents a key source for the reconstruction of how courtly agency was negotiated within the urban interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq*.¹⁹⁹ This material heritage of architectural patronage is frequently complemented by the preservation of detailed lists of urban and suburban

195 See for instance Göyünç 1969, Quiring-Zoche 1980, the studies collected by Pfeiffer 2014, and the forthcoming dissertation of Daniel Zakrzewski on the history of Tabriz; see the preliminary articles Zakrzewski 2018 and Zakrzewski 2020.

196 See the framework proposed in my introduction to pre-Colonial Islamic architecture in Africa, Leube 2020.

197 See Blair 1992 for a convincing overview of the terminological framework attested in Arabic-Islamic epigraphy of the *Persophone* world.

198 See Behrens-Abouseif 1988.

199 I do not intend to give a full bibliography of the scholarship dedicated to Qara- and Aqqyunlu architecture. A good overview of the different types of buildings that were sponsored by the Aqqyunlu court(s) within the confines of the modern republic of Turkey is given by Sözen 1981, while the technological dynamics and developments within Qara- and Aqqyunlu architectural patronage have recently been discussed exemplarily for the medium of architectural ceramics in the publications of Sandra Aube Lorain, see Aube 2008, Aube 2015, Aube 2016, and Aube 2017. Cf. Blair 2014 for the development of glazed tiles from İlkhānīd to Şafawīd times.

properties that were endowed to particular foundations to finance their continued maintenance and repair.²⁰⁰

Due to this difficulty in engaging with existing architectural monuments within the urban structure, courtly patronage was frequently directed at the creation of new *nuclei* of urban developments adjacent to the densely built residential areas.²⁰¹ As a consequence of the resulting orientation of towns around multiple *nuclei* that marked successive stages of architectural patronage,²⁰² urban axes evolved as one of the most salient aspects of Islamicate towns. These urban axes not only contributed to an alignment of individual mobility and architectural form, but were also deployed as vectors of dynamic representation during the courtly performance of parades and receptions by Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers.²⁰³ Due to the importance of these axes for the interpretation and understanding of urban structure, they form the second major dimension that should be kept in mind throughout the following investigation of courtly engagement with the material environment of Islamicate towns under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule.

Building on the inductive exploration of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts as manifest in the courtly *yaylāq*, I draw upon the comparatively much denser documentation of courtly representation in the *qishlāq* to reconstruct the performative courtly activities in urban contexts. In the first part of this chapter, I present the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz and its representational topography following the description by van Ghistele as a background to the following discussion of performative functions. Continuing the functional classification proposed in the concluding chapter of the courtly *yaylāq*, I then successively discuss courtly receptions and delegations, the establishment and maintenance of

200 See Werner 2003 and Werner 2013 on Tabrīz, as well as the preliminary editions of the property lists of some of the Aqqyunlu endowments in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul by Mustafayev 2003 and Mustafayev 2013a, 153–154. The usefulness of this type of archival sources for urban history is demonstrated by the magisterial study of Mardin, Göyünç 1969.

201 See the advice of the exiled Aqqyunlu prince *ughurlu* Muḥammad to the Ottoman ruler Muḥammad *fātiḥ* to establish his palace outside of the densely populated urban sphere, Ibn Kamāl *Tawārīkh*, 7, 477, cf. the discussion by Mustafayev 2013a, 152, where an alternative interpretation is proposed. A good example of later Ṣafawid responses to this challenge posed to urban development within established towns is the 'reorientation' of Iṣfahān around the Naqsh-i Jahān under *shāh* 'Abbās, see Herdeg 1990.

202 This multinucleid development of Islamic towns is ideally illustrated in the history of the urban townscape of Cairo, see al-Maqrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* and the discussion by Behrens-Abouseif 1989.

203 My thinking about urban axes as a pivotal feature of Islamicate townscapes is strongly influenced by the work of Cerasi 2004 on the Divan Yolu in Istanbul and the magisterial work of MacDonald 1982 and 1986 on imperial Roman urban structure.

interpersonal networks of loyalty and leadership, and the storage of different types of capital as pivotal functions of the courtly *qishlāq*.

3.3.1 *The Qishlāq of Tabriz*

3.3.1.1 Approaching the Urban Sphere: Transregional Mobility and Infrastructure

Approaching the courtly *qishlāq* of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, we must build on a holistic understanding of towns and their surrounding area under intensive agricultural cultivation. This urban sphere needs to be understood within the transregional networks surrounding it to appreciate the mobility of persons, objects, and concepts that characterizes Islamicate towns.

Due to the great scope of individual mobility along transregional economic, religious, and political networks whose nodes are regularly located within this urban sphere, the urban manifestation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts is comparatively densely described in a great number of contemporary reports. These reports were usually written after the return of their authors and composed for a non-‘Turkmen’ audience. Accordingly, the information provided about the authors’ arrival in various urban contexts and their reception at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts can be used to complement and corroborate the emic sources composed by members of the court. According to the greater or lesser integration of the authors in the performative acts at court, we also have a variety of perspectives that can be used to ground our understanding of courtly representation in the *qishlāq* within the entangled urban sphere.

The transregional mobility of persons, objects, and ideas frequently followed well-defined routes that formed privileged recipients of infrastructural patronage by courtly and other actors. Bridges and lodging places (*khān*) constitute the architectural monuments that are most visible within this type of infrastructural patronage.²⁰⁴ In addition, the infrastructure along major routes arguably also comprised the provision of resources necessary for travel and the upholding of public safety, as well as different measures aimed at improving the conditions of the routes.²⁰⁵

204 See for instance the bridge of Kırkgöz Köprüsü near Malatya that is (spuriously) attributed to *uzun* Hasan by Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 4, 13, or the so-called Bayındır Köprüsü in Ahlat, which is likely named after the Aqqyunlu statesman Bāyandur *bīk* buried nearby.

205 Due to the widespread absence of wheeled transport, this patronage directed at improving the conditions of the routes need not have taken the form of paved roads. See Bulliett 1975 for the implications of the conduct of transregional mobility by means of beasts of burden for pre-industrial Islamicate societies.

This patronage directed at the improvement of transregional routes was not seen as an exclusive prerogative of the ruler and his immediate surroundings by contemporary sources within the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms. This is exemplified by van Ghistele's description of a well-built lodging place (*chaen*, cf. Persian *khān*) named Chaen Tyabech, somewhere between Hasankeyf and Siirt, whose foundation is attributed to a rich merchant (*een rijcke coopman*).²⁰⁶ The motivation for the foundation of this lodging place is explicitly given by van Ghistele as 'for the honor of Muḥammad [and] to benefit his soul, because one might pray for him there.'²⁰⁷ This 'personal' motivation should also be assumed to underlie endowments by the ruler and his immediate retinue. This is shown for instance in the following anecdote recording *uzun* Ḥasan's decision to found the complex of the Naṣriyya in Tabrīz, which is contained in a source that was written after the end of Aqqyunlu political aspirations.

When *uzun* Ḥasan felt his end drawing near [...], he called for *darwīsh* Qāsim to come to him before his own relatives and said: I have committed a grave oversight in not building a grave, convent, or mosque for myself! As I do not trust anybody but you, I ask you to withdraw from companionship after me, sit at the head of my grave, and endow a mosque and convent around my grave, continuously keeping my memory dear and well.²⁰⁸

While the iconographic repertoires related to the performance of courtly acts of foundation are discussed in more detail below, this example illustrates the importance of not discounting a 'personal' motivation for endowments related to courtly contexts out of hand. Nonetheless, architectural patronage by the ruler himself directed at the improvement of infrastructure offered an ideal

206 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 331. Crone 1934, 413, suggests that Tyabech be identified with the town of Diyarbakır. This is untenable, as the town of Diyarbakır, known as Āmid in the sources of the 15th-century CE, was already mentioned earlier by van Ghistele under the name of 'Hamit', misidentified by Crone 1934, 413, as 'Hamdin', likely the contemporary village of Gölebakan / Hilvan / Şanlıurfa.

Pace the suggestion of Crone 1934, 412–415, based mainly on stylistic grounds and a brief (and partially erroneous) discussion of the itinerary from Aleppo to Tabrīz, that van Ghistele's report of this journey and the town of Tabrīz represents a fabrication, the following detailed discussion demonstrates its value as a source that transmits remarkably detailed and accurate information. I thank John E. Woods for this reference.

207 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 331.

208 Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 90–91. Cf. the detailed account of how torture in the grave could be averted by giving alms in the name of the deceased, Gulshani *Manāqib*, 119–120.

opportunity to performatively care for his realms on a level easily appreciated by his subjects both individually and collectively. This is well illustrated in the following passage of one of the poems praising *uzun* Ḥasan in the introduction of Ṭihirānī's historiographical work:

By means of legal funds and great power / He opened the way to the holy precinct,
 He set his banner and attacked the infidels / Destroyed churches and built mosques,
 Every town holds a monument to him / In every steppe and plain he planted fortune,
 Protecting the borders and repairing bridges / He eased the path for travellers,
 Everywhere he built to feed the people / Convents (*khawāniq*) as in Baghdād.²⁰⁹

This image of the ruler's patronage radiating throughout the realms represents a specific motivation for courtly architectural patronage along the main routes that goes beyond the 'personal' motivation noted by van Ghistele for the founder of Chaen Tyabech.

A third motivation for the special attention that was paid to the infrastructure needed for transregional mobility by individuals affiliated to the 'Turkmen' courts lay in the considerable economic importance of transregional trade. The 'unspeakable amounts of money' that van Ghistele describes as accruing in the coffers of the court thanks to the trade conducted for instance in the *bedesten* of Tabrīz²¹⁰ are somewhat under-represented in the emic discourses produced at the 'Turkmen' courts. Nonetheless, we can gain a certain understanding of the importance of transregional trade for the economy of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms by a careful collation of the available sources.²¹¹

As a corollary to this type of mobility along well-defined routes, the genre of itineraries setting out the distances from one waystation to another continued to flourish. This genre even appears to have taken on some strategic importance, as attested by two Greek itineraries describing the route from Cyprus to

209 Ṭihirānī *Diwārbakrīyya*, 7.

210 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 337, see the translation of the entire passage below.

211 See the magisterial study by Dalsar 1960, as well as the discussion in Woods 1999, 108–109 and 134–137. The transregional scope of artistic influences and techniques that met in Tabrīz from the 13th- to the 15th-centuries CE is illustrated by Blair 2014.

Tabrīz, which have tentatively been attributed to the context of negotiations of an Aqquyunlu alliance with Venice against the Ottomans.²¹²

3.3.1.2 Arriving in Tabrīz from the Northwest: Hasht Bihisht and the Garden of Şāhibābād

In the following reconstruction of the material townscape and interpersonal networks establishing the courtly *qishlāq*, I focus on narratives describing the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz, in many ways the paramount town of the ‘Turkmen’ realms. To allow for a gradual approximation to the elaborate courtly discourses, I follow an account that is comparatively far from the court itself. Subsequently, I proceed with the discussion of additional sources composed by individuals progressively more emic to the courtly performances in the *qishlāq*.

In many ways one of the most evocative descriptions of ‘Turkmen’ Tabrīz is preserved in the account of the Flemish noble and adventurer Joos van Ghistele, who travelled with some unnamed Near Eastern Christian merchants from Syria to Tabrīz.²¹³ His perspective appears to be informed by the worldview of his travel companions and accordingly includes insights into daily life and non-courtly Tabrīz which are not found elsewhere. As this account of Tabrīz some time around 1483 CE represents a unique source and has to my knowledge not yet been discussed in detail, I give a full translation of the passages pertaining to Tabrīz. Within his description, special emphasis should be awarded to van Ghistele’s detailed engagement with the architecture and material culture of the town. These passages are frequently corroborated both by the extant remainders of the material culture of ‘Turkmen’ Tabrīz and other reports. In my commentary on the respective sections, I review this material world of Tabrīz together with additional sources describing the respective aspects and monuments, focusing particularly on those aspects that are most

212 See Anonymus *Itinerarium*, ed. Ebersolt, 223, ed. Schreiner, 23–24.

Regarding the unclear toponym *Trapyria* / *Tryparia* mentioned in the *Itinerarium* between Malatya and Diyarbakır, it may be possible to recognize the Arabic-Persian-Turkic element *darb*, pass, as the first lexical element of this toponym. Could an identification with the similarly unidentified *hapax legomenon* of the toponym of *darb aghji* / **derpağacı* somewhere in the vicinity of the plain of Bingöl in Tīhrāni *Diyārbakriyya*, 229, be possible?

213 The following inductive reconstruction of the entangled urban sphere of Tabrīz following the narrative of Joos van Ghistele is dedicated to my esteemed teacher Christoph Werner, Bamberg, whose love for Tabrīz is as contagious as his enthusiasm for work with hétéro-clite sources for Iranian history.

relevant for the courtly performances in the *qishlāq*.²¹⁴ I sincerely hope that the extensive translation and discussion of the most pertinent sources offered here will stimulate further discussion of the identifications I and others have proposed.

Book VII, Persia, Chapter 10.

Continuing the journey [coming from Urfa by way of Khūy], one soon arrives at the most beautiful and famous town of the kingdom of Persia, which is called Tabrīz (*Tauris*).²¹⁵ [Situation of Tabrīz in the topographies of the Bible and classical antiquity.] This town lies within a beautiful plain (*schoone planure*), as large as one can see to all sides, full of orchards (*bogaerden*), gardens (*lochtinghen*), beautiful villages, castles (*casteelen*), and many inhabited places. It is very well supplied with many beautiful creeks and streams, which irrigate the gardens in the plain, although no great river flows there. Accordingly, it very much resembles the situation of the town of Damascus as seen from afar, although Tabrīz is much larger, as we have not seen any [town] that was larger [than Tabrīz] other than Cairo.

[Tabrīz] does not have a wall or ramparts, as most other towns do. Instead, it contains many broad and good streets. It is better provided with water than Cairo and as well provided with water as the town of Damascus. Coming into the town and before one has ridden far, one sees the palace of the king of Persia to the right, which is very beautiful and agreeable to look at. It is built from different stones, such as white and black marble, serpentine, jasper, and many others, and so preciously ornamented with gold, silver, glazed tiles, and all kinds of colors that it would be incredible to write. The main building (*dit huus*) is not built as a manor nor a castle (*niet slootwijs noch casteelwijs*), but appears truly to be a building for pleasures and festivities, quite after the fashion of a summerhouse. It is constructed with a flat roof (*plat van edificien*) and surrounded by many balconies (*logijsten*). It stands among beautiful orchards and gardens, filled with all herbs and fruitbearing trees one could imagine. In between spring very costly fountains, whose strange workings cannot be described.²¹⁶

²¹⁴ As my mastery of 15th-century CE Flemish is limited, I am greatly indebted to my colleague Dr. Eline Scheerlinck, Leiden, for reviewing my translation and suggesting several improvements.

²¹⁵ See the notes on the pronunciation of the toponym Evliya *Sīyāhatnāma*, 2, 245–246.

²¹⁶ van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 336.

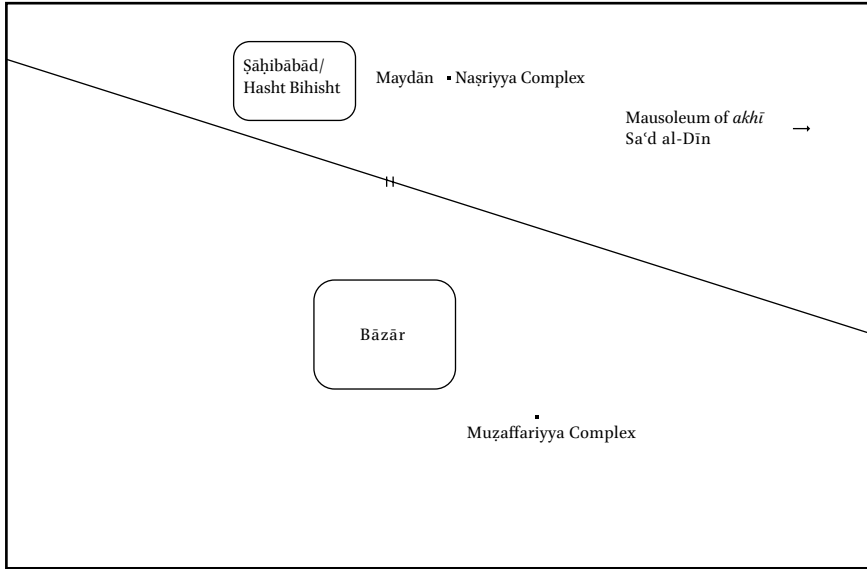


FIGURE 3 The urban topography of Tabriz after van Ghistele

The description of *sultān* Ya'qūb's palace of Hasht Bihist in the garden of Şāhibābād on the northern side of Tabriz as given by van Ghistele is corroborated by contemporary and later sources.²¹⁷ Due to the density of contemporary reports, the remaining landmarks within the urban topography of modern Tabriz, and historic depictions of Tabriz such as the stylized view of the town

217 See, apart from the sources discussed here, the emic reference to the completion of the palace of Hasht Bihisht Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 226, ed. 'Ashīq, 219, as well as the review of the sources for Aqquyunlu patronage at Şāhibābād and the Naşriyya complex by Sultān al-Qurrā'ī in his notes to Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 598–600, and the remarks in Kārang 1351 / 1972, 159–161 and 172–175, Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 746–751, and Blair 2014, 350–351. A residence (*khāna*) built by Jahānshāh is also mentioned at Şāhibābād during *uzun* Ḥasan's occupation of Tabriz, see Tīhrānī *Di'yārbakriyya*, 523. See also the praise of the garden in Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 255.

Blair's interpretation of the upper or eastern garden depicted in Matrakçı as the garden of Şāhibābād should probably be reconsidered in light of van Ghistele's report translated above. According to the report of van Ghistele, the garden of Şāhibābād lies to the right-hand side of a traveller entering Tabriz from the northern / left side, which should indicate an identification of the garden of Şāhibābād with the western / lower of the two gardens in Matrakçı's depiction.

For the development of the urban topography of Tabriz under Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule see apart from Melville 1981 most recently Ökten 2014 and Zakrzewski 2020.

by Matrakçı,²¹⁸ we can reconstruct the landmarks of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly *qishlāqs* in this town with reasonable certainty as follows.

The layout of the Aqquyunlu palace in Tabrīz, described by van Ghistele as a pavillon set in a verdant garden, follows established Near Eastern and Islamicate customs that are extensively described in emic sources and have frequently been remarked upon by European travellers.²¹⁹ Although no Qara- or Aqquyunlu palace complex has been preserved in its original form due to ruin²²⁰ or continued use and renovations by subsequent users,²²¹ we can accordingly reconstruct the shape of the ‘Turkmen’ palaces in Tabrīz and elsewhere with reasonable certainty. The relation of this type of representational architecture to the European type of palaces arranged as massive built-up volumes has been discussed in the curious case of the palace of Charles v built according to the architectural standards of the European renaissance within the Islamicate garden landscape of the Alhambra in Granada.²²²

As subsequently stated, van Ghistele depicted the palace not on the basis of a formal reception by the ruler, but according to a brief tour around the premises that had been arranged by his host. By contrast, the accounts of individuals that were formally received as ambassadors by the ‘Turkmen’ courts commonly focus more on the formal features of their reception than on the architectural splendors surrounding the ruler. Accordingly, the most detailed description of the palace of Hasht Bihisht in Tabrīz as it had been under Aqquyunlu rule was written by an anonymous merchant visiting Tabrīz after Ismā‘īl Şafawī had occupied the town. He states at the outset of his report that he participated in an expedition of Ismā‘īl in 1507 CE,²²³ but must have

218 See the reproduction of Matrakçı's depiction of Tabrīz in Matrakçı *Bayān*, plates 27b and 28a.

219 See for instance the extant Islamicate palaces of the Topkapı Sarayı, the Naşrid palatial complex of the Alhambra in Granada, or the Norman palatial architecture in the Conca d'Oro around Palermo.

220 See for instance the palatial area of the *iç kale* in Diyarbakır (Aslanapa 1961, Korn 2017), the palace of Üjān discussed above, or the palatial architecture on the citadel of Mardin and in its surrounding countryside.

221 See for instance the palace known as Uzun Hasan Köşkü or Gazi Köşkü in Diyarbakır famously (re-)used by Atatürk, or the two palaces called Chihil Sutūn (see Koch 1994) in Qazwīn and Işfahān (for a predecessor of the former see Tīhrānī *Dīyārbakrīyya*, 557, where a *dawlatkhāna* built in Qazwīn by order of *uzun* Ḥasan is mentioned), as well as the palace of Hasht Bihisht in Işfahān.

222 See Brothers 1994.

223 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 425. Cf. the information supplied by the editor that the anonymous merchant may have travelled the Near East between 1501 and 1510 CE, Anonymus *Viaggio*, 423. Aubin 1995, 253–259, suggests an identification of its author with a certain Francesco Romano.

visited the palace of Hasht Bihisht at some time during the court's absence,²²⁴ as shown by his unlimited access to all parts of the ensemble. His account gives a vivid impression of the large shadow cast by the splendor of the Aqquyunlu palace of Hasht Bihisht during the first years of Ismā'īl's rule and is translated here in its entirety:

Description of the royal palace, which *uzun* Ḥasan (*Assambei*) had built outside the town of Tabriz.

After having so extensively described the various conditions of this town, I do not believe it reasonable to omit the description of the most beautiful palace, which the magnanimous *sultān* *uzun* Ḥasan had built. Although there are many large and beautiful palaces in this town that were built by his predecessors, this one without doubt stands above all of them. This demonstrates the splendor of *uzun* Ḥasan and shows that no king of Persia has ever been like him.

The palace resides in the middle of a large and beautiful garden, so close to the town that only a little river separates it from the northern limits [of the town]. Within this same precinct, there was also built a most beautiful and large mosque that had a beautiful and rich infirmary (*spedale*) beside it. The palace is in Persian called Hasht Bihisht (*Astibisti*), which translates to 'eight parts', as it has eight corners. It is about thirty paces high and about seventy to eighty paces long, round and octagonal.²²⁵ It is divided into four rooms and four small halls, as each room has its hall surrounding it from the outside. The remainder of the palace is vaulted with a wonderful cupola (*cuba*).

This palace is covered with one roof, which might properly be called a flat roof (*solaro*). The great hall, the rooms, and the small halls are all accessed by a single stair, which rises to the great hall (*cuba*). The rooms and halls are then accessed from there. On the ground level, this building is accessed by four doors²²⁶ and has many further rooms. It is entirely covered in glazed tiles (*smalto*) and gold, worked in elaborate arabesques (*fogliami*) and so beautiful that I am unable to describe it with words.

224 That Ismā'īl Ṣafawī used the palatial grounds of Ṣāhibābād and Hasht Bihisht in Tabriz at least occasionally is attested by Angiolello *Vita*, 400.

225 See Krautheimer 1942 for the functional equivalency of round, octagonal, and hexagonal volumes in the pre-industrial iconography of architecture.

226 I read *porte*, doors, instead of the *ponti*, bridges, of the edition. But cf. the bridge-like passages between basins or flowerbeds that form the access to some Persianate palaces, for instance in the case of the two palaces named Chihil Sutūn in Qazwīn and Iṣfahān.

As I have already mentioned, this place is set in the middle of the garden. It is constructed on a platform (*mastabè*), which has been built around it for the sake of splendor (*per magnificenza*), which is one pace and a half high and five paces broad, [paved] like an esplanade (*piazza*). Every door of the palace has a path leading up to it that is paved with marble, by which one proceeds to the platform. In front of the main portal of the main hall,²²⁷ there is a flight of stairs (*scaletta*) of the finest marble, by means of which one ascends to the platform. The platform is also paved with the finest marble. In the middle of the platform, there is a small channel paved with marble and elaborately worked, through which water runs. It is four digits deep and four digits broad and winds around like a wine, or rather like a snake. The water springs from one end of the channel, flows around the platform, and then disappears through a conduit at the other end of the channel.

The first three paces of the palace above the platform are all covered in the finest marble. Above that, it is completely covered in glazed tiles of different colors, and shines from afar like a mirror. The flat roof of the palace has a spout at each corner, which casts away the water [in case of rain]. These spouts are huge and marvellous, shaped like a dragon cast from bronze. They are so large that each of them would make a cannon, and so well worked that they appear to be living dragons.

The inside of the palace, above the main hall, is covered all around with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli blue (*azzurro oltramarino*), depicting all the battles that have taken place in Persia for a long time. Also depicted are some embassies, which were frequently sent to Tabriz by the Ottomans, as they present themselves before *uzun* Ḥasan. The requests of these ambassadors are written in small Persian letters, as well as his reply.

There are also depictions of his hunts, where he is accompanied by many nobles (*baroni*) on horseback, with falcons and dogs. One can also see many animals, such as elephants (*leonfanti*) and rhinoceros (*leoncorni*), which represent things that were presented to him. The interior (*cielo*) of the cupola is entirely covered in the finest arabesques of gold and lapis lazuli blue. Every figure is so well depicted that they appear to be most natural human beings.

Within the main hall, there is an incredibly fine carpet spread on the ground. It appears to be of silk and is made according to the Persian

²²⁷ The text does not differentiate clearly between the different doors. I translate *ad sensum* in light of the extant palaces of Chihil Sutūn in Iṣfahān and Qazwīn, as well as the palace of Hašt Bihišt in Iṣfahān.

custom, with the most beautiful arabesques. It is round and has the exact measure of the place, as in every room and hall a carpet covers the entire floor.²²⁸ This main hall does not have any windows (*luce*) apart from the light that enters from the rooms and the halls, as from the main hall one enters the rooms and halls, which have many windows that give light to it [the main hall?]. For although the small halls only have one window, it is so large that it covers an entire wall and is made in a technique that has nothing to which it could be compared.²²⁹ Suffice it to say that when the doors leading [from the main hall] to these places are open, the palace or rather its main hall (*la cuba*) are so resplendent with beautiful figures that it is wonderful. This is the place where *uzun* Ḥasan used to give audiences.²³⁰

As indicated in the notes to the above translation, this description of the palace by the anonymous merchant is corroborated by many material and narrative sources. It draws a remarkably accurate picture of how the Aqquyunlu palatial grounds looked after they had been occupied by Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī. Particularly interesting is the interlacement of painting, text, and court ceremonial in the scenes which the text describes on the walls of *uzun* Ḥasan's audience hall. Similar scenes representing feats and festivities of Ṣafawid and later rulers continue to be visible in Persianate palaces.²³¹ That such depictions could be intended to glorify deeds of their patrons is clear and exemplified by Contarini's report of a scene within the palatial grounds of Iṣfahān depicting *uzun* Ḥasan ordering the execution of the captive Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd, who is led with a rope by *uzun* Ḥasan's son *ughurlu* Muḥammad. As Contarini explicitly states, the inclusion of *ughurlu* Muḥammad was in this case due to him having been

228 See Maybudī *Munshaʿāt*, 63, for a letter from Maybudī, a provincial *qāḍī* in Yazd, to *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb's minister ʿAlī Sāwajī in Tabrīz, in which he acknowledges that a carpet ordered for a school (*dār al-ḥadīth*), presumably in Tabrīz, is made according to the specifications given by ʿAlī Sāwajī, and Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 18, for an example of how the acquisition of carpets for an unspecified foundation (*ʿimārat*) should be noted in the account books of the treasury.

229 See the window of colored glass set in stucco in the shape of birds, vases, and trees, which is ascribed to the Qaraqayunlu foundation of the mausoleum of Darb-i Imām in Iṣfahān by Jahānshāh and his son Muḥammadī *mīrẓā* and currently exhibited in the palace of Chihil Sutūn in Iṣfahān. See also its description in Rafīʿi Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 361.

230 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 448–450.

231 See for instance the (much restored) paintings in the palace of Chihil Sutūn in Iṣfahān depicting Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī's victory over the Uzbek ruler Muḥammad Shaybānī *khān* and festivities at the court.

the patron overseeing the furnishing of this room.²³² Nonetheless, even within the established tradition of pictorial glorification of patrons within audience halls, the exact correspondence between the function of the audience hall of *uzun* Hasan and the program of its paintings is remarkable. Any attendant involved in a performative audience would, as it were, see him- or herself reflected in the normative mirror of the hall's decoration. As the painters doubtlessly took care to please their patron, it is easy to imagine the grovelling posture of the ambassadors and the stark contrast to the pictorial splendor of the ideal court and ruler of their host within the paintings, likely inducing similar sentiments in the real-life transactions conducted beneath them.

Due to the absence of the court of Ismā'īl Şafawī, the anonymous merchant was also able to give a description of the non- or less-public parts of the palace of Hasht Bihisht, such as the *ḥaram* of the female attendants of the court:

A bowshot from the palace, there stands a *ḥaram* (*arin*) of one story, which is sufficiently large as to comfortably house thousand women in separate rooms. Apart from these [personal] rooms, there is a place large as a hall, in which all the walls are covered in gold and glazed tiles. These shine like true emeralds (*paion proprio smeraldo*) and in many other colors. The ceiling of this *ḥaram* is decorated with gold and lapis lazuli blue.

From this hall, many rooms branch off to all sides. All of them have doors superbly wrought with gold and azure (*azzurro*), with many small letters inlaid in mother-of-pearl, as well as many beautiful arabesques. Through the middle of this hall there runs a rivulet of the clearest water, which is about an arm's length broad and deep. On one side of the *ḥaram* there also stands a pavillon (*loggietta*) of four paces squared. This is very splendidly decorated with glazed tiles in gold and lapis lazuli blue in arabesque patterns, truly impressive to see. The queen used to sit in this place with the young ladies (*le damigelle*), doing needlework according to their custom.

In truth, it would be too lengthy and tedious if I wanted to go on describing everything within the palace and the *ḥaram*. Both stand in the same garden, which is accessed by means of three gates. One of these leads to the south, one to the west, and one to the east. The one to the south is vaulted with bricks and not very large. This enters the garden,

232 Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 196–197, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 599–600. Architectural patronage of *ughurlu* Muḥammad at a palace in Işfahān is also attested by Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 167, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 572.

standing a bowshot away from the palace. After having entered through this gate, there stands fifteen feet to the left a passage (*loggia*), which is a bowshot long and six paces wide. From one end to the other, it has benches paved with the finest marble with a backrest, or rather something resembling a backrest, which is formed by a relief of glazed tiles in various colors. This is so artfully made that it is wonderful to see. The ceiling of this passage is entirely decorated with gold and glazed tiles.

From one end to the other, this passage is carried by columns of the finest marble. In front of it runs a basin (*fonte*), as long as the passage and made of the finest marble. Like the others, it is always filled with water. It is 25 paces wide and there always swim four or five couples of swans on it. Everything around is planted with roses and jasmine (*gelsomini*). An extremely beautiful street leads directly to the royal palace.

From the north, one conveniently enters into a place resembling a cloister (*chiostro*), which is entirely paved with brick and surrounded by marble benches as seats. This place is so large that 300 horses could stand here. During the time of *uzun* Ḥasan's reign, this is where the nobles (*li baroni*) dismounted when they came to court.

There is also a gate (*porta*) in this place, by which one enters the garden to proceed to the royal palace. It is vaulted, fifteen paces high, four paces wide, and most beautifully covered in glazed tiles from the bottom to the top. The doorway (*la porta*) is formed by a single rectangular block of marble, into which it has been carved.²³³ The doorway itself is four paces deep, wide, and high, although the block of marble extends for a pace and a half above and on the sides of the doorway. This doorway is closed with an arch (*è in volto*).²³⁴ This marble is entirely inlaid with arabesques

233 For the use of large blocks of precious stone in 'Turkmen' architecture in Tabriz, see also Evliya Çelebi's description of two huge blocks of precious stone in the mosque of the Naşriyya complex: 'On both sides of the *mihrāb* are two pieces of well-proportioned yellow-colored stone, each of which equalling the yearly *kharāj*-tax of Īrān and Tūrān, which appear to be amber.' (Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 249).

234 This passage describing the northern entranceway to the garden is somewhat difficult. I translate *ad sensum*, differentiating an imposing *pīshṭāq* above the door that is clad in glazed tiles from the doorway itself, which the anonymous merchant describes as carved from a huge block of marble. While this technique of carving a doorway from one block of marble seems slightly dubious, marble revetments of doorways are certainly very conceivable, even if no examples securely dating to Qara- or Aqquyunlu patronage appear to have been preserved. Examples of marble revetments of gates are extant on several mosques surrounding the 'Turkmen' realms; see the use of (spoliated) marble in pre-16th Century western and central Anatolian mosques, as well as in Mamlūk foundations in Cairo and subsequent Ottoman imperial mosques.

and when it is touched by the rays of the sun, it shines throughout as if it were of the finest crystal. This is because the marble that is found in Persia is of a different kind from ours and of much greater elegance, as it is not opaque (*zuccarini*), but resembles some crystalline matter.²³⁵ Within this royal gate (*regal porta*), a most beautiful paved road leads to the royal palace.

The final gate, which faces east, stands above a huge *maydān* (*maidanno*) or esplanade (*piazza*) and leads to the garden. The masonry of this gate is made of brick set in vaults, three paces high and two wide, and is not decorated at all other than being whitened with chalk (*gesso*). Within it stands a large and very beautiful fountain (*fonte*). Above it is a beautiful and very large complex of rooms (*abitazione*), with many rooms and a covered hall that overlooks the garden. On the side of the *maydān*, it has a vaulted balcony (*loggia in volto*), which is painted in such a resplendent white that I believe it surpasses anything else I have ever seen in whiteness. This is the complex of rooms to which *uzun* Ḥasan used to retire with many nobles when festivities were being celebrated in the *maydān*. When ambassadors came to him, he also frequently used to lodge them in this complex, as it is a beautiful building and contains many rooms (*stanze*). This gate stands further away from the royal palace with a splendid view over the *maydān*, on which stand the mosque and the infirmary that have been mentioned above.²³⁶

The performative *mise-en-scène* of this overwhelming ensemble of architectural splendor during the ceremonial reception of envoys by *uzun* Ḥasan is described in the report of the Venetian envoy Barbaro as follows:

The place where I came before this lord was furnished as follows: At its entrance, there was a gate, inside of which was a square space of four or five paces, where eight to ten of his notables (*li soi primi*) sat. Behind them was another gate, which was guarded by a man with a stick in his

235 The translation of the word *zuccarino* appears dubious to me. Tentatively, I suggest relating it to *zucchero*, sugar, giving a literal meaning of 'sugar-ish' or 'little sugar'. While retaining the meaning of opaque in the above translation, I wonder if this term might be plausibly related to some brownish tinge of 'our' marble as envisaged by the anonymous merchant, reflecting the predominance of unrefined 'brown' cane sugar in pre-modern times. On the other hand, the reference may also be to the granularity of the marble in Tabrīz and Europe, in which case *zuccarino* should probably be translated as 'coarsely grained' in opposition to the more finely grained marble used in this doorway.

236 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 450–451.

hand. When I had gone through this gate, I found a garden almost entirely planted with a meadow of clover (*trifoglio*), which was enclosed by walls (*amurato di terreno*). On its right-hand side runs a paved way (*salizato*), which after about 30 paces leads to a loggia (*loza*) vaulted in our manner, [the floor of] which is four to six small stairs higher than the paved way. Along the middle of this loggia there is a continually running fountain that resembles a small channel (*canaletto*). To the left side when entering this *loggia* the lord was seated on a cushion of gilt brocade with another similar one behind his back. At his side lay a buckler of Moorish fashion (*un brochier alla morescha*) with his saber. The whole loggia was covered in carpets and his notables (*li sui primi*) sat around him. The whole loggia was decorated with mosaics, not composed of small *tesserae* as we use them, but of large and supremely beautiful *tesserae* of various colors.²³⁷

3.3.1.3 The Endowment Complex of the Naşriyya

Van Ghistele's report continues with a description of the mosque and infirmary of the Naşriyya that stood on the other side of the esplanade of the *maydān* to the east of the palace-complex of Şāhibābād.²³⁸ While this esplanade is commonly simply designated as the *maydān*, it is more specifically referred to as the esplanade of Jahānshāh (*jahānshāh maydān*), for instance in the Ottoman *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*.²³⁹

If one continues down this main street, one sees on the other side the mosque of the king, where he goes every Friday to hold his devotion and speak his prayer. As the Christians hold the Sunday as a weekly holyday and the Jews the Saturday, so the Muslims (*machometanen*) hold the Friday as a holiday. This mosque is a miraculously beautiful building, elaborately ornamented with gold, glazed tiles (*laizuere*) and different decoration (*scilderie*) and as artfully made as in the palace. Inside, many lamps burn night and day.²⁴⁰

237 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 118–120, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 532. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

238 See the discussion of this building in Kārang 1351 / 1972, 327–341, and Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 740–746.

239 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 87, cf. the reference to the *maydān* as 'the esplanade built by the deceased king' in Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 523, translated below.

240 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 336–337.

Ibn Karbalāʾī's account of how this mosque and complex of the Naşriyya, named after *uzun* Ḥasan's teknonym or *kunya* Abū l-Naşr or Father of Victory, was founded posthumously due to the personal devotion of *uzun* Ḥasan has already been translated above. In light of van Ghistele's description of the glazed tiles among the decoration of the Naşriyya, it is particularly interesting that glazed tiles among findings from the archaeological remains of this building have recently been published.²⁴¹

Van Ghistele's testimony that *sultān* Ya'qūb used to hold his Friday prayers at the mosque of the Naşriyya attests to the visibility of the performative fulfillment of religious obligations by the ruler. Incidentally, the *maydān* facing the palace and the endowment complex of the Naşriyya also served as a nexus between the courtly sphere and the townscape of Tabrīz when *sultān* Ya'qūb ordered the corpse of the murderer of an Armenian merchant left on this esplanade until the dogs would eat him.²⁴² Nonetheless, only parts of the Naşriyya or *ḥasan pādshāh jāmī'i* are left²⁴³ and the remains and extant descriptions of the mosque do not indicate any particular locale that might have been reserved for the ruler and his retinue. Therefore, it is not possible to reconstruct the architectural layout governing the inclusion of the Aqqyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya'qūb in the performance of the *khutba* or Friday-sermon held in his name according to Islamic custom.

That a performative dimension of personal devotion was recognized by contemporary participants in the ceremonial of the 'Turkmen' courts is particularly well described in the accounts of Muslim envoys to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. This is discussed in greater detail below. Nonetheless, together with van Ghistele's later statement that he was unable to obtain admission to *sultān* Ya'qūb due to the king's being 'very listless' (*zeere onlustich*)²⁴⁴ it may be worth considering whether this performance of personal piety by *sultān* Ya'qūb attending the Friday-prayers could be linked to the 'allusions to a sense of despair that appears to have permeated his court'.²⁴⁵ This may even indicate a precursor to *sultān* Ya'qūb's public 'repentance' entailing the prohibition of wine-drinking in Tabrīz.²⁴⁶

241 See Aube 2016.

242 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 170, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 573–574. This episode is discussed in greater detail below.

243 See Aube 2016.

244 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 340, see the translation offered below.

245 Lingwood 2014, 32 and 127, cf. Gāzurgāhī *Majālis*, 324, 'his hand left the work and the work left the hand, so the land slowly and patiently deteriorated.'

246 See the detailed discussion of Lingwood 2014 and Lingwood 2018 for this event and its representation in courtly performances and material culture.

A more detailed description of the architectural monuments of the Naşriyya complex is given by the anonymous merchant:

This mosque [visible from the balcony rising over the eastern gate of the palace] was built by *sultān uzun Ḥasan*. It is very large and contains many cupolas, all nicely decorated with glazed tiles in blue and gold. The infirmary (*spedale*) or *moristano* is also large and contains many rooms. Inside, it is even more splendidly decorated than the mosque, as it has many large platforms (*mastabi*), each of which is ten paces long and four paces wide and covered with a carpet made according to its size. Between the infirmary and the mosque, there is only a wall. Outside of the infirmary, from one end [of the esplanade?] to the other, there is a platform, an arm's length high and about two paces wide. There used to be an iron chain drawn along the edge of the platform so no horse could approach the mosque, the platform, or the infirmary. During the reign of *uzun Ḥasan* and *sultān Ya'qūb*, over a thousand poor people / mystics lived in this infirmary. The chain remained until the death of *sultān Ya'qūb*, when it was taken away by Turkmens.

All of these things were made by the great *uzun Ḥasan*, who was such a worthy and excellent man that there has been nobody like him in Persia.²⁴⁷

Nonetheless, the subsequent abandonment of the foundation of the Naşriyya is suggested by the testimony of the 16th-century CE historian Rūmlū:

Among the foundations [of *uzun Ḥasan*] is a mosque in Tabriz, the splendor of which is not reached by any building sponsored by another ruler.

Excellent is the paradise-like pure garden / Whose dust nourishes the soul,

Seeing it, the eye becomes clear / Its fragrance refreshes the spirit,

The heaven adjoins its cupola / Its crescent forms a conjunction with sun and moon.

Ashamed by the gold-inlaid bowl of its wall, every morning the golden bowl of the sun turns red, and in envy of the turquoise blue of its tiles, the turquoise of the heaven wishes for a deeper blue. Two masterful minarets to the right and left of this mosque raise their heads beyond the turning of the heavens. [...] But in this time, which is the year of 980 [1572 to 1573 CE], the beauty of the mosque is the opposite of what it was during

247 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 451–452.

the time of *uzun* Ḥasan (*rawnaq-i masjid bar 'aks-i zamān-i ḥasan pād-shāh ast*).²⁴⁸

Another detailed description of the architecture of the mosque of the Naşriyya complex is contained in the 17th-century CE travelogue of the Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi:

The mosque of *sulṭān* Ḥasan: It was built by *sulṭān* *uzun* Ḥasan, one of the rulers of Ādharbāyjan. After *uzun* Ḥasan had been defeated in battle by *sulṭān* Abū l-Faṭḥ [the Ottoman ruler Muḥammad Fātiḥ], he fled to Tabriz, where he appears to have died. His grave is adjacent to the mosque. The four sides [of the mosque] as well as its cupolas are completely decorated with glazed tiles²⁴⁹ from the inside and the outside. The mosaic-work (*khurdakārliq şan'atı*) of the *miḥrāb*, the *minbar*, and the platform of the muezzins (*mu'adhdhinān maḥfilī*) are of such an incomparable beauty that nobody could describe it. The windows on all four walls are resplendently decorated from the top to the bottom with quartz (*naḡaf ṭashı*) mounted on wrought iron work. Every single one of the various decorative elements (*ziyyalar*) that surround the wall around the *miḥrāb* (*qibla qapū*) on all sides, composed of stalactites (*muqarnas*) and palmettes,²⁵⁰ an inscription, and open-work spheres (*tūrunjalar*), equals the obvious magic (*siḥr-i mubīn*) of the talismans (*kirishma*) and statues of classical antiquity (*munaqqash-i rūmiler*). A master calligrapher appears to have demonstrated his power in these intricacies. Above every door and window stand well-proportioned inscriptions, every single one appearing to have been written by the hand of [the famous calligrapher] Yāqūt-i Musta'simī. On both sides of the *miḥrāb* are two pieces of well-proportioned yellow-colored stone, each of which equals

248 Rūmlü *Aḥsan*, 806–807.

249 I read *kāshī-yi chīn* instead of *kāsi-yi chīn* as printed in the text.

250 I translate the *aslamiler* / *eslemiler* of the text according to the lemma *eslem*, *leaves of the Doum palm-tree* given in Redhouse 2006 *sub voce*. The lemma certainly looks Arabic, however I have not been able to verify it in the *kutub al-nabāt* or great national dictionaries for that language. In light of Redhouse's well-known industriousness (see Zenker's rather scathing commentary), this does not necessarily signify the non-existence of such a word in classical Arabic. In any case, in view of our practical ignorance of 'Turkmen' *miḥrābs* in glazed tiles outside of Diyarbakır (if there) and Yazd and the heavily restored state of the *miḥrāb* in the Muẓaffariyya, palmettes among the decoration surrounding the *miḥrāb* should be a reasonable conjecture.

the yearly *kharāj*-tax of Īrān and Tūrān, which appear to be amber (*gūyā kahrubādūr*). Nothing anywhere equals these columns.²⁵¹

Notwithstanding the detailed testimony describing the decoration of the mosque itself, it is difficult to enumerate with certainty the different types of buildings that formed the complex of the Naşriyya. Indeed, some buildings within the complex may have served multiple purposes. Van Ghistele's testimony regarding the mosque demonstrates that the Friday prayers were performed there during the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb and that it did function as a Friday-mosque where the *khuṭba* was delivered. The public proclamation that forbade the consumption of wine by Muslims in Tabrīz that was directed by *sultān* Ya'qūb's minister *qāḍī* 'Īsā and *sultān* Ya'qūb's brother Yūsuf is also mentioned to have taken place in the Friday-mosque of the Naşriyya by Faḍlallāh.²⁵² The infirmary described by the anonymous merchant may have been the same building described as a *zāwiya* or convent in Persian sources.²⁵³ We also read in Evliya Çelebi's account that *uzun* Ḥasan's grave was adjacent to the mosque (*qabrı bu jāmī'în janbindadır*),²⁵⁴ while his son *sultān* Ya'qūb is said to have been buried in the open space (*faḍā*) in front of or surrounding the mosque of the Naşriyya.²⁵⁵ Following the common spatial organization of endowment complexes, it is furthermore likely that the schools for boys (*maktab-i ṭiflān*) of *sultān* Ḥasan and *sultān* Ya'qūb²⁵⁶ and the shelter for the poor (*'imārat*) of *sultān* *uzun* Ḥasan and king²⁵⁷ *sultān* Ya'qūb,²⁵⁸ all of which are mentioned by Evliya Çelebi among the notable buildings in Tabrīz, were also situated within the complex of the Naşriyya.

3.3.1.4 Arriving in the Town: Sartorial Distinctions between Christians and Muslims

After van Ghistele's description of the palace of Hasht Bihisht and the Naşriyya complex, his journey into the urban part of 'Tabrīz proper' continues as follows:

251 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 249. Cf. the description of the partially ruined Naşriyya complex contained in the late 17th-century CE travelogue of Gemelli Careri *Giro*, 2, 22–23.

252 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 324, ed. 'Ashīq, 312–313.

253 See Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 90–91.

254 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 249.

255 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 442, ed. 'Ashīq, 419.

256 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 250. Could this school of *uzun* Ḥasan be identical to the *madrassa* of the Naşriyya complex mentioned by Kārāng 1351 / 1972, 229?

257 I read *shāh*, king, instead of the *siyāh*, black, of the text as printed in Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 255.

258 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 255.

Continuing onward and leaving the palace to the right and the mosque to the left, one soon crosses a small stream over a bridge made of stone. Some distance on its other side lies the town, containing many beautiful buildings laid out along good and broad streets. There, they [van Ghistele and his fellow travellers] continued to the house of the merchant who had organized their journey. He [the merchant] led them onward to a beautiful lodging place (*chaen*, Persian *khān*) near his house, where he asked the host (*weert*) to treat and guard them friendly and safely for his sake. He [the host] treated them accordingly, while they stayed with the driver of their pack-animals (*trusseman*) during this night. [The host] offered them a bath and treated them hospitably. On the following day, they went out dressed as Christians, as in the large towns, as has been stated before, Christians cannot well wear heathen garments (*heyden-sche abijten*), as they risk heavy punishments if they do so.²⁵⁹

After crossing the small Qūrū River, van Ghistele and his fellow travellers arrive in the urban sphere itself. Van Ghistele's information that distinctive garments were required to be worn by Christians in a large town such as Tabrīz is intriguing, as it tallies with a set of normative discriminatory stipulations regulating the public presence of non-Muslims in Islamicate towns. These stipulations, commonly if ahistorically ascribed to the second caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, frequently figure in Islamic accounts as part of a performative deployment of Islamically legitimated normativity within the contested public sphere.

A typical example within the 15th-century CE is given by the Mamlūk scholar Ibn Taghribirdī, who as part of the Arabic-Islamic scholarly and administrative elites should be seen as an involved party in the events he describes. His account opens with the Mamlūk *sulṭān* al-Mu'ayyad publicly blaming the Coptic patriarch for some misfortune that had befallen Muslims by the Christian ruler of Abyssinia.²⁶⁰ Nonetheless, it soon becomes clear that the true cause for the chagrin of the Muslim scholarly elites was the great influence and power wielded by Christians within the Mamlūk realms due to their employment in the administration.²⁶¹ This power of Christian holders of administrative functions over Muslims is in Ibn Taghribirdī's account publicly represented in the habitus of the Christians. Thus, the discriminatory stipulations prohibiting Christians from riding on saddled horses and wearing ostentatious garments such as large turbans and wide sleeves are explicitly

259 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 337.

260 Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 81.

261 Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 81–84.

interpreted by Ibn Taghribirdī as a measure aimed at permanently keeping the non-Muslims living in Islamic lands in a status that is subordinate to the status of Muslims. At the same time, Ibn Taghribirdī's description of how Christians and Jews were pulled from their donkeys within the urban sphere of Cairo by the populace²⁶² demonstrates the dialectic character of the supposedly clearly formulated and legally binding discriminatory stipulations, as riding on donkeys was explicitly allowed for non-Muslims according to the some versions of the text of the stipulations.²⁶³ Accordingly, Islamic normativity deployed in this case through the implementation of discriminatory stipulations should not be seen as a straightforward case of law and execution. Instead, it illustrates the dynamic interplay characterizing the negotiation of various conflicting normativities by interested groups within the social, administrative, politic, and economic configurations of pre-modern Islamicate societies.²⁶⁴

Notwithstanding the evidence for a factual deployment of discriminatory stipulations against non-Muslims living under Islamic rule,²⁶⁵ the frequency with which political figures are praised in texts written by members of the Arabic-Islamic scholarly elites for implementing the stipulations demonstrates that the ultimate impact of such measures must have been rather short-lived and likely limited to quite small areas at any time.²⁶⁶ Accordingly, I suggest interpreting the implementation of these and similar normative stipulations typically backed by members of the landed and urban Arabic-Islamic scholarly elites by individual rulers as a performative gesture drawing on a particular repertoire of representational rulership. The best documented example of such a performative enforcement of normative Islamic stipulations within the 'Turkmen' realms is the edict banning the consumption of wine in Tabriz by *sultān* Ya'qūb, which is described in great detail by Faḍlallāh.²⁶⁷ Nonetheless, van Ghiste's testimony represents one of the very few indications that allow

262 Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 82.

263 Pink 2016, 489, and Tritton 1970, 121–123, cf. Wood 2015, 43–45.

264 This point is also made much more extensively by Carlson 2018, 41–70.

265 The main other sources supplementing the reference of van Ghiste translated above that operated in a similar 'invisibility' to the courtly sphere in referring to political measures taken by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts are constituted by 'historiographic' Armenian colophons, some which have been translated by Sanjian 1969, particularly 206–208, 221, 282, and 316, for the custom of forcing Christians to wear a 'blue symbol' on their head. See Woods 1999, 106, for a brief discussion of sartorial distinctions between Christians and Muslims enforced by *uzun* Ḥasan.

266 See Ibn Taghribirdī's admission that even during the height of the scaling down of turbans and sleeves, Christians outside Cairo continued to ride on donkeys; Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 82.

267 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 319–328, ed. 'Ashīq, 309–316, see Lingwood 2014.

an albeit limited appraisal of the factual impact of this type of public enforcement of Islamically backed normativities by the ‘Turkmen’ courts.

3.3.1.5 A Complex of Revenue-Generating Foundations in the Market
Van Ghistele’s description of the mercantile activities conducted in the economic heart of the town continues as follows:

VII, 11.

After arriving in Tabrīz and having stayed there for some days, they were taken by the merchant who had arrived with them to visit the different sights (*waerften*) of the town. Firstly, they were led through many beautiful markets (*besaren*) situated in the middle of the town. These are vaulted and covered streets of stores. One market was the most remarkable of all, exhibiting all kinds of precious things for sale, so artfully made and decorated with gold, glazed tiles, and different colors (*verwen*) that it was incredible to say. On both sides, so many shops stood next to each other that they could not be counted. These shops yearly pay the king an unspeakable amount of money and [the ensemble of the stores] is named Le Besastan (arabo-pers. *al-bazzāzistān*, lit. *the cloth market*, cf. türk. *bedesten*).

This market hall was built by a queen [Despina *khātūn*], the wife of the king [*uzun Ḥasan*] that died recently, who was a daughter of the emperor of Trapezunt and very well loved in the country. She adhered to Christian beliefs according to the manners of the Greeks, which was tolerated by the king. Due to her, the Christians in this country are not quite as despised as elsewhere. Also, [*uzun Ḥasan*] did not have a heir by her, but because the heathens (*de heydenen*) may according to Muslim customs (*machometaensche maniere*) have four women and wives, it was another [wife of the king] that had a son by the king who is now the mighty king of Persia [*sulṭān Ya‘qūb*].

On the side of the market stands one of the most beautiful lodging places one could imagine, with miraculously many rooms, one over the other and connected throughout by corridors. Beneath it, there is space for over 2000 horses and animals, all covered with vaults. Anybody that wishes can take a room there for a fixed price, be he heathen (*heyden*), idolater (*ydolatre*), or Christian (*kersten*). Everything one brings is as well guarded as in one’s own home. This was also built by the above-mentioned queen.

And on the other side of the street, across the street from it, stands the main bath of the town. This is a strange thing to behold, as it contains

many baths. Some are very hot, some a bit colder, some lukewarm, and so on of all kinds one could desire. These baths are very preciously made from stone and are accessed by costly stairs. All of this was made by the above-mentioned queen.²⁶⁸

The urban topography of the commercial heart of the town formed by vaulted streets of *bāzārs*²⁶⁹ and individual and closed-off market halls (*bedesten*, *qayşariyya*) dedicated to the trade of more expensive goods described by van Ghistele accords very well with the common structure of Islamicate towns.²⁷⁰ The patronage of Despina *khātūn* in Tabrīz is not explicitly referred to elsewhere, which makes van Ghistele's description of a market hall, a lodging place, and a bath founded by her particularly valuable.²⁷¹ Nonetheless, it may be possible that her patronage was conflated with architectural patronage of her husband *uzun* Ḥasan in Islamicate sources.²⁷² Thus, the following description of a market hall (*qayşariyya*) founded by *uzun* Ḥasan may indeed refer to the same building that is described by van Ghistele:

Another of the foundations [of *uzun* Ḥasan] is a market hall (*qayşariyya*) of which the most skilled architects and well-building masons say that no building has been constructed to this excellency of beauty, mastery, and durability of its construction.²⁷³

268 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 337–338.

269 See Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 2, 251, for the assertion that many of the markets of Tabrīz were built with solid masonry according to the style of Aleppo (*ḥalab tarzı kārğır wa-matindir*) in the 17th-century CE.

270 See Wirth 2000.

271 In light of van Ghistele's testimony, I suggest identifying the *bigum* (read: *bīgum*) *khān* or *lodging place of the lady* mentioned in Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 2, 251, as 'one of the noteworthy lodging places for married travellers' (*khwājagān khānları*) with the lodging place built by Despina *khātūn* according to van Ghistele's report. He also describes a well-built *bedesten* which may be the same attributed to Despina *khātūn* by van Ghistele (Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 2, 251). Cf. the decree of Ismā'īl Ṣafawī concerning two cloth merchants possessing a store in the *qayşariyya* of Tabrīz (Fekete 1977, 31–33, who however mis-translates *qayşariyya* as the toponym of Kayseri), which could arguably suggest an identification of this *qayşariyya* with the market hall of Le Besastan in van Ghistele's report translated above. Nonetheless, the pre-'Turkmen' existence of at least one *qayşariyya* containing stores (*hānūt*) in Tabrīz is incidentally attested in the sample *daftar-i mufarradāt* dated to Muḥarram 1st 741 / June 27th 1340 CE that is quoted in Māzandarāni *Risāla*, 130 and 183.

272 See in particular the conflation of patronage by Jahānshāh with that of his wife and daughters during the establishment of the Muẓaffariyya complex of endowments, which is discussed in more detail in the following section.

273 Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 807.

The engagement of female members of the courtly elites of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms in architectural patronage was considerable, as exemplified by the endowment complex of the Muẓaffariyya in Tabrīz that is discussed in the following section. The adherence of Despina *khātūn* to Christian beliefs constitutes something of a *topos* in European contemporary accounts of the Aqqyunlu realms.

All of the endowments funded by Despina *khātūn* according to van Ghistele's report are among those types of buildings that commonly generated revenues in pre-modern Islamicate societies. These revenue-generating buildings are frequently documented in the deeds of Islamic religious endowments (*waqf*), where they guarantee the perpetual generation of the funds necessary for the operation of monuments that were expected to run at a loss. Typical foundations whose losses would be balanced by revenue-generating properties endowed by the patron included mosques, schools, shelters for the poor (*ʿimāra*, also used as a general term covering the entire foundation complex), convents (*zāwiya*), or infirmaries. These were explicitly listed in the formal deed of the foundation as beneficiaries of the endowment.²⁷⁴ Even if this is usually not as well documented, many indications point to the importance of revenues generated by foundations that were 'privately' owned by Muslim rulers and members of their court. Among the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, there is some evidence that (some of the) rulers and members of the court may also have 'privately' possessed and controlled foundations generating revenue that were located outside the realm under their political control. This is particularly likely for *uzun* Ḥasan, who is mentioned in later Ottoman endowment deeds as having owned properties in Mamlūk-ruled Aleppo.²⁷⁵ Nonetheless, this incidental evidence for *uzun* Ḥasan's 'private' ownership of properties outside his political control cannot as far as I see be supplemented by similar cases among other members of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly elites.²⁷⁶ Any further evidence along these lines would be highly relevant to our understanding of the

274 See for instance the editions of Aqqyunlu *waqf*-deeds by Mustafayev 2003 and Mustafayev 2013a, as well as the discussion of the endowments of Jahānshāh's wife *khātūn* Jān *bīgum* connected to the Muẓaffariyya in Werner 2003.

275 Written communication from Stefan Knost, summer 2015 CE. Further evidence comes indirectly from the exile of *uzun* Ḥasan's daughters in Aleppo and Damascus, see Zeno *Viaggi*, 172, and Angiolello *Vita*, 369–370, where a grandson of Caterino Zeno claims to have met them in 1512 CE, Zeno *Viaggi*, 172. It may be conceivable that their life could have in part been financed by properties in Aleppo formerly owned by *uzun* Ḥasan. These holdings of *uzun* Ḥasan can also possibly be linked to his stay in Ḥalab at the beginning of his career, which is hinted at in Ṭihirānī *Ḍiyārbakriyya*, 154.

276 The list of properties endowed by *ughurlu* Muḥammad during his tenure as Ottoman governor near Sivas (see Mustafayev 2013a) does not fall in this category, as *ughurlu*

economic foundations of courtly patronage and the long-term accumulation of economic (and political) capital by individuals during this time of frequent political upheavals.

According to the normative view of Arabic-Islamic scholarly elites, revenues generated from 'private' possessions of the ruler constitute one of the few sources of legitimate income beside his share of the spoils taken in war, tribute paid by non-Muslims, and possibly the estate of individuals who died without heirs.²⁷⁷ The importance of this normative discourse restricting the sources of capital at the disposal of the ruler in the 'Turkmen' realms is also demonstrated by the frequent reference to 'lawful possessions' in foundation inscriptions recording courtly patronage, which is discussed below. Nonetheless, van Ghistele's testimony describing the foundations of Despina *khātūn* explicitly refers to *sultān* Ya'qūb as the beneficiary of the revenues and thereby constitutes one of the few indications of 'private' entrepreneurship on the part of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly elites.²⁷⁸

3.3.1.6 The Endowment Complex of the Muḏaffariyya

After this description of Despina *khātūn*'s foundations in the economic center of Tabrīz, van Ghistele continues his report as follows:

Afterwards, they were led forward about another hour, to the location of a beautiful mosque, which lies in the highest end of the town. Upon coming there, one finds a beautiful and large rectangular square (*plaetse*), filled with all kinds of fruitbearing trees. In its middle stands a beautiful cistern, as if it were a pond, walled all around and with its ground paved with white stones that shine like snow, into which long and broad stairs descend. Its circumference is 500 fathoms (*vademen*) and from under the ground water is made to flow in, to about the depth of a man's height. The water runs out again through another pipe, so that the water is continuously fresh and anybody who wishes may take a bath in it.

Muḥammad acted as an official of the Ottoman administration during the time of this endowment.

277 See the discussion of this source of funds during the construction of the mosque of *sultān* Ḥasan in Cairo, as discussed by al-Harithy 1996. An overview of different funds as seen from a normative Islamic point of view shortly after the end of the period under analysis is given by Faḍlallāh *Sulūk*, which he wrote after the demise of the Aqquyunlu for the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī *khān*. Cf. the anecdote Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 120, where Ibrāhīm Gulshanī rejects a donation of *ḥabwā* from the daughter of *sultān* Ya'qūb due to the illegal origin of the funds used for its preparation.

278 See also the discussion of the strategic appropriation of the properties endowed by *khātūn* Jān *bigum* in connection with the Muḏaffariyya by Werner 2003, 104.

These places and the mosque are surrounded on all four sides by a long alley, covered and vaulted throughout and likely the most beautiful to be found on earth. One always walks in the dry below these vaults. These vaults are supported by 500 precious pillars of alabaster,²⁷⁹ quite high and well made. Inside them, one can buy all kinds of salted and sweet snacks, sweet herbs, many very tasty drinks, of which the people of these parts drink a lot, and all kinds of sweet refreshments one can imagine. There always appears to be a continuous fair, as all the confines are full of musicians with different instruments, many magicians, people playing board games (*tafel speelders*), ventriloquists (*spraecsprekers*) and similar people, which are pleasant to watch and hear. These activities continue for three months, namely June, July, and August.²⁸⁰

In light of the topography of Tabrīz under the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, I suggest identifying the complex of buildings described by van Ghistele with the Muẓaffariyya complex, the second major endowment of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu in Tabrīz.²⁸¹ Building on this identification, I further suggest identifying the monuments described by van Ghistele in this section with the curious description of a very large, but abandoned palace (*castello grandissimo [...] disabitato*)²⁸² described as located in Tabrīz in the report of the anonymous merchant.²⁸³ Besides the topographical probability and an *argumentum ex negativo* regarding other convincing monuments which could be identified with those described in both reports, the main arguments for this identification are as follows:

1. The location of the complex described as on the 'other' side of the town when coming from the northwest by van Ghistele and on the eastern (*verso levante*) side of the town by the anonymous merchant.
2. The location of the complex on a height overlooking the town.
3. The alabaster of the columns, which both travelogues describe as particularly impressive.

279 See Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1, 407, for numerous slabs of alabaster-like marble that were found during the reconstruction of the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya.

280 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 338.

281 See Werner 2003 for the history of its foundation according to an excerpt from the original deed of the endowment, as well as Kārang 1351 / 1972, 281–319, and Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 651–689.

282 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 444.

283 In a footnote to her edition, Milanesi suggests an identification of this monument with the so-called Arg-i Tabrīz (Anonymus *Viaggio*, 444), which is, however, unlikely in light of Melville's compelling identification of the Imareth Alegeat described earlier in the report of the merchant (Anonymus *Viaggio*, 443) with this building (Melville 1981, 164).

Both descriptions also accord very well with the details of the ‘mosque of the king of the land of Īrān, the trusty king’ (*shāh-i īrān-zamīn shāh-i amīn jāmi‘ī*) described in Evliya Çelebi’s travelogue,²⁸⁴ which Melville has convincingly suggested to identify with the Muẓaffariyya.²⁸⁵ If we accept this suggestion, the following arguments result for an identification of the monument described in all three reports as one and the same:

1. The quality of the colorful interior decoration with glazed tiles described both by the anonymous merchant and Evliya Çelebi.²⁸⁶
2. The special whitish color of the walls as described both by the anonymous merchant and Evliya Çelebi.
3. Van Ghistele agrees with the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi in mentioning a mosque as part of the complex, while Evliya Çelebi mentions a bath near the Muẓaffariyya,²⁸⁷ which should be identified with the one described by van Ghistele.
4. Both van Ghistele and Evliya Çelebi describe beautiful plants within the location.
5. The designation of the complex as a palace (*castello*) by the anonymous merchant can arguably be explained by Evliya Çelebi’s reference to the disuse of the mosque by *shī‘ī* Muslims (see below). This disuse could also explain the transference of the toponym of Hasht Bihisht, which we have already encountered as the name of the palace built by *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb, to the Muẓaffariyya in Evliya Çelebi’s account.²⁸⁸

Arguably, two alternative identifications of the monument described by van Ghistele may be conceivable. The first is the mausoleum of *akhī* Sa‘d al-Dīn, which was (re?)built as the resting-place of Iskandar Qaraqayunlu.²⁸⁹ This mausoleum is described as exceptionally well-built and solid²⁹⁰ and appears to have motivated the toponym of *qal‘a*, ‘castle’, or, as preferred by the editor Sulṭān al-Qurrā‘ī, *qulla*, ‘peak’, of Sa‘d al-Dīn.²⁹¹ Nonetheless, the total disappearance of the monument makes it difficult to decide whether it could have

284 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 248.

285 Melville 1981, 170. The different versions of Jahānshāh’s name given in Evliya Çelebi’s description of Tabriz are discussed below.

286 See for this ceramic decoration of the Muẓaffariyya the excellent photographs and discussion of Turābī Ṭabāṭabā‘ī 1379 / 2000, as well as Aube 2008.

287 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 254.

288 See Melville 1981, 170.

289 Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 497–499.

290 Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 497.

291 Ibn Karbalā‘ī, *Rawḍāt*, 1, 498, cf. Bidlīsī *Sharafnāma*, 2, 94, where the toponym is described as the *qal‘a* of Sa‘īd al-Dīn.

formed the object of one or more of the descriptions listed above.²⁹² It also appears doubtful whether even a large mausoleum could have motivated the exuberant description of van Ghistele.

A second conceivable identification may exist in a hypothetical 'Turkmen' precursor of the present park of Shāh Gölü in the eastern fringes of Tabrīz.²⁹³ This park is arranged around a large pond or lake, from which it takes its name. Nonetheless, no evidence of the vaulted passages, the mosque, or the baths mentioned by van Ghistele appears to exist. Therefore, the following reconstruction preliminarily accepts the identification of the monument described by van Ghistele, the anonymous merchant, and Evliya Çelebi with the Muẓaffariyya. If, by contrast, this identification is not accepted, the descriptions of van Ghistele and / or the anonymous merchant would pertain to other monuments of 'Turkmen' Tabrīz that have since vanished. In this case, both reports still profit from comparison with the extant remains of the Muẓaffariyya as the best-preserved example of 'Turkmen' architecture in Tabrīz.

Van Ghistele's is the only one among these three descriptions of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya to give a more detailed description of the bath that formed part of the complex. This bath is mentioned among the baths of Tabrīz as the bath of Jahānshāh (*jahānshāh hammāmī*) by Evliya Çelebi, who adds that it stands near the Muẓaffariyya (*dar qarb-i jāmi'-i jahānshāh*).²⁹⁴ The curious details regarding the regulation of the continuous flow of water and the depth of the basin described by van Ghistele can arguably be explained by Evliya Çelebi's succinct note following his enumeration of a first set of baths in Tabrīz, among which the bath of Jahānshāh is included:

As all of these are baths with pleasant water and air, every single one of them contains two half-porches (*nīm-şuffa*) apiece with basins that agree to the stipulations of the *shāfi'ī* school of *sunnī* law (*hawḍ-i shāfi'ī*), which have public drinking fountains connected to tanks of water (*shādīrwān sabīlları*).²⁹⁵

292 Cf. the comments of Ja'far Sulṭān al-Qurrā'ī, the editor of the *Rawḍāt* of Ibn Karbalā'ī, indicating that in 1378 / 1959 CE he had seen some polished stones in a garden located in the vicinity, which were claimed to have been taken from some tombs formerly situated within or near this monument prior to its destruction by civic authorities earlier in the same year.

293 See Kārang 1351 / 1972, 143–147, who states that the original founder is unknown and sketches the history of the pavillon from the Qājār period onward.

294 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 254.

295 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 254.

The reference to the accordance of the water-basins to the *shāfiʿī* school of *sunni* law concerns the stipulations regarding the source of water held to be of sufficient cleanness for use in the ritual ablutions in *shāfiʿī* as well as in some branches of *shīʿī* legal thought. Building on a *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad that ‘if the quantity of the water is more than two *qulla*, it does not carry dirt’,²⁹⁶ this legal ruling defined a minimum volume of water from which the water used during the ritual ablutions had to be drawn. In this way, the report of van Ghistele concerning the baths of the complex of the Muḥaffariyya can be explained by the note of Evliya Çelebi illustrating the predominance of *shāfiʿī* and *shīʿī* legal opinion regarding the tanks and basins of water in baths in Tabriz.

Regarding the precise location of this bath within the complex of the Muḥaffariyya, we should also note the very clear statement of Ibn Ajā, a Mamlūk ambassador to *uzun* Ḥasan, that he and his retinue were unable to use the facilities due to their being locked in in their accomodation, which was presumably also located within the Muḥaffariyya:

[After arriving in Tabriz], we transferred to a larger and nicer location, which is one of the foundations (‘*amāʾir*’) of the deceased *khātūn* [Jān *bīgum*]. The chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn lived together with us in the immediate vicinity of this location (*sākana bi-jiwārīnā fī l-makān*). One of the servants was also there, who locked the doors upon us after the afternoon prayer before he left. We remained locked in, thinking he would return for the evening prayer, but he did not show up. We waited for him until the night prayer, but he did not come, so we had to spend this night in the very worst state, particularly since we did not see any place to defecate (*lam nanẓur makānan li-l-tabarruz*). On the following morning, we complained to the judge about our predicament of this night.²⁹⁷

This suggests that the bath of the Muḥaffariyya formed a self-contained unit within the complex, which agrees very well with the common spatial layout of baths within endowment complexes.

While it is not entirely clear in which part of the endowment complex of the Muḥaffariyya Ibn Ajā and his retinue were lodged, the anecdote shows that the Muḥaffariyya offered lodgings that could be made available for ambassadors.

296 E.g. Ibn Abi Shayba *Muṣannaḡ*, 1, 241.

297 Ibn Ajā *Taʾrīkh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65–66, ed. Tūlaymāt, 104. A discussion of the witty short letter (*ruḡʿa*) written by Ibn Ajā to the judge ‘Alā’ al-Dīn is forthcoming in Leube Genre (forthcoming).

Of particular interest is the seasonal dating implied by Ibn Ajā's information that *uzun* Ḥasan had planned to remain with his court in the *yaylāq* (*maşif*) and had only returned to Tabrīz after hearing of Ibn Ajā's arrival.²⁹⁸ Regardless of whether the festivities described as taking place during the summer season by van Ghistele had to be cancelled to provide place for Ibn Ajā's embassy, the dependency of Ibn Ajā's party on the forgetful servant strongly suggests that no other people were present in their quarters during their sojourn in this complex.

Ibn Ajā's information that judge 'Alā' al-Dīn, who is to be identified with the military judge (*qāḍī 'askar*) of *uzun* Ḥasan, 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī,²⁹⁹ 'lived together with us in the immediate vicinity of this location' can be interpreted in two different ways. It is certainly conceivable that the judge owned a private residence immediately adjacent to the Muẓaffariyya.³⁰⁰ In light of the court's arrival in Tabrīz on the same day,³⁰¹ however, it appears more likely that he had also taken temporal lodging within the complex of the Muẓaffariyya. In this case, lodgements within the complex of the Muẓaffariyya were used not only for external ambassadors arriving in Tabrīz, but also to accomodate members of the ruler's retinue during the seasonal migration of the court. In any case, the opposition of *qāḍī* 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī with a certain *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn, who is introduced as the judge of Tabrīz (*tabrīz qāḍīsī*), in an anecdote contained in the *Manāqib* of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī indicates that the mobility of courtly functionaries was balanced by local judges firmly embedded within the interpersonal networks of the town.³⁰²

In addition to calligraphic inscriptions embedded in the splendid decoration of the interior and exterior walls and ceilings of the mosque of the

298 Ibn Ajā *Ta'rikh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65, ed. Tulaymāt, 104.

299 He is mentioned several times as an envoy of *uzun* Ḥasan. See Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 415–416, for him being sent as *uzun* Ḥasan's envoy to Jahānshāh; Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 477–478, as well as the letter of *uzun* Ḥasan to Muḥammad *fātiḥ* (Keçik 1976, 171 and 235) for his embassy to the Timurid ruler Abū Sa'īd negotiating *uzun* Ḥasan's claim on Tabrīz, and Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 545, corresponding to Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 747–748, as well as the two letters of *uzun* Ḥasan to the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller and James II of Cyprus (Keçik 1976, 149, 165 and 206) for his being sent to the Timurid ruler Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. The latter embassy is elsewhere (probably counterfactually) attributed to Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, see Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 30, cf. Emre 2017, 51. See also the biography of *qāḍī* 'Alī, likely the same individual, who is described as chief minister (*şadr*) of *uzun* Ḥasan in Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 476–477, as well as his mention in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 26.

300 Cf. Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 29, for the lodging of a Timurid envoy in the house of *qāḍī* Ḥasan in Tabrīz (*qāḍī ḥasanūn evine nuzūl eyler*).

301 Ibn Ajā *Ta'rikh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65, ed. Tulaymāt, 104.

302 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 26–29.

Muẓaffariyya in its (heavily restored) current state,³⁰³ the original foundation inscription in the name of Jahānshāh has fragmentarily been preserved together with a secondary inscription framing the entrance portal. This secondary inscription can be reconstructed confidently due to its quotation of Qur'ānic text in the missing upper portions. Notwithstanding their fragmentary state of preservation, these inscriptions constitute the sole extant remainder of monumental architectural epigraphy commissioned by the 'Turkmen' courts in Tabrīz. Both inscriptions are edited as far as they can be confidently reconstructed in the forthcoming critical edition of the epigraphic corpus of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu as inscription 870 Tabrīz a and inscription 870 Tabrīz b.³⁰⁴ They can be translated as follows, representing the writing of the name of the patron in the main foundation inscription with golden tiles by means of bold:

870 Tabrīz a:

[Upper course, ..., likely to be reconstructed as 'this complex (**imāra*?) was built, striving for'] the most visible, just, traditional, religious, and eternal rewards (*al-mathwabāt al-sunniyya al-dīniyya al-abadiyya*) [..., *scilicet* 'it is known as'] the resplendent (**al-bāhira*?) Muẓaffariyya [..., *scilicet* 'its construction was paid from the funds of'] the most just of the *sulṭāns* of the world and the most learned of the *khāqāns* of the Arabs and non-Arabs, [..., possibly to be reconstructed as 'the shadow of God'] on the created world, who is cognizant of Islamic law (*al-ʿarīf bi-l-ḥaqq*), who wages *jihād* on the path of Him, exalted be He!, [second course, ...] the honored and obeyed *sulṭān* and the greatest *khāqān* who has to be followed, [...] Abū l-Muẓaffar *sulṭān Jahānshāh b. shāh* Yūsuf nūyān, may God the Exalted and Most High raise the flags of Islamic religion (*al-dīn*) by the perpetuation of his caliphate (*khilāfatihī*) and strengthen the foundations of kingship and the pillars of the cupolas of manifest Islamic law (*daʿāʾim qubāb al-ḥaqq al-mubīn*) by extending his beneficence, *amīn*.³⁰⁵

303 See Sauvaget 1938 and Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1379 / 2000 for the epigraphy in the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya complex, all of which is commonly accepted as dating from the time of Jahānshāh.

304 The current editions are Sauvaget 1938, 105–106; Mashkūr 1352 / 1971, 686, and Aube 2015, 82. Cf. also the independent edition of the inscription by Jaʿfar Sulṭān al-Qurrāʾī, Ibn Kirbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 598.

305 ... *li-dawāʾil l-mathwabāti l-sunniyyati l-dīniyyati l-abadiyyati ... l-bāhirati l-muẓaffariyyati ... aʿdalī salāṭīni l-ʿālamī aʿlami khawāqīni l-ʿarabī wa-l-ʿajamī ... ʿalā l-barāyā l-ʿarīfī bi-l-ḥaqqī l-ghāzī fī sabīlihī taʿālā l-sulṭāni l-muʿaẓẓamī l-muṭāʾī l-khāqāni l-aʿlami l-lāzīmī l-ittibāʾī ... abū l-muẓaffarī sulṭāni jahānshāha bni shāha yūsufa nūyāna rafāʿa llāhu l-ʿalī*

870 Tabrīz b:

[Ascending the outer frame of the portal niche to the right of the entrance] In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate. Only those shall build the mosques of God who believe in God and the Day of Judgement, hold the prayer, pay the alms and fear none but God: Maybe they will [probable break toward the middle portion on the top of the portal niche] be among the rightly guided. Do you hold the giving of water to the pilgrims and the maintenance of the mosque of Mecca to be equal to that done by those who trust in God and the Day of Judgement and wage *jihād* on the path of God? Verily, these are not equal for God, as God does not rightly guide oppressive [probable break toward the final portion of the inscription descending on the left side of the entrance portal] people. (Qurʾān 9, 18–19). Peace be upon His prophet Muḥammad, his good relatives, and all his companions. The construction of this blessed complex of the Muẓaffariyya was completed on the fourth of the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 870. [This calligraphic inscription is signed by] the smallest of the servants of God, Niʿmatallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bawwāb.³⁰⁶

As compellingly argued by Werner following Kārang, construction within the complex of the Muẓaffariyya continued after the death of Jahānshāh under Aqquyunlu rule.³⁰⁷ This is attested by the inclusion of the renovation inscription to an unspecified building constructed during the rule of *sultān* Yaʿqūb by a daughter of Jahānshāh and *khātūn* Jān *bīgum*³⁰⁸ at the end of one of the

l-aʿlā bi-dawāmi khilāfatihī abwiyata l-dīni wa-shayyada bi-ifādati mabarrātihī mabānī l-mulki wa-daʿāʾima qubābī l-ḥaqqi l-mubīni amīn.

See the editions and photographs published in Sauvaget 1938, 105; Mashkūr 1352 / 1971, 686, and Aube 2015, 82.

- 306 *Bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi innamā yaʿmuru masājida llāhi man amana bi-llāhi wa-l-yawmi l-ākhirī wa-aqāma l-ṣalāta wa-atā l-zakāta wa-lam yakhsha illā llāha fa-ʿasā ūlāʾika an yakūnū minā l-muhtadīna aḡʾaltum siqāyata l-ḥājji wa-ʾimārata l-masjidi l-ḥarāmi ka-man amana bi-llāhi wa-l-yawmi l-ākhirī wa-jahada fī sabīli llāhi lā yastawna ʾinda llāhi wa-llāhu lā yahdī l-qawma l-ẓālimīna wa-l-ṣalātu ʾalā nabiyyihī muḥammadin wa-ālihī l-ṭayyibīna wa-ṣaḥbihi aḡmaʾina tammat inshāʾu hādhihi l-ʾimārati l-mubārakati l-muẓaffariyyati fī rabīʿi rabīʿi l-awwali min sanati sabʾina wa-thamānīmīʾatin aqallu l-ʾibādī niʿmatallāhu bnu muḥammadini l-bawwāb.*

Translated according to the editions of Sauvaget 1938, 106, Mashkūr 1352 / 1971, 686, and Aube 2015, 82, cf. the independent edition of Jaʿfar Sultān al-Qurrāʾī, Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 598.

- 307 Werner 2003, 95–96.

- 308 For the joint patronage of the Muẓaffariyya complex, see Werner 2003, 102.

manuscripts containing *munsha'āt* or literary samples by Maybudī.³⁰⁹ Even if this is not explicitly stated in the text of the inscription of Maybudī, it appears likely that this renovation also pertained to the foundation complex of the Muẓaffariyya. As the type of this building is not specified, it may arguably be possible to identify it with the 'lodging place (*kārbānsarāy*) of Jahānshāh's (*shāhjahān*) daughter 'Ālamshāh' mentioned alongside the 'lodging place of Jahānshāh (*shāhjahān*)' among the 'notable lodging places' of Tabriz in Evliya Çelebi's travelogue.³¹⁰ This identification is predicated upon the hypothesis that the mention of Jahānshāh's daughter in the inscription commemorating the repairs led to the naming of the lodging place after her, while reading her name, given as Šāliḥa in the edited text of Maybudī's *munsha'āt*, as 'Ālamshāh.

Before offering a translation of this building inscription commemorating maintenance works overseen by a daughter of Jahānshāh during the rule of *sultān* Ya'qūb,³¹¹ the type of the building and the genre of the text need to be clarified.

The text translated below stands at the end of Furūhar's edition of Maybudī's *munsha'āt* among those *munsha'āt* that are only attested in some of the manuscripts.³¹² Among these *munsha'āt* grouped together due to their inclusion in only some of the manuscripts, numbers 30 and 31 in Furūhar's edition constitute the very end of the manuscript designated as manuscript *sīn* by the editor. This manuscript contains several notes of possession (*Besitzervermerke*) and a colophon dated to Ramaḍān 985 / 1577 CE. The titles given in rubrics in this manuscript are frequently very stereotypical³¹³ and are given for the two items in question as '30: Another letter [concerning the construction of a bath]'³¹⁴ and '31: An interpretation (*tafsīr*) of the word "*na'im*", a discourse addressed to (*khiṭāb ba*) Ya'qūb *bahādur khān*'.³¹⁵ Subsequently, number 31 in Furūhar's edition also includes the colophon of manuscript *sīn* and some notes of possession.

Within the *munsha'āt* of Maybudī, numbers 30 and 31 differ considerably from the 'regular' content of the collection, which assembles letters sent from

309 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 252. A variant reading of the same renovation inscription is quoted by Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 652.

310 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 251.

311 See the summary of prior scholarship on this text in Werner 2003, 95–96.

312 This is implied in the preface of Furūhar, Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 29.

313 See the preface of Furūhar, Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 15.

314 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 251. The text between square brackets probably constitutes an interpolation by the editor.

315 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 251–252.

Maybudī to various contemporaries.³¹⁶ While there do exist some other texts written in Arabic within the *munsha'āt*,³¹⁷ most of the samples are in Persian. Nonetheless, the texts under numbers 30 and 31 constitute exceptions in terms of genre, as no other texts pertaining to the genres of building inscriptions or 'notes for a sermon' (see below) are included in the main body of the *munsha'āt* of Maybudī.³¹⁸ Accordingly, I suggest explaining the inclusion of these texts at the end of one of the manuscripts by the conventions of Arabic-Islamic scholarly culture. According to these conventions, the end of texts frequently offers the occasion to include miscellaneous information that falls outside of or broadens the scope of the 'main' text.³¹⁹

Accordingly, the texts included in Furūhar's edition as numbers 30 and 31 of those *munsha'āt* of Maybudī only attested in some of the manuscripts constitute an exception among the other texts collected in Furūhar's edition. Number 30 does indeed contain a (revised?) foundation inscription for a bath founded by Maybudī himself during the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb.³²⁰ In contrast, number 31 constitutes a miscellany, in which three different texts must be differentiated:

- 31.A) A collection of three *ḥadīths* concerning the interpretation of the term *na'im* in Qur'ān 102, 8, as warm water in the winter, the proper customs to be observed by Muslims in a public bath, and the importance of wearing a loincloth (*izār*) in a public bath. This is the passage to which the heading pertains.
- 31.B) The (shortened) text of a building inscription recording the renovation of a building of unknown type, likely referring to the complex of the Muẓaffariyya, which is translated below.
- 31.C) The text of the (shortened) foundation inscription of another building (*binā'*) constructed during the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb by 'Alī *bīk*, likely *sultān* Ya'qūb's nephew 'Alī b. Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan, who was already

316 See the tabular overview in Dunietz 2015, 114, as well as the detailed discussion of Maybudī's epistolary network Dunietz 2015, 112–153.

317 E.g. Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 46, 58–60, or 60–61.

318 Number 32 in Furūhar's edition of those texts only included in some of the manuscripts (Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 253–254), which is stated as included in the manuscripts *sīn* and *dāl*, constitutes a *dublette* of 31.C with minor variations. As 32 is followed by a different colophon than that given in 31, Furūhar's indication that this text stands in manuscript *sīn* as well as in manuscript *dāl* may represent an oversight by the editor, as it is difficult to see how manuscript *sīn* could have included both colophons.

319 See for instance the different endings of the Cairo and Konya manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* of Ibn al-Kalbī or the miscellaneous information included in the Freiburg alchemistic manuscript ascribing itself to 'Abdaljabbār al-Hamadhānī, Leube 2013.

320 See Dunietz 2015, 114 and 145, for a review of sources on this building.

mentioned during Faḍlallāh's ideal *yaylāq* as the overseer of the repairs to the palace of Ūjān and one of the most influential figures at court.

31.C is then followed without any clear demarcation by the colophon of manuscript *sīn* in Furūhar's edition, followed by notes of possession in the same manuscript.

Authorship by Maybudī is suggested for the texts included as numbers 30 and 31 not only by their inclusion in his *munsha'āt*, but also by the somewhat exceptional feature (see below) of the text commemorating Maybudī's patronage of a bath in number 30 being composed in the first person singular and mentioning the patron of the foundation as 'and I am the despondent Ḥusayn b. Mu'īn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Maybudī'.³²¹ This suggests Maybudī's authorship of the three texts of number 31 as well, as there appears to be no other obvious reason for their inclusion in this collection of *munsha'āt* if they were not in fact composed by him. If, however, we accept Maybudī's authorship for the three texts of number 31, this shows him to not only have collected notes on normative views of *ḥadīth* on proper behaviour in the bath for *sultān* Ya'qūb in 31.A,³²² but also extends the interpersonal network attested in his letters to include two building inscriptions which al-Ṣāliḥa *sultān* bt. Jahānshāh and 'Alī *bīk* respectively commissioned from him to commemorate repairs and foundations they had undertaken.³²³ In addition, if this hypothesis of 31.B and 31.C constituting epigraphic texts commissioned from Maybudī is accepted, this would constitute the only clear indication available concerning the authorship of Qara- and Aqquyunlu epigraphy.³²⁴

The uncertain authorship of the epigraphic texts contrasts sharply with the frequently well-attested identity of the calligraphers and tile workers, who occasionally even signed their work.³²⁵ This is also the case for the original inscription surrounding the main portal of the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya complex, the calligrapher of which gives his name at the end of this inscription

³²¹ Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 251.

³²² Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 251–252.

³²³ The network of commissions carried out by Maybudī for 'civilian personnel' in Tabriz is reconstructed by Dunietz 2015, 149. The transregional commission of foundation inscriptions for building projects likely located in Tabriz from Maybudī in Yazd contrasts with the local focus of the commissions to tile workers in and around Yazd discussed by Aube 2015.

³²⁴ The only other indication of the origin of texts selected for calligraphic inscription within Qara- and Aqquyunlu court culture concerns Dawwānī's somewhat stereotypical remark that 'Alī *bīk* b. Khalīl himself 'selected' the appropriate verses for inscription into the ruins of Takht-i Jamshīd at the age of nine. See Leube 2018 and Leube 2021.

³²⁵ See Aube 2015 and below.

as translated above.³²⁶ For this case, we also have an apparently independent affirmation of the identity of the calligrapher as Ni‘matallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bawwāb in Ibn Karbalā‘ī’s statement that ‘he wrote the inscription of the complex (‘*imārat*) of the Muẓaffariyya, which is linked to the king Jahānshāh’.³²⁷ Ibn Karbalā‘ī also gives information concerning the calligrapher’s origin and his links to teachers and students³²⁸ and quotes a complete funerary inscription written by him.³²⁹ As none of this can be drawn from the (extant) epigraphy of the Muẓaffariyya, this calligrapher must have been remembered independently from his work on the Muẓaffariyya as one of the eminent calligraphers of Tabrīz.

No letters from Maybudī to al-Šāliḥa *sultān* bt. Jahānshāh are included in his *munsha‘āt*³³⁰ and the mention of her name in the building inscription of 31.B appears to constitute a *hapax legomenon* within the *munsha‘āt* edited by Furūhar. Regarding ‘Alī *bīk*, however, a personal acquaintance between the two may be suggested in light of ‘Alī *bīk*’s presence in Southern Iran during the provincial governorship of his father Khalīl in Fārs under *uzun* Ḥasan, even if a personal meeting of the two is not attested during the review in the plain of the Band-i Mīr near Takht-i Jamshīd.³³¹ Unfortunately, Dunietz’ discussion of the relation between Maybudī and ‘Alī *bīk* as reflected in the *munsha‘āt* of Maybudī³³² is distorted by the fact that the latter’s name is frequently misspelled as *pīr* ‘Alī *bīk* (from the correct *mīr*, prince, ‘Alī *bīk*) in Furūhar’s edition.³³³ That the two are actually one and the same person is strongly suggested by the *dublette* of the foundation inscription of 31.C with minor variations easily explained as scribal errors as number 32 of the texts only attested in some of the manuscripts of the *munsha‘āt* in Furūhar’s edition. Here, the name of ‘Alī *bīk* is given as *mīrzā shaykh ‘alī sulaymān* in the title and as *pīr ‘alī bīk* in the text of the foundation inscription.³³⁴ Identification of these *hapax legomena* with ‘Alī *bīk* means that in addition to the building inscription

326 Inscription 870 Tabrīz b, first edited by Sauvaget 1938, 106, see also the note of the editor Ja‘far Sultān al-Qurrā‘ī giving an independent edition of the inscription, Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 598, as well as Aube 2008, 242–243.

327 Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 370.

328 Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 85 and 123.

329 Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 469.

330 See Dunietz 2015, 114.

331 See Dawwānī *‘Arḍ*, as well as the discussions in Minorsky 1939b, Leube 2018, and Leube 2021.

332 See Dunietz 2015, 117 and 147.

333 The unreliability of the personal names in Furūhar’s edition has been pointed out by Dunietz 2015, 113.

334 Maybudī *Munsha‘āt*, 253–254.

commissioned from Maybudī (numbers 31.C and 32), Maybudī's *munsha'āt* also contain a short letter (*ruq'ā*) from Maybudī to 'Alī *bīk*, in which Maybudī asserts his continuing affection to the Aqqyunlu prince,³³⁵ and a reference to Maybudī's having already asked 'Alī *bīk* for his help in securing assistance for peasants affected by draught and locusts in a letter asking for the intercession of *qāḍī* 'Īsā Sāwajī.³³⁶ This sustained link between Maybudī and 'Alī *bīk* fits very well into the interpretative framework suggested by Dunietz, according to which Maybudī voiced his political interests at the central court through members of the courtly elite, instead of directly addressing the ruler himself.³³⁷

Among the texts only included in some of the manuscripts of the *munsha'āt* of Maybudī, 31.B and 31.C = 32 represent actual foundation inscriptions that adhere to the structural features of this genre as attested in extant Qara- and Aqqyunlu epigraphy. 30 could conceivably be a foundation inscription, however due to its somewhat atypical structure (see below), I suggest addressing it as a revised version of an actual foundation inscription. While building inscriptions are discussed in more detail below, I already note the accordance of the Arabic texts 31.B and 31.C = 32 of the *munsha'āt* of Maybudī to this genre in the following regards:

1. The beginning of the text with an Arabic verb in the perfect tense.
2. The structure of praise of the building / praise of the ruler / eulogy for the ruler / praise of the patron, which is typical for the representation of multi-levelled patronage in foundation inscriptions. This structure would then be followed by the date of the foundation, usually introduced by the words *fī sana* / *fī shahr*, in the year / in the month. That this part of the inscriptions is missing suggests that the epigraphic text may have been commissioned from Maybudī before the construction was completed, allowing the calligrapher or tile worker on site to fill in the date and possibly his own signature.³³⁸
3. The spatial organization of the inscription.³³⁹ According to the architectural conventions of Qara- and Aqqyunlu building patronage in brick

335 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 123.

336 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 124–126. This incident is discussed in Dunietz 2015, 116 and 147.

337 See Dunietz 2015, 115–116.

338 See e.g. the signatures of the calligraphers or tile workers of the foundation inscriptions of the Buq'a-yi *shaykh* Abū Mas'ūd and the Darb-i Kushk in Iṣfahān signed by *kamāl b. shihāb al-kātib al-yazdī* and *mu'in al-munshī* respectively, or the decrees by Jahānshāh and *uzun* Ḥasan in the great mosque of Yazd, both of which are signed by *kamāl*. These signatures are discussed by Aube 2015.

339 The existence of a spatial matrix regulating the deployment of Qara- and Aqqyunlu foundation inscriptions was already pointed out by Sauvaget 1938, 106, cf. the illustrative schematic reconstruction of the setup of an ideal portal niche or *pīshṭāq* in Aube 2015, 56.

and glazed tiles,³⁴⁰ the main foundation inscription commemorating the initial patronage of a building is usually written around the inner faces of the niche of the portal above the main entrance. Accordingly, the text of the inscription begins on the inner wall of the portal niche to the right of the entrance, bends 90° to the left to continue over the entrance, and then again bends 90° to the left to end on the left inner wall of the portal niche with the date of the construction. Within this spatial layout, great care is taken to position the name of the ruler in the middle of the middle part of the inscription, centered above the entrance to the foundation.

In light of these spatial conventions in Qara- and Aqqyunlu foundation inscriptions in brick and glazed tiles, it should be noted that both 31.B and 31.C = 32 feature the name of the ruler roughly in the middle of the text, which enables it to be calligraphically arranged to be positioned precisely over the middle of the main entrance to the foundation. The absence of dates from the inscription texts has already been noted as a possible indication of the commission of the texts from Maybudī before the construction was finished. In extant building inscriptions, the dates are frequently cramped into very little space.³⁴¹ This suggests a greater flexibility of the calligraphers and tile workers on site in designing this part of the text as opposed to the remainder of the foundation inscription.

Compared to these conventions in Qara- and Aqqyunlu epigraphy in brick and glazed tiles, the text of number 30 is peculiar as it does adhere to the general structural and spatial configurations set out above, while disregarding the structural matrix of foundation inscriptions in its composition in the first person singular (*wuffiqatī li-binā' ... wa-anā ...*). The introductory *ḥamdala* of number 30 is not contained in the texts given in 31. B and 31.C = 32. Introductory *ḥamdalas* are frequently attested in Qara- and Aqqyunlu foundation and renovation inscriptions in brick and glazed tiles, for example in *uzun Ḥasan's* inscription in the great mosque of Iṣfahān³⁴² and the foundation inscription of the Buq'a-yi *shaykh* Abū Mas'ūd in Iṣfahān.³⁴³ Nonetheless, there are also

340 The layout of foundation inscriptions in monuments constructed in ashlar by Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly patrons differs in its spatial layout, as the main foundation inscription above the main entrance is usually written exclusively above the door (e.g. Ḥamza-i Kebir in Mardin, inscription 848 or earlier Mardin) or along a wall (e.g. the inscription of *uzun Ḥasan* commemorating the construction of the *şafilerin namaz kılma kısmı* of the great mosque in Diyarbakır, inscription 874 Diyarbakır, edited by Konyar 1936, 2, 145), rather than around the inside of the portal niche as in constructions in brick.

341 E.g. Buq'a-yi *shaykh* Abū Mas'ūd in Iṣfahān.

342 Inscription 880 Iṣfahān, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 95, and Rafi'i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 540, cf. Leube 2015a.

343 Inscription 895 Iṣfahān a, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 357, and Rafi'i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807.

‘Turkmen’ foundation inscriptions without an introductory *ḥamdala*, such as for instance the foundation inscriptions of the Darb-i Imām and the Darb-i Kushk in Iṣfahān.³⁴⁴

Regarding the text given in number 30, the most probable interpretation is that it is based upon the actual foundation inscription set above the main entrance of the bath sponsored by Maybudī, which likely included the date and probably also the introductory *ḥamdala*. Nonetheless, this foundation inscription appears to have been revised and transposed into the first person singular. In the context of a collection of *munshaʿāt* otherwise composed of Maybudī’s correspondence with various political, spiritual, and administrative figures, this could plausibly be explained if we interpret number 30 as part of a note, by which Maybudī informed another dignitary of the text of the foundation inscription of the bath he commissioned. Within Maybudī’s strategic epistolary network,³⁴⁵ informing an influential figure, likely in the vicinity of the court, about the public proclamation of allegiance by Maybudī as a provincial judge in Yazd to the Aqquyunlu ruler *sultān* Yaʿqūb in his building inscription would be plausible. As, however, no other indication of such a transregional conveyance of information concerning recent foundation epigraphy is attested for the Qara- or Aqquyunlu realms, this must remain a hypothesis.

Regarding foundation inscriptions 31.B and 31.C = 32, the absence of introductory *ḥamdalas* in both texts may either indicate that the introductory *ḥamdala* was expected to be calligraphically composed on site together with the date, or that neither of both inscriptions was intended to contain an introductory *ḥamdala*.

Notwithstanding these somewhat technical problems posed by numbers 30 and 31 of Furūhar’s edition of Maybudī’s *munshaʿāt*, the text of an inscription commemorating the conclusion of repairs financed by the daughter of Jahānshāh and *khātūn* Jān *bīgum*, likely to the complex of the Muẓaffariyya in Tabrīz, during the rule of the Aqquyunlu *sultān* Yaʿqūb is not attested elsewhere³⁴⁶ and constitutes an important piece of evidence for the state of the complex under Aqquyunlu rule.

The repair of this high ceiling (*al-saqf al-marfūʿ*) and the strengthening of this well-proportioned house (*al-bayt al-maṭbūʿ*) was completed

344 Inscription 857 Iṣfahān a, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 343, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 766, and inscription 902 Iṣfahān, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 359, cf. the important corrections of Sauvaget 1938, 106, as well as Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 137.

345 See Dunietz 2015, 112–153.

346 See Sauvaget 1938 and Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1379 / 2000 for the epigraphy in the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya complex, all of which is commonly accepted as dating from the time of Jahānshāh.

during the days of the greatest and most just *sultān*, the most worthy and eminent *khāqān*, who smoothens the carpet of security over the created world, who distributes equal shares of munificence to everybody, the hoister of the flag of the white *sharī'a* (*liwā' al-sharī'a al-bayḍā'*) and builder of the monument of the resplendent path (*al-ṭarīqa al-zuhrā'*), who trusts in the most merciful Lord, Abū l-Muẓaffar Ya'qūb *bahādur khān*, may God, exalted be He!, make his reign everlasting and let his ship (*fulkahū*) sail the sea of completion. This is entirely (*mā hiya illā*) one of the beneficences of the greatest lordship, the most resplendent one striving for impeccability (*al-ma'sūmiyya al-fukhmā*), distinguished by the perfection of beneficence, the *khātūn* al-Ṣāliḥa *sultān*,³⁴⁷ the daughter of the *khāqān* who is obeyed, the knight and hero (*al-muṭa' al-fāris al-shujā'*), distinguished among his peers, Jahānshāh.³⁴⁸

Due the probable commission of the text of this inscription, which was likely destined for the complex of the Muẓaffariyya in Tabrīz, from the provincial judge Maybudī in Yazd, the vagueness of the description of the restored building may well be intentional to allow for the unknown circumstances of its deployment. The continued functioning of the Muẓaffariyya under Aqqyunlu rule is attested by the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* or catalogue of the endowments that was compiled to safeguard the possessions of the complex in 898 / 1493 CE.³⁴⁹ A performative statement demonstrating this continuous support of the foundations was given by *uzun* Ḥasan himself when he took possession Tabrīz after the death of Jahānshāh as described by his court historiographer Ṭihrānī:

On the morning of Monday of the happy holiday and shining sun, he [*uzun* Ḥasan] spread the shadow of justice in this town [Tabrīz]. He decided to enter the town by the way that leads to the mosque and convent of the Muẓaffariyya, which was endowed by the *khātūn* of Jahānshāh *bik* and is the burial-ground (*madfan*) of the deceased king, the *khātūn*, and their children Muḥammadi and Abu l-Qāsim. When he had arrived between the mosque and the convent, he uttered a *fātiḥa* and a petitionary prayer (*du'a*) for those who had been killed by his own bloody sword.

347 Her name is given as Ṣāliḥa in the Ṣafawid copy of the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* or catalogue of the possessions of the Muẓaffariyya (see Werner 2003, 96 and 102).

348 Maybudī *Munsha'āt*, 252. Cf. the titles awarded to a sister of Ṣāliḥa *khātūn* in the confirmation by the daughter of Jahānshāh and sister of his son Yūsuf (*khawārah-i [...]* *salṭanat-pināh*) named Dawlat *sultān khātūn*, which is included at the end of the decree edited by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1353 / 1974, 262.

349 See Werner 2003, 97–100.

Verse:

Bravo to your soft heart that in triumph / Uttered a prayer for those accusing it.

To show his humility to the mystics (*muǰāwirān*) that had come forward from the convent to offer their blessings, he promised to return to visit the king and the princes and gave orders to provide for the mosque and the shrine (*buqʿa*), as well as those working and living there. From there, he traversed (*ʿubūr karda*, *scilicet* the town and the river) on the way to to the esplanade (*maydān*) of Şāhibābād, which had been built by the deceased king.³⁵⁰

Before concluding this discussion of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya with the descriptions of the architecture as given by the reports of the anonymous merchant and Evliya Çelebi, it may be time for a short summary detailing the different components of the foundation. The only parts extant today appear to be the mosque and the mausoleum adjacent to it. The school (*madrasa*) of Jahānshāh (*shāhjahān*) described as the largest school in Tabrīz by Evliya Çelebi³⁵¹ was also likely situated within the complex of the Muẓaffariyya, even if I am currently not aware of any further references to this monument in the primary sources.³⁵²

As indicated by Ṭīhrānī, a convent (*khānaqāh*, *zāwiya*) also formed part of the endowment. This convent is mentioned by Ibn Karbalāʾī as the convent of Jahānshāh (*zāwiya-yi jahānshāhī*), close to which a certain *shaykh* was buried after having taken care of those who came and went (*khidmat-i šādirīn wa-wāridīn mīfarmūd*) at the convent of the Muẓaffariyya.³⁵³ If we follow the reading of Mashkūr, Dawwānī also completed his commentary on the *Hayākil al-Nūr* of al-Suhrawardī in this convent (*zāwiya*).³⁵⁴ Its continued function is attested by the performative visit of *uzun* Ḥasan during his arrival in Tabrīz translated above. The 16th-century CE Ottoman account of Taşköprüzade claims that *uzun* Ḥasan and his wife Saljūqshāh *bīgum* (see below) installed the Khalwatī mystic *dede* ʿUmar Rawshani³⁵⁵ in the ‘convent (*zāwiya*) that had

350 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 523.

351 Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 250.

352 As quoted by Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 673, the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* stipulates that two teachers shall be paid to teach at this school.

353 Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 115. Cf. the enumerations of the expenses of the convent as quoted from the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* by Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 674–675.

354 Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 652–653. For an alternative reading of the toponym as *hurmuz*, see al-Ziriklī *Aʿlām*, 6, 32–33.

355 For him, see Lingwood 2014, 91 and 93.

been built by the wife of the ruler Jahānshāh in Tabrīz.³⁵⁶ This assignment of the convent of Jahānshāh to *dede* ‘Umar Rawshanī is also mentioned by the 17th-century CE Ottoman account of the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*, who attributes the appointment to *uzun* Ḥasan’s son *sultān* Ya’qūb.³⁵⁷ As an appointment of *dede* ‘Umar Rawshanī to the convent of the Muẓaffariyya is, however, not confirmed by the detailed account of his stay in Tabrīz given by Ibn Karbalā’ī,³⁵⁸ this information may not be quite dependable. A mystical session (*dhikr wa-samā’*) directed by Ibrāhīm Gulshanī in the ‘mosque of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya of Tabrīz’ (*tabrīzde muẓaffariyya jāmi’inda*) during the rule of *sultān* Rustam Aqquyunlu could arguably also be linked to this convent, although the marble revetments of the walls (*jāmi’iñ marmar dīwārı*) that are mentioned in this account also fit the description of the mosque itself.³⁵⁹

Two lodging places (*kārbānsarāy*) named after Jahānshāh and his daughter ‘Ālamshāh are mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, which were likely expected to generate funds for those components of the endowment that were operating at a deficit. It is probable that the text of the inscription commemorating repairs to an unspecified building as quoted in the *munsha’āt* of Maybudī was intended to refer to one of these buildings. A garden of the lady (*bāgh-i bigum*) is mentioned by Ibn Karbalā’ī as a topographical marker,³⁶⁰ which the editor suggests connecting with the endowments of the Muẓaffariyya.³⁶¹ This garden is also mentioned in the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* under the name of Bigumābād.³⁶²

As enumerated in the Şafawid copy of the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* or catalogue of the possessions of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya dated to 898 / 1493 CE,³⁶³ the complex also included a shrine, a convent, and a *qanāt* furnishing water to the endowments. Presumably, all of these were expected to operate at a deficit and had to be financed by the nearby market (*bāzār*) described in the *ṣarīḥ al-milk*,³⁶⁴ as well as other unspecified properties endowed to finance their upkeep.³⁶⁵ The latter likely also included the bath described by van Ghistele. As attested by Evliya Çelebi, this must also have been located in the immediate

356 Taşköprüzade *Shaqā’iq*, 161.

357 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 91. I read *jahānshāh khānaqāhı* instead of the obvious misprint of *jahānshāh hānaqāhı* in the edition of Yazıcı.

358 Ibn Karbalā’ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 472–476.

359 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 223–224.

360 Ibn Karbalā’ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 201.

361 Ibn Karbalā’ī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 636.

362 See Werner 2003, 104.

363 See the discussion of the *ṣarīḥ al-milk* or catalogue of the endowments in Werner 2003, 97–100, as well as Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 656–677.

364 Werner 2003, 104.

365 See Werner 2003, 100–102.

vicinity of the complex, even if Ibn Ajā's report suggests some sort of separation between the bath and those parts of the complex that could be used as lodgings.

The anonymous merchant gives the following description of the palace (*castello*), which I suggest identifying with the mosque and some of the other buildings within the complex of the Muẓaffariyya:

This said town [of Tabrīz] also contains a very large palace (*castello*) located toward the east, at the foot of a very beautiful hill. It is, however, abandoned, and the only room (*stanza*) within it is a magnificent palace (*palagio*), which is built as if it were taking a part of the hill (*fabricato sí che piglia un poco della collina*).³⁶⁶ [This palace] is wonderful, as will be understood from the things which I shall say. This palace is very high and until half its height, it appears to be a mountain range (*massiccio*).³⁶⁷

On the outside, it has a stairway about eight to ten paces long and three paces wide, which rises to the royal gate of the palace (*alla porta regal del palagio*). This leads into a small hall (*saletta*), which is not very large. In part of this hall, there stands a cupola (*cuba*) in a way suggesting a secret place, which is supported by four thick columns, which are five paces high and so thick that I can only embrace them fully by embracing them twice. The capitals of these columns are wonderfully carved. They are made from a certain paste or stone which truly resembles fine alabaster, as I really believed it to be. Only when I touched it with a knife did I find that they were not as hard [as real alabaster].

These were set there not due to any necessity, but for the sake of splendor, as the cupola is sustained by strong and thick walls. Further inside [the complex of the Muẓaffariyya], there is another small hall (*sal-etta*), which is narrow and long, in which there are many small rooms like chambers (*stanzette come camere*). Entering even further inside, one finds a very large hall with many windows overlooking the town, because, as I have already mentioned, this palace is located higher than the town, standing on a hill that overlooks the town and many other places in the area.

366 This last passage is unclear to me.

367 This is again not quite clear. Could the reference be to supporting structures on top of which the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya may have been built? See Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1, 407, for references to the fundament of the mosque as constructed from stone and vaulted rooms beneath the mosque.

All of these above-mentioned places are decorated most splendidly with glazed tiles forming arabesques (*fogliami di smalto*) and various different colors. In the same manner, all of the ceilings of the rooms (*tutti i cieli delle stanze*) are decorated and furnished with arabesques of gold and lapis lazuli blue. The large hall that overlooks (*signoreggia*) the town is surrounded by many columns, which appear to sustain the roof. Nonetheless, the roof is carried by thick walls, and the columns are set there for the sake of splendor. All of them are of the finest marble, which is not white but of a color like silver. These shine so brightly that the whole town is reflected and visible in every single one of them, as are the whole hall and all the other columns, together with the people who may be there.

Every window in this hall is surrounded by slabs of fine marble, of the same kind and shape (*sorte e foggia*) as the columns. In these as well, one can view one's image as in a mirror, and even better [than in the columns], as these are flat. Accordingly, one can see that not only the town, as its surroundings (*il circuito d'essa*) are reflected in these slabs, as well as the mountains and hills for more than twenty miles around, with all the gardens and its large plain.³⁶⁸

Although I do not recall any noticeable change in altitude from my visit to the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya and the adjacent *mūza-yi ādharbāyḡān* in 2014 CE, the large number of finely worked alabaster slabs found during excavations within the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya³⁶⁹ fits the fairy-tale imagery of this description. This splendid decoration is once again described in the most exuberant terms by Evliya Çelebi, who counts the monument of Jahānshāh (*shāhjahān bināsi*) among the exemplary monuments (*ibratnamā bināları*) of Tabriz.³⁷⁰

The mosque of Jahānshāh (*shāh-i īrān-zamīn shāh-i amīn*): It reminds one of the Ṭāq-i Kisrā (*ṭāq-i kisrādan nishān verir*), as it is a high building, similar to, as you might say, the mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars in Cairo. It has one minaret and a beautiful inner sanctuary (*zībā ḥaramlı*), which is decorated with glazed tiles³⁷¹ and adorned with cupolas that rise to the heavens. All of its doors and walls are finished to a shining, polished

368 Anonymus *Viaggio*, 444–445.

369 See Golombek and Wilber 1988, 1, 407.

370 Evliyā *Siyāḥatnāma*, 2, 253.

371 As before, I read *kāshī-yi chīn* instead of *kāsi-yi chīn* as printed in the text.

splendor that resembles the whiteness of Chinese paper. It is a beautiful mosque, which is impossible to leave after one has entered (*ichine girenin chukacaghi gelmez*). But the *shīʿīs* do not come to enter it, as there is a burial chamber (*khiyābān-i āramī*) in front of the *mihrāb*, the like of its revolting spheres even Malik Aḥmad *pāshā* [Evliya Çelebi's travel companion] had never seen. The brain is scented as if by a combination of the good scents of various flowers, it smiles as from the melancholy combination of the sad voices of melodious birds.³⁷² In the lands of the Persians, this building is called Hasht Bihisht.³⁷³

While the huge vault of the Tāq-i Kisrā of the pre-Islamic Sasanian kings in Ktesiphon / al-Madā'in constitutes a literary *passepourtout* for the description of monumental architecture in Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses, Evliya Çelebi's comparison of the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya to the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars is intriguing. It may partially be motivated by Evliya Çelebi's residence in Cairo during the composition of his travelogue, but the comparison of the central cupola-plan of the Muẓaffariyya with the open court of the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars in the Cairene suburb of al-Ḥusayniyya is *prima facie* not convincing.³⁷⁴ The comparison can also not have been motivated by the peculiar situation of the burial chamber in front of the *mihrāb*, as al-Zāhir Baybars was buried in Damascus and no tomb is mentioned or visible in front of the *mihrāb* of his mosque in Cairo.

Turning to Evliya Çelebi's description of the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars during his description of Egypt,³⁷⁵ the *tertium comparationis* may lie in the heaven-reaching height of the cupola,³⁷⁶ which is here as in the description of the Muẓaffariyya described with the metaphor of it 'rising to the heavens'. Alternatively, the comparison may draw on the rich decoration of the walls with marble columns and mosaic-work with glazed tiles and gold, or the decoration of the ceilings with lapis lazuli blue, both of which are described by Evliya Çelebi for the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars³⁷⁷ and mentioned in the other descriptions of the Muẓaffariyya translated above. Nonetheless, Evliya Çelebi

372 'Evliyā Çelebî waxing particularly lyrical on its impact' (Melville 1981, 171).

373 Evliyā *Siyāhatnāma*, 2, 248–249. Cf. the description of the Muẓaffariyya given in the late 17th Century CE travelogue of Gemelli Careri *Giro*, 2, 27–29.

374 See for the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars Behrens-Abouseif 1989, 94–95, and Williams 2018, 295–297.

375 Evliyā *Siyāhatnāma*, 10, 199–200.

376 Evliyā *Siyāhatnāma*, 10, 199. This cupola is briefly discussed in Williams 2018, 296.

377 Evliyā *Siyāhatnāma*, 10, 199–200. I do not recall seeing these decorations during my visit to the long-term reconstruction site of the mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars in Cairo in 2013 CE.

himself does not refer to these particulars in his description of the mosque of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya that is translated above.

After this extensive reconstruction of the complex of the Muẓaffariyya located on the other end of the urban axis crossing Tabrīz from the palace of Hasht Bihišt in the garden of Šāhibābād and the complex of the Naṣriyya, we may once again return to van Ghistele.

3.3.1.7 The Town: Urban Structure, Trade Goods, and Coinage

Most [other] streets are markets (*besaren*) and streets lined with stores, some covered and others not, through which so many people pass that it is impossible to say. The buildings (*huusen*) in this town are not crowding each other as much as in Cairo, as they have many more gardens in front of and behind the houses than in other towns. There also are wonderfully many watermills. Salt (*thaut*) is very expensive there, so it is sold according to weight like other goods.

VII, 12.

The town of Tabrīz is the best place and as well provided with all kinds of stores as one could think. Firstly, [it is well provided] with precious stones, such as diamonds, rubies, balas rubies (*balaisen*), sapphires, turquoises, topaz, pearls, and every other kind of precious minerals. There is also a huge amount of silks (*zijden*), as one cannot find as many silkworms in the whole world as one finds there and in the places that have already been mentioned, particularly in the region of Šamaxī (*Chemache*), where the main production takes place. Also, there are all imaginable types of spices for sale in great quantity, such as round and long pepper, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, grains of paradise, and cloves. One also finds much rhubarb for sale there, which is brought from China (*Cattayen*), although there is already enough in the country, which however is not as good. [Description of rhubarb.] There is also a great trade in manna, as is used in medicines, and which is found frequently in a region near Tabrīz that is called Sulṭāniyya (*Sotomia*) and also ruled by the king of Persia. It is said that there is also manna in Egypt and Arabia, but there is a great difference between the manna in Persia and the manna of Egypt and Arabia. [Manna in the Bible, harvesting manna.]

In these lands, one also does not know how to make woolen cloth, as the wool of the sheep in these parts is much too rough and coarse. Instead, the cloth that is used in these confines is brought from Aleppo and Damascus, whither it is brought by our merchants from Europe (*van*

deser zijden der zee).³⁷⁸ One also finds little silver there, but enough gold, and the only mint in the whole country of the king is in Tabrīz. They have coins (*penninghen*) called *assambegij* (*ḥasan biki*),³⁷⁹ others called *tauressij* (*tabrīzī*), some *satrogij* (*shāhrukhī*?),³⁸⁰ others *ghelijsbaghe* (possibly *ghalīz*, thick + some unknown second component?), and many others that are too many to list. The gold coins that are minted there are called *seraffen* (*ashraft*),³⁸¹ as the gold coins minted in the lands of the Mamlūks (*int land vanden souldaen*).³⁸²

Within this description of the town and its trade goods, van Ghistele's information on the coins that were used in Tabrīz is particularly interesting. While we frequently find literary references to the importance of the enduring Islamicate custom of declaring sovereign rule by means of the minting of coins (*sikka*) and having the *khutba* or Friday-sermon held in one's name in Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly performances, scarce literary information is available on the actual currency and circulation of coins.³⁸³ By contrast, many coins minted under Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule are currently held in collections and continue to be found. These coins constitute a most valuable source not merely for economical, but also social and iconographic reconstructions of the configurations of the 'Turkmen' courts. Unfortunately, no comprehensive numismatic study of this genre of sources dedicated to the Qara- and Aqquyunlu has come

378 See the reference to 'European embroidered velvet' (*qaṭīfa-yi farangī munaqqash*) in the undated, but likely Qaraqyunlu, report of the treasury of Tabrīz, Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 14. By contrast, only European linen (*kittān*) is mentioned in the inventory of textiles held in the treasury of Tabrīz that is dated to 741 / 1340 CE, Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 242–244.

379 Cf. the attestation of this denomination of coins among the taxes to be paid according to the 'law of *uzun Ḥasan*' in early 16th-century CE Ergani and Harput, Barkan 1941, 185 and 193.

380 Cf. the attestation of this denomination of coins among the taxes to be paid according to the 'law of *uzun Ḥasan*' in early 16th-century CE Mardin, Ergani, and Çermik, Barkan 1941, 101, 105, 185, and 196.

381 Cf. the attestation of this denomination of coins among the taxes to be paid according to the 'law of *uzun Ḥasan*' in early 16th-century CE Mardin, Ergani, Urfa, Harput, and Arapgir, Barkan 1941, 101, 185–187, and 193.

382 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 338–339.

383 For a concise overview of normative views on Islamic coinage see al-Maqrīzī *Nuqūd*. The technical side of minting coins in the pre-modern Near and Middle East is discussed by Ibn Ba'ra *Kashf*. The different coins held in the treasury (*khazīna*) of Tabrīz in 741 / 1340 CE are listed in Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 240–241.

forth since the pioneering study of Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī.³⁸⁴ Accordingly, my very preliminary evaluation of those aspects of the numismatic evidence particularly pertinent to this study draws on a systematic analysis (with occasional emendations) of the extant publications within the framework proposed by Album 2011, as well as some of the coins depicted and discussed on the website zeno.ru and held in the Forschungsstelle Islamische Numismatik Tübingen, as well as in various museums, mainly in Iran and Turkey.

To understand the coinage of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu, some very brief economic and numismatic information is necessary. While it appears that copper coinage was limited to a local range and periodically devaluated, the frequent inclusion of coins minted in the name of various rulers in a single hoard demonstrates the mobility of minted silver in particular. The regular occurrence of countermarks in the name of a ruler, a town, or even composed only of the short slogan *bih būd* on silver coins,³⁸⁵ bears evidence to some administrative endeavors aimed at regulating the currency of coins. These and similar attempts at limiting the currency of 'external' coins in particular towns may have caused van Ghistele's demonstrably false assertion that Tabrīz was the only mint within the realms ruled by *sultān* Ya'qūb. Even if mint names are frequently missing or difficult to read on extant coins, the operation of several mints is attested in Qara- and Aqquyunlu coinage.

Accordingly, van Ghistele's testimony regarding the different names of coins that circulated in Tabrīz is utterly fascinating. Arguably, the only comparable sets of data relevant to the factual circulation of different coins are the discussions of a hoard of coins appearing on the market in Tehran in 1973 CE by Album and a second discussion of a hoard of coins from Erzincan, Kemah, and Bayburt by Binbaş. Both articles give an albeit limited impression of which coins may have been taken out of circulation by one particular individual.³⁸⁶ Although van Ghistele does not mention countermarks, the parallel existence of coins named after the Timurid ruler Shāhrukh and *uzun* Ḥasan

384 See Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, as well as the (few) Qara- and Aqquyunlu coins edited by Arı 2011; Erel 1963; Ertürk, Erüreten 2005, which must be read together with the analysis of Binbaş 2016; Kemali 1932; Pākzādiyān not dated; Rabino 1950, and Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1350 / 1971. Notable recent contributions include Rāceblı 2019 and 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, which, notwithstanding their publication of additional coins, do not offer a sustained study of this field.

A catalog of Aqquyunlu coinage in particular constitutes one of the main *desiderata* of Islamic numismatics (verbal communication Dr. Lutz Ilisch, Spring 2016 CE).

385 See the numerous countermarks discussed in Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, *passim*. Album 2011, 260–261, briefly discusses the testimony of a Chinese envoy to the court of Shāhrukh that the countermarking of coins in circulation constituted a tax on money.

386 See Album 1976 and Binbaş 2015.

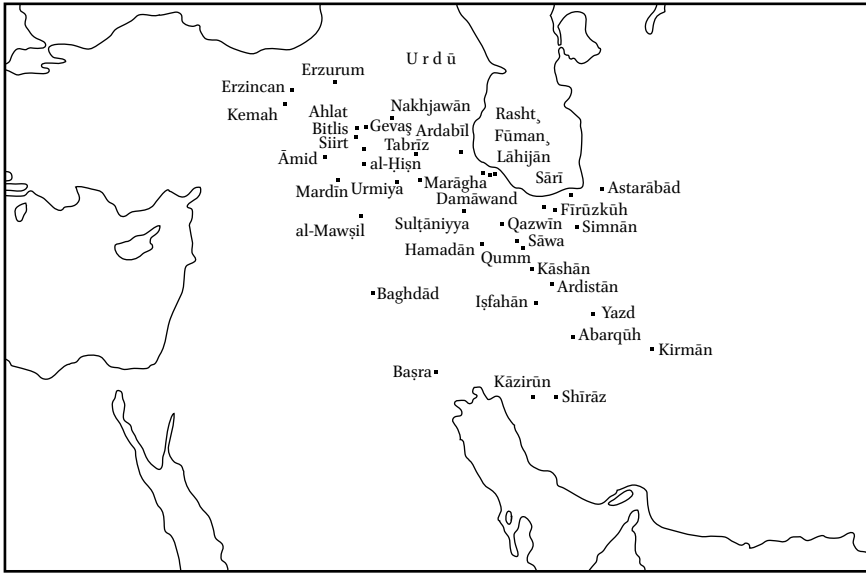


FIGURE 4 Mints of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu

could suggest the simultaneous currency of two different weight standards in Tabriz.³⁸⁷ As both eponymous rulers were already deceased during the time of van Ghistele's visit, the coins may have been named after their weight, rather than according to their legends.

The coins called *tabrizī* by van Ghistele are hard to place if one does not wish to interpret this term as a designation for the copper coinage that in addition to being periodically devaluated had a clearly delimited local circulation in specific towns. In light of the possible reflection of different standards in the coins named after *uzun* Ḥasan and Shāhrukh respectively, it would be very tempting to identify the *ghelijsbaghe* mentioned by van Ghistele with the so-called *light tankas* in contemporary collections that were likely minted in Māzandarān

387 See Album 2011, 260–261 and 271, for a very concise overview of the different weight standards of Shāhrukh's five (!) series, as well as of the coinage minted by *uzun* Ḥasan. The suggestion that the *assambegij* and *satrogij* coins mentioned by van Ghistele represent differing weight standards is tentatively made *pace* the observation of Album 1976, 112–113 and 151, that coins appear to have been traded by weight rather than being counted during the first half of the 15th-century CE, as it would be difficult to explain why van Ghistele should have been confronted with different denominations of silver coins during his sojourn in Tabriz if all silver coins were weighed regardless of their eponymous patron.

and Gilān.³⁸⁸ Finally, the modelling of the gold coinage introduced by *uzun* Ḥasan on the *ashrafi* coins of the Mamlūk rulers of Egypt and the Levante was correctly observed by van Ghistele,³⁸⁹ even if the much higher value of the metal of gold coins means that very few coins minted in gold have survived.

3.3.1.8 Visiting the Palace and a Vernacular History of *Sulṭān* Ya'qūb

VII, 13.

After they had visited all of these places and feasted the merchant with whom they had arrived for three or four evenings well and kindly with good wine, which the people of this country very much enjoy, they asked him to arrange to introduce them to the court (*hove*) of the king, where they might see and speak with him. He gladly obliged, but unfortunately the king was very listless (*zeere onlustich*) at this time, so that during all the time which they remained there they could not come in his presence, see or speak him. Instead, they were led back and forth through the palace (*tpalais*) and into all the beautiful courts and orchards that surround it, a complex that resembles more an earthly paradise than the residence of humans.

And thus, while coming and going to and fro, they asked the merchant about the state and character (*condicien ende wesene*) of the already mentioned king. He replied that he was a mere 20 years old and named Ya'qūb *bīk* (*Jacop Bey*), son of *uzun* Ḥasan (*Souccasser*). He was very intelligent and wise, tall, with a thick and fat face with broad thick lips and high cheekbones (*met hooghen caken*), looking like a Tatar. When his father died, he also had a half brother named Khalīl *bīk* (*Calijbeyt*), who with the support of some of the notables of his council set out against his brother, who currently reigns, intending himself to become king. Thus, both set out, taking all the lands, towns, and castles that they could, until they finally faced each other in battle between the towns of Gevaş (*Vastan*) and Khūy that have been mentioned above. There they met and fought, and the one who is now king would have perished, if not for one of the greatest leaders who had the biggest renown with the old king and was named Bāyandur *bīk* (*Beanderbec*). He [*Bāyandur bīk*] came with many

388 Album 2011, 271, #2523.

389 See Album 2011, 270, on *uzun* Ḥasan's introduction of a gold *dīnār* modeled on the Mamlūk *ashrafi* gold coin of Qā'itbāy, which weighed 3.5g.

soldiers to his aid, so that victory and fortune became his, while the other brother Khalil *bīk* was killed with the largest part of his army.

Three days after his victory, the king returned in triumph. Shortly afterwards, it was secretly whispered that the aforementioned leader (*capitain*) Bāyandur *bīk* had decided to strive for the rule over the land due to the youth of the king, intending to himself become king and poison the king [*sultān* Ya'qūb]. As soon as this rumour started to grow, he [Bāyandur *bīk*] was called to the king and not suspecting any evil, he followed the order of the king. As soon as he had arrived, he was tricked, captured, and by the sentence of the council strangled to death with the same sash around his neck which he used to wear on his head. It is, however, commonly said that he died innocently, and that he had been granted safe passage (*hem den bot ghegheven was*).³⁹⁰

While the possible significance of *sultān* Ya'qūb's being described as very listless (*zeere onlustich*) has already been touched upon, the political history of *sultān* Ya'qūb given by van Ghistele as reported by his host in Tabriz should be interpreted as something of a vernacular version of political events. By means of this concept of vernacular historiography, we can distinguish between historiographical sources explicitly composed as part of the performative repertoires of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts and sources that can confidently be said to have been written outside the scope of courtly visibility. At the same time, historiography written for contemporary and later non-'Turkmen' Islamicate courts and arguably also the historiography on the Qara- and Aqquyunlu that was published in Europe is rooted in configurations that are in many aspects similar to those of the 'Turkmen' courts. This is exemplified in the treatment of the 'Turkmen' rulers within a normative framework of dynastic succession for instance by Chalkokondyles or in the Šafawid and Ottoman chronicles for instance of Qazwīnī and al-Qaramānī.³⁹¹ By contrast, I propose the term 'vernacular' historiography for the non-courtly historiography produced within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms as far as it can be reconstructed. The basis for such a reconstruction is formed by contemporary non-Islamicate texts composed within the 'Turkmen' realms in languages and scripts that were likely invisible within the courtly sphere, such as Armenian

390 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 339–340.

391 See the scattered remarks on the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in Chalkokondyles *Histoires*, as well as the dynastical treatment in Qazwīnī *Lubb* and al-Qaramānī *Akhhār*.

colophons³⁹² or the Syriac continuation of the *History* of Bar Hebraeus,³⁹³ as well as such historiography that was quite clearly not intended for courtly circulation, such as the work of al-Ghiyāth.³⁹⁴ This can be supplemented by the evidence of such vernacular modes of ‘making sense’ of history³⁹⁵ within the ‘Turkmen’ realms as can be reconstructed from external accounts, such as the Venetian travelogues and histories edited by Ramusio or the account of the travels of van Ghistele as published by Zeebout. As this is the most visible case in which the travelogue of van Ghistele can be used to reconstruct such a vernacular view of ‘high politics’ within the Aqqyunlu realms, I contextualize his report within the courtly history of Faḍlallāh and the funerary inscription on the mausoleum of Bāyandur *bīk*.

The usefulness of this type of non-courtly historiography very much depends on pinpointing its original milieu to contextualize its narrative framing. Allowing for misunderstandings and mistakes that occurred during the transmission of this vernacular tale of political events, we can confidently place this story in the milieu of van Ghistele’s host. This host appears to have been a Christian merchant living in the mercantile heart of the town of Tabrīz who was happy to show van Ghistele around, but apparently did not succeed in obtaining an audience with the ruler for his guest, or for that matter introduce him into any of the mosques. As such, the history of *sultān* Ya’qūb told by him is particularly interesting where it does not agree with the court historiography composed for *sultān* Ya’qūb by Faḍlallāh.

Without putting too fine a point on it, two aspects of van Ghistele’s brief history of *sultān* Ya’qūb should accordingly be seen as particularly interesting in their contradiction of the course of events as presented by Faḍlallāh’s history. The first concerns van Ghistele’s assertion that *sultān* Ya’qūb had been designated as the successor of *uzun* Ḥasan from the outset and been subsequently challenged by his brother *sultān* Khalīl, rather than *vice versa*. At the same time, both van Ghistele and Faḍlallāh’s courtly history underline the decisive role of Bāyandur *bīk* in the outcome of the battle near Khūy.³⁹⁶ This assertion of *sultān* Ya’qūb being the rightful successor may well represent a *post factum* sanction of the outcome of the military confrontation between the two brothers, which could conceivably have found traction in the urban milieu of Tabrīz, even if the ‘official’ court history of Faḍlallāh does not gloss over the prior reign

392 See the translated selection in Sanjian 1969.

393 Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus *Chronography*.

394 al-Ghiyāth *Ta’rikh*.

395 For this framing of historiography, see Conermann 2002.

396 Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. Woods, 139–162, ed. ‘Ashīq, 131–154. See the discussion of the battle of Khūy in Woods 1999, 128.

of *sulṭān* Khalīl. This is particularly interesting in light of Faḍlallāh's stated policy of censuring events that were 'not satisfactory and thankworthy from the perspective of Islamic normativity' (*ki dar sharī'at ghayr murdī wa-mashkūr ast*)³⁹⁷ in his historiographical work, as it implies a remarkably clear distinction between 'moral' and 'flattering' interventions by the author.³⁹⁸

The second aspect concerns the death of Bāyandur *bīk*. While Faḍlallāh is at pains to downplay the involvement of various influential figures, among them his own father, with Bāyandur *bīk*,³⁹⁹ his account of the events surrounding his revolt (*ʿiṣyān*) clearly implies widespread sympathy for Bāyandur *bīk*.⁴⁰⁰ Within van Ghiste's account of the details of Bāyandur *bīk*'s death, his statement that 'it is commonly said that he died innocently' (*men seide daer al ghemeenlic dat hij onbesculdich starf*)⁴⁰¹ may well reflect this same sympathy for Bāyandur *bīk* among the urban milieu of Tabriz. Sympathy for Bāyandur *bīk* also appears to underlie his favorable introduction by van Ghiste as one of the most influential courtiers of *uzun* Ḥasan, whose support for *sulṭān* Ya'qūb was influential in assuring his succession.

A third nearly contemporary view of Bāyandur *bīk* is presented in his funerary inscription at the beginning of (inscription 897 Ahlat) encircling the conical roof of his mausoleum erected immediately behind his small mosque in Ahlat by his widow Shāh-Islīm *khātūn* bt. *al-amīr* Bahlūl.⁴⁰²

In the name God the Merciful and Compassionate. This worthy monument, which is strengthened and upheld by God, praise and glory be to Him, was built to guard the resting place of the most strong, worthy, and just commander and to safeguard the shrine of the great and most famed

397 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 93–94, ed. 'Ashīq, 89–90.

398 See also the epitaph and chronogram composed for *sulṭān* Khalīl, Ahli *Kullīyyāt*, 560, and the brief description of his reign in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 56–57.

399 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 209, ed. 'Ashīq, 200.

400 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 200–214, ed. 'Ashīq, 191–205, see the discussion in Woods 1999, 130–131.

401 van Ghiste *Tvoyage*, 340. Nonetheless, Mar'ashī *Tārīkh*, 441, records rumors of failed assassination attempts on *sulṭān* Ya'qūb which are linked to the revolt of Bāyandur *bīk*, cf. the detailed description in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 115–119, of how the advice of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī played a decisive role in thwarting the planned assassination attempt and revolt of Bāyandur *bīk*.

402 Her name is given as *shāh* Salima by Şerif 1932, 79, followed by the genealogical tables in Woods 1999, 160, 204, and 206. As stated by Sauvaget 1940, 349, and corroborated by the photographs taken on site in October 2018 CE, the name following *shāh* in the inscription must, however, clearly be read as اسلاميم. Xač'atryan 1987, 137, retains Salīma in his edition and quotes the reading of Sauvaget in a note.

king (*al-malik al-kabīr al-amjad*), who was famous among the rulers (*ishtahara bayna l-salātīn*) for the sword of bravery and who upheld the principles of rulership (*asālīb al-saltāna*) and the laws of rule (*qawānīn al-imāra*) by the encouragement of the flag of valour. He overcame his enemies throughout his life by supporting the armies of victory and elevated (*arfa'a*) the zodiacal signs of glory by radiating the splendour of the stars of destiny (*bi-sh'ati musha'sha'ati kawākibi l-iqbāl*) by jointly sitting (*bi-l-mujālasa*) on the throne of the state. He was the champion of the religious community, the world, and the religion (*mubārīz al-milla wa-l-dunyā wa-l-dīn*) Bāyandur *bīk*, may God cover him in His mercy, the son of the deceased, whom God may forgive, Rustam *bīk*, may his earth be fragrant and may [God] settle him in paradise (*tāba thurāhu wa-ja'ala [llāhu] l-jannata mathwāhu*). He died in the blessed month of Ramaḍān of the year 886 (October to November 1481 CE).⁴⁰³

This inscription is then followed by a funerary inscription for his son Muḥammad b. Bāyandur who died in Muḥarram 894 / December 1488 CE to January 1489 CE, and finally by the actual foundation inscription of the mausoleum dating the completion of the monument to the year 897 / 1491 to 1492 CE.⁴⁰⁴ This foundation inscription records the patronage of Shāh-Islīm *khātūn* bt. Bahlūl, who is identified as the widow of Bāyandur *bīk* by Sauvaget and Woods.⁴⁰⁵ Building on the name of her father Bahlūl, Woods further identifies her as the daughter of the Aqquyunlu ruler of Kiğ, Bahlūl b. Piltan *bīk*, who is mentioned by Țihirānī as being given by his father as a hostage to Iskandar b.

⁴⁰³ *Bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi bunīyat hādhihi l-ʿimāratu l-sharīfatu l-muʿayyadatu l-muʿakkadatu bi-ta'yīdi llāhi ʿazza wa-jalla li-muḥāfaẓati marqadi l-amīri l-aʿazzi l-akrami l-aʿdali wa-muḥāsarati mashhadi l-maliki l-kabīri l-amjadi ladhī shtahara bayna l-salātīna bi-sayfi l-shawkatī wa-aẓhara asālība l-saltānati wa-qawānīna l-imārati bi-isʿari liwā'i l-hishmati wa-ghalaba ʿalā aʿdā'ihi fī zamāni ḥayātihī muʿāwanata ʿasākiri l-nuṣrati wa-arfa'a burūja l-ijlālī bi-sh'ati musha'sha'ati kawākibi l-iqbālī bi-l-mujālasati ʿalā sarīri l-dawlati mubārīzi l-millati wa-l-dunyā wa-l-dīni bāyandura bika taghammadahū llāhu bi-ghufrānīhi bni l-marḥūmi l-maghfūri rustama bika tāba thurāhu wa-ja'ala l-jannata mathwāhu tuwuffiya fī shahri ramaḍāna l-mubāraki sanati sittati wa-thamanīna wa-thamānīmīʿatīn.*

I translate according to my reading of the inscriptions as checked against photographs taken on site. See the editions by Şerif 1932, 77, the reading of Sauvaget published in Gabriel 1940, 1, 349, and Xaç'atryan 1987, 134–135, as well as the important commentary on the historical context of this foundation complex Xaç'atryan 1987, 195.

⁴⁰⁴ The second part of inscription 897 Ahlat, edited by Şerif 1932, 78; cf. the readings of Sauvaget published in Gabriel 1940, 1, 349, and Xaç'atryan 1987, 136, and the final part of inscription 897 Ahlat, edited by Şerif 1932, 79; cf. the reading of Sauvaget published in Gabriel 1940, 1, 349, and Xaç'atryan 1987, 137.

⁴⁰⁵ Sauvaget 1940, 350, and Woods 1999, 160, 204 and 206.

qara Yūsuf in 840 / 1436 CE.⁴⁰⁶ This makes her a lady of something between 50 and 60 years of age during the time of her foundation of the mausoleum, which appears plausible enough from a chronological perspective. Accordingly, the foundation and its funerary inscription postdate the death of *sultān* Ya'qūb and should be interpreted as an attempt at conciliation in re-inscribing Bāyandur *bīk* into history as an upright and respectable member of the Aqquyunlu court, glossing over the circumstances of his death.

The iconography of the funerary inscription on the mausoleum of Bāyandur *bīk* in Ahlat is quite interesting. Notwithstanding Sauvaget's somewhat harsh assessment that it is 'riddled with orthographical mistakes and characterized by a particularly barbarian syntax' (*des fautes d'orthographe qui l'émaillent et de sa syntaxe particulièrement barbare*),⁴⁰⁷ the text features several curious phrases that appear to refer specifically to the life and death of Bāyandur *bīk*. As few other funerary inscriptions of high-ranking members of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts are extant,⁴⁰⁸ it is difficult to make strong comparisons.

406 Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 128, for the dating see Woods 1999, 65–66. The family is well attested in epigraphy in and around Kiğ, see inscription 815 Kiğ a, inscription 815 Kiğ b, and inscription 818 Kiğ, all of which are edited by Kemali 1932, 246–247; Yiğitbaş 1950, 94–95, and Xaç'atryan 1987, 112–113 and 190–191.

407 Sauvaget 1940, 349. Apart from the fact that large passages of the inscription are indeed not composed in the customary *saj'* or rhymed prose, Sauvaget's unfavorable assessment may be due to the technical difficulties of reading this inscription *in situ* at dusk without the help of high-resolution digital cameras and computer screens, which enable an improved reading of the text. This was, however, already noted by the late professor Sauvaget himself, who states that his edition, while an improvement of that of Şerif, is not definite (Sauvaget 1940, 349).

408 See 1) The funerary inscription of the mausoleum at Argavand near Yerevan dated to 816 / 1413 CE, inscription 816 Argavand, built by *pīr* Hūsayn, who should be identified with the *pīr* Hūsayn Sa'dlū mentioned in Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 250 and 252–253 (Xaç'atryan 1987, 50).

2) The funerary inscription, inscription 848 Mardin, on the tombstone of Ḥamza b. Jahāngīr b. 'Alī b. *qara* 'Uthmān dated to 848 / 1444 CE to 1445 CE in the yard in front of the so-called complex of Ḥamza-i Sagīr in Mardin, see Artuk 1969. The current, clearly readable tombstone must represent a garbled reconstruction, likely from an original tombstone of Ḥamza b. Jahāngīr giving his *nasab*. This original was falsely supplemented with the date 848 / 1444 CE–1445 CE, which in fact was the year of the death of his namesake Ḥamza b. *qara* 'Uthmān. For mentions of Ḥamza b. Jahāngīr after his date of death as recorded on the tombstone, see Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 482 and 542.

3) The mausoleum known as Kadem Paşa Hatun Türbesi near Erciş bearing inscription 863 Erciş, which was built under Jahānshāh by Rustam b. Dawlatyār for members of his family deceased in 863 / 1458 CE to 1459 CE (Şerif 1932, 61, followed by Xaç'atryan 1987, 125, an improved edition is given by Aslanapa 1957, 105. Due to photographs taken on site in October 2018 CE, I suggest several improved readings). It would be most tempting to identify the patron of this mausoleum with Rustam b. Tarkhān who, however, had already died in 861 / 1457 CE (see Woods 1999, 85). The Armenian colophon written in

Nonetheless, two aspects of the inscription represent specific commentaries on the biography of Bāyandur *bīk*. The first of these concerns his framing as a king (*malik*), who ‘jointly sat on the throne of the state’ (*al-mujālasa ‘alā sarīr al-dawlat*). Drawing on the performative iconographical repertoire of having very close advisors seated on the throne of the ruler together with the ruler himself, which we have already encountered for the Umayyad caliph Mu‘āwiya in the theoretical introduction to this study,⁴⁰⁹ this performative gesture frames Bāyandur *bīk* as a close and trusted advisor to the ruler. As Bāyandur *bīk* is, however, not designated a *sultān*, his funerary inscription presents him as an important pillar of the Aqquyunlu state who contributed to the glory of

Mardin translated by Sanjian 1969, 223, records the handing over of the corpse of Rustam b. Tarkhān to his widow, who took the body to ‘their own city of Awrēl’ or Örēl. This toponym is a *hapax legomenon* among the colophons translated by Sanjian. Could an emendation to Arčēš / Erciş be suggested on orthographical or phonological grounds? Curiously, both this colophon (Sanjian 1969, 222 and 223) and the Syriac continuation of Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus (Bar Hebraeus /Barebraeus *Chronography*, 2, 196r, 1, and 196v, 1) report the death of Rustam b. Tarkhān twice, once in 1452 CE and 1450 CE respectively and then a second time in 1457 CE. The Syriac text is unambiguous in both instances, stating that *uzun* Ḥasan (*ḥasan big*) and his brother Jahāngīr (*gahankīr*) / *uzun* Ḥasan on his own killed (*qaṭel*) Ibn Tarkhān (*bar tarkān*).

On Dawlatyār, the father of Rustam mentioned in the extant inscription see Sümer 1967, 52 and 64, however his identification with the *tarkhān* or freeman given as the father of Rustam b. Tarkhān is so far very tentative. Neither Sümer 1967, Uluçam 2000, nor Aka 2001 discuss this inscription.

4) The funerary inscription above the entrance of the mausoleum of Zaynal b. *uzun* Ḥasan at Hasankeyf, inscription 878 or later Hasankeyf a (edited by Sauvaget 1940, 309).

The tombstone of Jahānshāh (!) on the cemetery opposite the mausoleum of *akhī* Aḥmad Zanjānī in Bayburt quoted in Beygu 1936, 247, is dated to 850 / 1446 CE to 1447 CE and therefore cannot refer to the Qaraqyunlu ruler. I was not able to take photographs of this tombstone during my visit to Bayburt in October 2018 CE. See also the very brief funerary inscriptions from Kiğı quoted in Beygu 1936, 255–256, Kemali 1932, 247, and Yiğitbaş 1969, 94. I have not been able to find these tombstones or indeed any of the Aqquyunlu inscriptions during my visit to Kiğı in October 2018 CE due to extensive repairs following damage by an earthquake in 2015 CE. Mr. Yeniay, the Kaymakam of Kiğı during the time of my visit, kindly investigated the current location of these important sources and informed me by email that the foundation inscription formerly set into the foot of the minaret had been taken to the Erzurum Müzesi after the earthquake. I am not currently aware of the whereabouts of the *minbar* and the tombstones mentioned in the earlier sources. For the incorrectness of the attribution of the mausoleum of Ḥalīma *khātūn* near Gevaş to the Qaraqyunlu, see Khachatrian 2003, 41–44.

5) The funerary inscription of Khalil b. Piltan, inscription 887 Muş, to be identified with an uncle of the patron of the mausoleum of Bāyandur *bīk* in Ahlat (see Tihirānī *Diyyārbakriyya*), found during an excavation in the center of Muş and quoted in Konyar 1936, 2, 129.

409 See Al-Balādhurī *Ansāb* 3, 287, and al-Ṭabarī *Taʾrīkh* 3, 287.

the rulers with his brave deeds, rather than as a pretender for sovereign rule in his own name.

The second aspect which is specific to the biography of Bāyandur *bīk* revolves around the phrase *arfa'a burūja l-ijlālī bi-sh'ati musha'sha'ati kawākibi l-iqbāl*, translated above somewhat *ad sensum* as 'elevated the zodiacal signs of glory by radiating the splendor of the stars of destiny'. Here, the difficult term *musha'sha'a* is a clear reference to the military expedition against Muḥammad b. Falāḥ known as *al-musha'shā'*, the radiant, in lower Iraq, led by Bāyandur *bīk* immediately before his 'revolt' and death.⁴¹⁰ While the entirety of the phrase is legible on the photographs taken on site in October 2018 CE and its meaning clear enough in its beginning and end ('lifted the zodiacal signs of glory by ... stars of destiny'), the two expressions tentatively rendered above as *bi-sh'ati musha'sha'ati* stretch the rules of the Arabic language in two decisive regards. The first problem concerns the verbal noun IV of *sha'a*, to radiate, to shine, which is *ish'ā'* rather than – as tentatively suggested in light of the clear readability of the epigraphic text – *ish'a*. The second problematic aspect concerns the term *musha'sha'a*. While the reduplicative root *sha'sha'a* appears to have been connected to the geminate root *sha'a* by Arabic-Islamic grammatical tradition, it has taken on the derivative meaning of 'mixing wine with water' in addition to its basic meaning of 'to radiate, to shine'. Accordingly, the *nomen vicis* of the passive participle *musha'sha'* is to my knowledge exclusively attested in the meaning of weakened wine, which, however, is quite unexpected within the semantic fields of the zodiacal signs and stars that surround it in the inscription translated above. Therefore, I translate *ad sensum* and suggest locating the significance of the term in its transparent allusion to the military expedition of Bāyandur *bīk* against Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, rather than its literal meaning.

3.3.1.9 The Administration of the Realms

Since this time (*naer dien tijt*), the king always remains peacefully in the lands bequeathed to him by his father, who had conquered many lands by the sword. The only real war (*zonderlinghe oorloghe*), which the king [*sultān* Ya'qūb] led was with the *sultān* of Egypt (*souldaen*). Nonetheless, he has his officers (*zijne ordonnancie*) permanently travel throughout all his countries and never stand still, to guard his realms. [They] number

⁴¹⁰ Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 204–205, ed. 'Ashīq, 195. For Muḥammad b. Falāḥ see the very brief note in al-Sakhāwī *Daw'*, 8, 244, the treatment of the dynasty of the *sayyids* of the Musha'sha' in Ghaffārī *Tārīkh*, 92–94, as well as the overview in Arjomand 1984, 76–77, and the comprehensive study of Ranjbar 1382 / 2007.

10.000 fighting soldiers, and whenever they hear that an army approaches the frontiers in arms, they immediately inform the next provincial governor (*den naesten princen*), who reside in the towns and in castles. These in turn pass the message on, so it is possible to react immediately.

It must be kept in mind that the king of Persia rules probably (*bij estimacien*) more lands than the *sultān* of Egypt, the Ottoman ruler (*Tuerck*), or any other, so there is constantly something going on. Nonetheless, due to the efficient organization (*mids der goeder manieren*) of the officers and the readiness that is constantly kept in these parts, it is always possible to counter any threat very swiftly. Throughout the realm, rather good justice is kept. The king is very much obeyed and esteemed (*gheobediert ende ghemint*) and does not have as many servants at his court as other princes do. Instead, he is served (*ghedient*) by the local nobles (*inboornen edelen*) and some Armenians and Georgians (*Jorganen*), rather as is the custom in Europe (*ghenouch naer de manieren vanden lande van haerwaerts overe*).

He truly rules more lands, as has already been estimated, than the Ottoman ruler, the *sultān* of Egypt, or the king of Africa together (*elc voor een*), as he is the ruler (*heere*) of Persia, Media, Assyria, Chaldaia, Mesopotamia, *Sultāniyya* (*Sotomia*), Carmania, Great Armenia, a part of the land of the king of Georgia (*Jorgianen*), many lands in Mingrelia, and many Greek lands that border the empire of Trapezunt. Accordingly, his realm in some areas reaches the Northern Ocean (Black Sea) and China in Central Asia (*Cathay in Tartarien*), as well as the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. He also rules over many islands in the Indian Ocean.

Whenever this king signs something in his own writing, it is written in golden letters, and sealed with golden seals that hang from it, which is quite splendid to see.⁴¹¹

In light of the extra-courtly and ‘vernacular’ source of van Ghistele’s information of the political and administrative configurations of the Aqqyunlu realm that was explored for the preceding passage, it is not surprising that his knowledge of the state of *sultān* Ya‘qūb is rather sketchy. Van Ghistele’s assertion that *sultān* Ya‘qūb had remained peacefully in his domains since his clashes with *sultān* Khalīl and Bāyandur *bīk* contradicts the factual chronology, as Bāyandur *bīk* himself had been in charge of the army that defeated the Mamlūk troops

⁴¹¹ van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 340–314.

led by the *amīr* Yashbak in 885 / 1480 CE.⁴¹² Seeing that van Ghistele returned from his travels in 1485 CE and must have been in Tabrīz some time before this date, his Tabrīzī host is, however, not to be faulted for failing to remark upon *sultān* Ya'qūb's grand campaign against Georgia that took place in this year after the ruler had decided to go to war during the *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand described by Abīwardī translated above.⁴¹³

Van Ghistele's information regarding the writing with golden letters and the sealing of decrees with externally attached seals stamped in gold is similarly vague. Building on a systematic analysis of extant decrees of *uzun* Ḥasan held in the library of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul,⁴¹⁴ Keçik concludes that 'no strict rule can be found' regarding the accentuation of single words and sentences by means of golden ink.⁴¹⁵ He also mentions remainders of the sand used to remove surplus ink (*Streusand*) from the signature of *uzun* Ḥasan in a letter to Qarāmān-oghlu Qāsim *bīk*, which appears to have consisted of gold, as shown by some particles that remained glued to the document.⁴¹⁶ Similarly, a Latin translation of a letter from *uzun* Ḥasan to the pope written by Joannes de Vesima, who signs as the bishop of Kaffa / Feodosia in the Crimea, refers to multiple passages that were written in gold, most of which appear to constitute either rubrics or Qur'ānic quotations.⁴¹⁷

Furthermore, all extant imprints of seals from the chancellery of *uzun* Ḥasan are printed in black ink, rather than being stamped in wax or even gold.⁴¹⁸ Nonetheless, golden seals are mentioned in Iranian chancellery since the time of the Mongols⁴¹⁹ and this together with the occasional use of golden ink in 'Turkmen' decrees may well form the kernel of factual information contained in the story told by his host to van Ghistele.

412 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 187–199, ed. 'Ashīq, 179–189, as well as Bidlisī *Sharafnāma*, 2, 121–122, and Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 835–838. See also the discussion in Woods 1999, 129–130.

413 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 218–225, ed. 'Ashīq, 211–218, see Woods 1999, 138 and 273, note 61 for a discussion of the chronology.

414 Keçik 1976, 62–64. In his more extensive (if in comparison to Keçik somewhat less detailed and meticulous) survey of extant Qara- and Aqquyunlu documents held in the Topkapı Sarayı, Fekete mentions passages and words written in gold in a letter of Jahānshāh dated to ca. 872 (Fekete 1977, 117–121), two letters of *uzun* Ḥasan dated to ca. 875 (Fekete 1977, 179–182 and 191–193) and a letter of *sultān* Ya'qūb dated to ca. 883 (Fekete 1977, 229–231).

415 Keçik 1976, 64.

416 Keçik 1976, 181.

417 See the edition by Piemontese 2007, 98.

418 Keçik 1976, 64. But see the seal written in gold on Jahānshāh's decree appointing a leader of the *hajj* quoted in Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1352 / 1973a, 46.

419 See G. Doerfer, 'ALTŪN TAMĠĀ,' Encyclopaedia Iranica, Online Edition, 1982, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/altun-tamga-gold-mark-of-ownership-tk>.

3.3.1.10 Curiosities in Tabrīz

7, 14.

While residing in this town, one sees many things that appear curious to those that have not been there. For instance, one sees whole cows, oxen, calves, sheep, goats, and other animals carried through the street, which are well and tastily roasted. These hang on sticks, by which four or sometimes more persons carry them, depending on the size of the animals, so that everybody can buy as much as one wishes by weight. This they do due to the expensiveness of wood (*houts*).

The local craftsmen have also made large round vessels (*hovens*) resembling towers (*torren*) from a kind of earth that resembles clay (*poteerde*), and which is dried until it becomes firm. These are set into a pit in the earth within their houses (*huusen*), which pits are then filled up with earth so no air (*lucht*) may go out from beneath or from the sides. Thus, they closely resemble well-pits.⁴²⁰ They then make a fire in it and close the pits again except for a small hole through which the smoke may exit and some air reach the fire. When it is sufficiently heated, they hang any animals they wish to roast from iron chains and contraptions into these vessels. These hang there and are roasted better, more tender, and quicker than it would be possible if they were roasted on a spit.

One also sees some small animals (*beestkins*, likely the small Indian civet or *viverricula indica*) in this place which resemble cats, but appear to have hair like foxes, and carry a substance in their loins which smells very good. This substance is called civet (*jubette*) and when one wishes to obtain it, one catches these animals *et in anum inserit instrumentum ut cochlearem, materiam extrahens*.⁴²¹ This substance is very expensive in these parts, as one finds but few of these animals.

One also sees another kind of small animals (*cleenen dierkins*, likely the Asian house shrew or *suncus murinus*) in this land and town, which closely resemble weasels or rats. These carry musk and are very nice to look at. This musk is produced and grows on these animals just as if it were an abscess, and when the people know from experience that these have grown sufficiently, they tie threads around them and pull them tight so they fall off by themselves. This is the real musk that is also very expensive.

⁴²⁰ The reference likely is to a buried oven or tandoor.

⁴²¹ I take the liberty of translating this phrase into Latin according to the customary treatment of similar passages in the English-Greek bilingual editions of Loeb's Classical Library.

Similarly, one finds there many wild animals, such as deer, roe deer (*hinden*), fallow deer (*deynen*), some kind of goats (*ceverotinnen*), the hair of which is used to make camlet fabric (*tcammelot*), as well as foxes, hares, leopards, and some cheetahs (*tigheren*). These strongly resemble leopards but have longer hair and the spots on their body (*dlijf*) are not round but elongated and stripish (*haerlieder haer streckende*). Their paws are never closed, as their claws cannot be retracted. The underneath and lower sides of their stomachs seem to be bluish. They run much faster than other animals, which is why the river Tigris, which runs faster than the other rivers, has taken its name from them.⁴²²

Also, the farmers of this land ride everywhere on oxen, cows, and bulls, which they saddle just like any other riding animals. They also wear spurs on their feet and carry javelins in their hand, which is rather strange to see.⁴²³

Concluding his evocative description of Tabrīz around 1483 CE, van Ghistele includes some anecdotal information that should be interpreted within the epistemological framework pertaining to the European as well as Arabic-Islamic genre of *mirabilia* or *ʿajāʾib*. While I am not entirely confident that I have exactly understood all of the details of the roasting of animals in elaborate underground contraptions or the harvesting of musk from the small weasel- or rat-like animals, van Ghistele's description of the small Indian civet or *vivericula indica* curiously resonates with Barbaro's description of 'two of the cats that produce civet' (*dui gatti de quelli che fanno il zubeto*) among the animals presented by an Indian king (*un signor de India*) to *uzun* Ḥasan in 1474 CE.⁴²⁴ Nonetheless, this accordance of two European reports written within about ten years is probably not sufficient to reconstruct the details of the *Sitz im Leben* of keeping civets for the production of musk within Tabrīz during the second half of the 15th-century CE, seeing that we are wholly ignorant regarding the

422 Not quite, but see Eilers 1982, 31–32, and Eilers 1988, 313, for the etymological derivation of the hydronym Tigris from the swiftness of its current since Greek antiquity.

423 van Ghistele *Tvoyage*, 341–342.

424 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 120–122, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 533–535. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*. Cf. the personal name of Zibād *khātūn*, civet *khātūn*, of the daughter of the leader of the Mawṣillu network under the Aqqyunlu 'Umar or Āmir I (died 877, cf. Woods 1999, 191–193), who built the so-called Bey or Gülābi Hamamı in Erzincan in 891, see the building inscription 891 Erzincan, edited by Kemali 1932, 224, cf. the edition of Xaç'atryan 1987, 104.

possible modes of transmission of animals given as inter-court gifts of state to the milieu of urban merchants and artisans.

After this *tour de force* following the unique report of van Ghistele through the entangled urban structure of the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz around 1483 CE, we can now build on this inductive reconstruction in a functional analysis of performances that are attested for the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts in the *qishlāq*.

3.3.2 *Receptions and Delegations*

We are notoriously better informed about the reception of Qara- and Aqquyunlu envoys elsewhere, as well as about the reception of external ambassadors at the ‘Turkmen’ courts. Accordingly, I take this opportunity to discuss the dispatch of the *maḥmal* from the ‘Turkmen’ courts. This *maḥmal* appears to have been a litter carried along by the convoy of the pilgrims joining the *hajj* in the Hijāz, signalling the patronage of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers. This discussion of the most prominently described dispatch from the ‘Turkmen’ courts is then followed by a survey of the accounts of external envoys describing their reception at the Qara- or Aqquyunlu courts.

3.3.2.1 The Dispatch of the *Maḥmal* to the *Hajj*

In the following discussion of the dispatch of the *maḥmal* from the ‘Turkmen’ courts, I begin with the example of a unique source describing the designation of a leader of the *hajj* together with the *maḥmal* signalling the protection of the Qaraqyunlu ruler Jahānshāh granted to the pilgrims to the Hijāz. Thereby, I aim to use examples to embed the dispatch of delegations in the economic and administrative configurations of the courtly *qishlāq*. While some sparse information is available on the commission of courtly performative objects, such as the *maḥmal*, from individual towns,⁴²⁵ this decree has been preserved in its original form⁴²⁶ and accordingly represents a unique source not only on the factual dispatch of the pilgrims and the *maḥmal*. By contrast, this text also sheds light on the iconographical repertoires and interpersonal networks actualized in this performative display of righteous authority by means of elaborate rhetoric.

425 The *maḥmal* of Jahānshāh is commissioned in al-Ḥilla, which is presented as a well-established custom (see below). See Ṭihrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 553–554, for the commission of a *maḥmal* from Yazd, as well as Faḡlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 229–230, ed. ‘Ashīq, 222–224, for a *maḥmal* that is commissioned in Baghdād.

The evidence regarding courtly commissions from provincial towns has been exemplarily assembled for the town of Yazd by Dunietz 2015, 25–26.

426 See the remarks of Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1352 / 1973a, 45–46, stating that his edition of the text is based on earlier editions, as he did not have access to the original.

The decree is dated to Dhū l-Ḥijja 870 / July to August 1466 CE and must have been written immediately after Jahānshāh's victory over his son *pīr* Būdāq, who had rebelled in Baghdād and was slain during the conquest of the town a month before the dispatch of the *maḥmal*.⁴²⁷ As attested by al-Jazīrī, the convoy of the pilgrims and the *maḥmal* safely arrived in Mecca in 871 / 1467 CE, even if he does not note the name of its leader.⁴²⁸ The vagueness of the reference in the decree to 'necessary matters' that had prevented Jahānshāh from defeating 'those spreading discord and the evil ones' and opening the way for the pilgrimage must therefore be seen as a very transparent gloss over the bloody strife between Jahānshāh and his son. Thereby, this decree takes on a second function besides its stated purpose of appointing a leader of those pilgrims joining the *hajj* from the direction of 'Irāq, namely demonstrating that Jahānshāh has indeed broken with his son and is now firmly in charge.

As the name of Jahānshāh's appointee Nizām al-Dīn 'Abdalḥaqq is not attested elsewhere,⁴²⁹ it may arguably be worthwhile considering an emendation of his name from 'Abdalḥaqq to 'Āshūr to accord with the name of *amīr sayyid* Nizām al-Dīn 'Āshūr, a minister (*wazīr*) serving Jahānshāh and his son Ḥasan'alī, who had served as an envoy to the Timurid court some years earlier.⁴³⁰ While the appointment of high-ranking members of the court to the position of leader of the *hajj* is also attested for instance in *uzun* Ḥasan's appointment of his brother Uways *bīk* that is discussed in greater detail below,⁴³¹ the inheritance of the leadership of the *hajj* granted by Jahānshāh to the descendants of 'Abdalḥaqq / 'Āshūr could suggest a more local background from 'Irāq for this appointee. This explicit statement that the leadership of the *hajj* should be inheritable may have contributed decisively to the preservation of this decree, presumably within a genealogical lineage that hoped to profit from this inheritable grant.

The decree is composed of two successive formulations on the same argumentative structure, first in Arabic and then in Persian. To give an impression of the iconography deployed in this piece of elaborate and sophisticated rhetoric, I translate the entire decree:

427 See *Tīhrānī Diyārbakriyya*, 371–375, and al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 40–42.

428 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 467.

429 See the introduction of the decree by its editor, Mudarrisī *Ṭabāṭabā'ī* 1352 / 1973a, 44.

430 *Tīhrānī Diyārbakriyya*, 353–354 and 439, as well as Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 576 and 579–580. Cf. his mention in the edict of Jahānshāh extant in the great mosque of Gurgān / Astarābād, inscription 862 Gurgān / Astarābād, edited by Dhabīḥī 1351 / 1972, 313–314, Mudarrisī *Ṭabāṭabā'ī* 1352 / 1973a, 30–33, and Ma'ṭūfi 1387 / 2008, 266.

431 *Tīhrānī Diyārbakriyya*, 553–554.

[Arabic]

(In the beginning of this decree (*tuḡhrā*) stands a medaillon (*turunjī*), where the following is written in gold:)⁴³² Victory from God, nearby conquest, and good tidings to the Muslims about paradise! (Qurʾān 61, 13).

Oh Muḥammad, Oh ʿAlī!

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate.

God, praised and exalted be He, says: Complete the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and the ʿumra for God! (Qurʾān 2, 196). He, may the Speaker be praised, also says: Those who find a way for it among the people must perform the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba (*al-bayt*) for God. (Qurʾān 3, 97).

From the one who calls to God, Abū⁴³³ l-Muẓaffar Jahānshāh.

Praised be the One who granted us success in opening the gates of salvation to the Muslims and made it easy for us to send out the convoy of the pilgrims and those performing the ʿumra. God bless the town of knowledge and religion⁴³⁴ Muḥammad and his noble relatives.

After running (*baʿda l-saʿyi*) to offer the appropriate praise and blessings and donning the garb of a pilgrim (*wa-l-iḥrāmī*) to the direction (*qibla*) of prayer and petitionary prayer, we write as follows: May this message be known to the most noble *sayyids*, established among the greatest *imāms* and judges, and clear to the most resplendent and exalted ones, the lords of honors and largesse, whose views are penetrating and whose thoughts hit their mark, those who strive to perform the pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to the holy house of God and those who would love to be united with the Kaʿba and the station of Ibrāhīm (*al-maqām*), the servants of the sacred precinct of Mecca, may God honor her!, and the inhabitants of the fertile area of Bakka (*sawād bakka*), may God guard her!, the leaders of the Arab tribes (*mashāhīr aḥyāʾ al-ʿarab*) according to their different ranks, and⁴³⁵ all the people of the steppes in their various tiers, those who settled the house and the faith (Qurʾān 59, 9).

432 The words in brackets represent comments by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī as the editor of this decree.

433 In light of the frequently idiosyncratic flection of Arabic substantives in texts produced at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, it should be noted that the text as edited by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī has *mīn ... abū l-muẓaffar* instead of the grammatically correct *mīn ... abī l-muẓaffar* as prescribed by the rules of Arabic grammar.

434 This is an allusion to the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad 'I am the town of knowledge and ʿAlī is its gate!' (*anā madīnatu l-ʿilmi wa-ʿalī bābuhā*), see al-Suyūṭī *Jāmiʿ*, 1, 415, which is taken up in the Persian text as well.

435 I emend a *wa-* missing from the printed text.

Verily, the ultimate reason and the highest goal of the conquest of the realms of the ʿIrāq and the defeat of the forces of decay and dissimulation (*mawādd al-fasād wa-l-nifāq*) was that during the last years, the way of the pilgrimage had become barred to those wishing to travel to the Ḥijāz (*ʿalā ahli l-ḥijāz*) and the proper path to the place where the path and the passage lead (*ilā dhī⁴³⁶ l-ṭarīq wa-l-majāz*) had become blocked. Thus, the oppression of those spreading discord and the evil ones grew (*tamādā ḡulm al-mufattinīn⁴³⁷ wa-l-ashrār*) and the hands of oppression and haughtiness became long. Therefore, the visitors of this time have turned back and the people of the splendor of prophetic tradition (*al-ḥidhān*) have decided to postpone the realization and confirmation of this boon [the pilgrimage], as every thing has its time. We, however, have remained firm in our decision and intent, turning toward the realization of this goal with pure conscience as an outspoken caller to the excellency of the Creator of mankind and Provider for beduins and townsfolk (*ahl al-wabar wa-l-madar*). Verily, we granted you a clear conquest, may God forgive you your sins that came before and after! (Qurʾān 48, 1 and 2). Thus, He made it easy for us to overcome these calamities (*al-ghilān*) and granted us the power to free the path from the evil⁴³⁸ of these thorn-trees (*al-mughaylān*). He granted us the conquest of the Arabian ʿIrāq in its entirety, giving us power over the entire realms of Baghdād. Praise be to God who guided us to this, we could not be rightly guided if God did not guide us! (Qurʾān 7, 43).

The close companion (*muqarrab*) to his highness the *khāqān* and the member of the council of the *sulṭān*, Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbdalḥaqq, stands out from among his contemporaries in his sincere eagerness to serve (*sabq al-khidma wa-l-khulūṣ*)⁴³⁹ and is characterized among his brothers by the boundlessness of his personal piety (*farṭ al-ʿubūdiyya wa-l-khusūṣ*), may God, exalted be He!, in His limitless grace grant him success that is free from obstacles and diversions! Due to our intention of further increasing his rank and wishing to continuously heighten the elevation of his position, building on all this, we have made him the leader of the convoi

436 I emend the *dhā* of the edition to *dhī* according to the rules of Arabic grammar.

437 While a reading of this word as an active participle IV *muftinīn* is grammatically possible, the semantic field of *aftana*, to beguile, does not fit the context. Accordingly, I read the form as the active participle II *mufattinīn*, which is certainly unexpected but can arguably be explained as a *denominativum* to *fattān*, the tempter. Within this context, one would expect the active participle I, *fātinīn*, cf. al-Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I, 94.

438 I read *sharr* instead of the *sharar* of the edited text.

439 I read *khulūṣ* instead of the *ḥulūṣ* of the edited text.

of those embarking upon the *hajj* and the *ʿumra* (*amīran li-qāfilati l-ḥājj wa-l-muʿtaminīn*). Thus, we have made him a guide and leader for the Muslims to the Kaʿba, which is the direction of prayer for the people of our religion (*ahl al-dīn*), to lead them with the help of God, exalted be He!, over the easiest path to the best destination, as He is the one who grants success to every wish and goal.

We have decreed that the pomp of the *maḥmal* and the provisions during the journey to and from Mecca shall correspond to what has always been customary and to the example set by our predecessors among the *sultāns*. It shall be paid by the tax of the *kharāj* of [the town of] al-Ḥilla and its adjacent areas (*kharāj al-ḥillati wa-mulḥaqātihā*), who shall be exempt of any further payments during the year, as we have decreed in an effective and recently enforced decree (*parwāncha jadīda wa-aʿlām ʿalā ḥaddihī*). Praise be to God who grants success to the intention.

This important task and high-ranking responsibility, namely the command⁴⁴⁰ over the pilgrims and their leadership, which we have granted to him due to his merit (*anʿamnā fī shaʿnihī*), shall be exclusive to him as long as he lives and be inherited exclusively by his children and grandchildren after his death according to their age and generation. They shall firmly guard it and shall neither change nor replace it. If someone replaces it [the grant] after hearing it, may the fault be upon those who replace it, as God is the Hearing and Knowing. (Qurʾān 2, 181). If anybody should change it, may the curse of God and the angels, all the people and the Lord of retribution on the Day of Judgement be upon him

Written on the 25th of the month of Dhū l-Ḥijja of the year 870 of the *hijra* of the prophet (8th of August 1466 CE).

Seal: Who is just, rules / Jahānshāh / Who oppresses, perishes.⁴⁴¹

(On the reverse of the decree, four seals have been printed, all of which are round:)⁴⁴²

1. The one trusting in God (*al-mutawakkil ʿalā llāh*), the high-standing governor (*al-malik al-walī*), the smallest among the servants ʿAlī.
2. This world fades, thank only God / Is the litany of Shīrād, servant of the court.

440 I read *imāra* instead of the *ʿimāra* of the edited text.

441 See for this seal of Jahānshāh Aubin 1956, 124, and the facsimile on plate 1.

442 The words in brackets constitute comments by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī as the editor of this decree.

3. Trust in God's grace and help / NAME,⁴⁴³ the smallest servant of the king.
4. While you live, take refuge in God / So He may always be your friend. (A second copy, written in black ink.)⁴⁴⁴

[Persian]

Appropriate praise be to the Wise who has set up a sign signalling the intercession of this dynasty (*dawlat*), and plentiful thanks to the Noble who enables the upright servants to direct the convoys of the pilgrims by means of His general grace. Boundless prayer and benediction to the entrance of the town of knowledge and religion (*madīnat al-'ilm wa-l-dīn*), without whom nobody enters the court of cognition (*'irfān*) and no wise man (*'ārif*) can recognize the King of the world, Muḥammad, peace and blessing be upon him.

The one in Medina opening Mecca / The high full moon, Aḥmad of high renown.

[Peace and blessing be upon] his family, companions, and close relations, without whose exertions the plain of Islām could not remain free of the refuse of error.

After running to offer the appropriate praise and blessings (*ba'd az sa'y kardan dar waṣā'if-i ḥamd wa-thanā*) and donning the garb of a pilgrim of prayer and petitionary prayer (*wa-iḥrām bastan-i ṣalā wa-du'ā*), we write as follows: To the most noble *sayyids* and greatest *imāms* and judges, the scholars, the *shaykhs*, and the lords, the people (*uṣūl*), notables, and commoners, as well as the people of well-founded opinion and experience and the possessors of power and respect, those who strive to perform the pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to the holy house of God and those who would love to be united with the Ka'ba and the station of Ibrāhīm, the neighbors (*mujāwirān*) of the sacred precinct of Mecca⁴⁴⁵ and those who have made the fertile area of Bakka their homeland, the tribes of the Arabs (*aḥyā'-yi 'arab*) and the tented tribes (*aḥshām*) of the beduins and those dwelling in tents, those who say: God is our Lord!, and remain firm (Qur'ān 41, 30), firmly pursuing the righteous path and persevering. May they all know that the fundamental reason and the most important thing of all among the conquest of the 'Irāq of the Arabs (*az fath-i 'irāq-i 'arab*)

443 I am unable to make sense of either Mudarrīsī Ṭabāṭabā'ī's emendation of this name, nor of the original as quoted in a note to the edition.

444 The words in brackets constitute comments by Mudarrīsī Ṭabāṭabā'ī as the editor of this decree.

445 I follow the suggestion of Mudarrīsī Ṭabāṭabā'ī of reading *makka* instead of *ka'ba*.

and the defeat of the forces of temptation and strife (*mawādd-i fitna wa-shaghab*) was that for a long time, the way to the Ḥijāz had become blocked to the people of yearning and inclination [to embark on the pilgrimage]. The extent of oppression and evil transcended all bounds, as for some time necessary matters (*darūriyyāt-i umūr*) prevented the opening (*fath*) of this path. Finally, during the convenient time of the sharp sword (*ba ḥukm al-waqt-i sayf al-qāṭi'*) and the success granted by the shining star (*al-tawfīq-i najm-i sāti'*), the decision to intervene was made with true intention, as the call of His Highness God, if you decide upon a matter, put your faith in God! (Qur'ān 3, 159) reached the ear of the soul. Thus, after turning to these regions, the conquest of this strong fortress [of Baghdād] and the castles of this faction of wrongdoers became easy due to the support of God. Praise be to God who takes sadness from us! (Qur'ān 35, 34).

At this time, the close companion of his highness the *khāqān* and the confidant of the council of the *sultān*, Nizām al-Dīn 'Abdalḥaqq, stands out from among his contemporaries in his eagerness to serve (*sābiqa-yi khidmat*) and is distinguished by the strength of his personal piety and devotion. For some time, he has abandoned amusements forbidden by divine law and turned away from sin. Thus, the fondness of the august mind for him has reached a high degree and the furthest rank, which is why he has been appointed as the leader of the *maḥmal* of the convoi of those embarking upon the *hajj* (*amīr-i maḥmal-i qāfila-yi ḥujjā*). According to the conventions of the times and the customs of the past, the trap-pings of the *maḥmal* have been paid with the money and tributes (*māl wa-mutawajjahāt*) of al-Ḥilla (*hilla*) and its adjacent areas. Everybody who wishes to visit the house of God shall turn their head and soul on the path of God. When they have assembled, he shall bring them by the easiest path to the best destination of their goal. He shall hold this great joy as the greatest honor of his life and kindly fulfill his office of the beautiful course (*sa'y*), so that he may hope to receive a large reward from His Almighty Highness, may His state be powerful and His proof resplendent!

The path of the people of the convoy and those embarking upon the *hajj* shall be decided by the one entrusted and appointed by us. They shall confirm to the route and mode of travel that have in earlier times become established by means of specified customs and blessed practices. They shall cooperate with the leaders and dignitaries among the beduins (*a'rāb*), who shall enter through every door of help and cooperation, as they have been instructed by means of separate decrees to accompany the convoy to guarantee its safety.

(In the end, written in black ink in the margin:)⁴⁴⁶

A most noble and worthy decree (*parwāncha*), written by the servant of the court Qāsim the secretary (*qāsim parwānchī*).⁴⁴⁷

Before reconstructing the administrative framework that facilitated Jahānshāh's patronage of the *hajj*, I take the occasion of this decree to analyze the deployment of Qur'ānic quotations in chancellery composed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court. Both the Arabic and the Persian text are studded with numerous quotations from the Qur'ān. Notwithstanding the common structure and frequently very similar wording of both the Arabic and the Persian version, however, the Qur'ānic passages that are chosen for quotation differ between both versions. This may arguably be explained by a triple audience envisioned for this decree, which in addition to readers turning to either the Arabic or the Persian text could also have included connoisseurs who read both versions and would have been able to appreciate the virtuosity of the differing selection of Qur'ānic passages that are quoted. Alternatively, this difference may indicate a distribution of work on the two versions between two different groups of secretaries, who independently embellished a rough copy of the text with suitable quotations from the Qur'ān. In this latter case, the close accordance of not only the list of addressees, but also the *double entendre* of the rhetorical deployment of the introductory greetings in the terminology of *sa'y* and *ihrām*, two of the most emblematic bodily acts involved in the ceremonial of the *hajj*, would indicate that the 'rough copy' also included this and similar rhetorical passages that are common to both versions. The rhetorical goal of this deployment of greetings in the garb of ceremonial acts standing for the *hajj* should be seen as an inclusion of Jahānshāh among the pilgrims, who approaches the

446 The words in brackets constitute comments by Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i as the editor of this decree.

447 Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973a, 47–52. This Qāsim(-i) *parwānchī* also signed an edict of Jahānshāh dated to 857, see Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973a, 26, and an edict of Jahānshāh of 867 appointing a *murtaḍā-yi a'zam* as the leader of the *sayyids* of Qumm, see Aubin 1956b, 127, Busse 1959, 150, and Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973a, 53.

For the involvement of Qāsim *parwānchī* b. *shaykh* 'Alī as the lord of Ṭārum and one of the most prominent military leaders during Jahānshāh's campaign against his son *pīr* Būdāq in Shīrāz, see Ṭihrānī *Diyābakriyya*, 364, corresponding to Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 628, for his military involvement and death during Jahānshāh's ultimately disastrous campaign against *uzun* Ḥasan see Ṭihrānī *Diyābakriyya*, 419 and 426, corresponding to Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 670 and 674, where he is introduced as the lord of Ṭārum and Yazd. The involvement of his retinue in the Qaraqyunlu power struggles after Jahānshāh's death is mentioned by Ṭihrānī *Diyābakriyya*, 442.

various notables to whom his missive is addressed as the pilgrims approach the sacred precinct of Mecca.

The tone of the deployment of Qur'ānic quotations is struck in the introductory medaillon, where the Qur'ānic verse 'Victory from God, nearby conquest, and good tidings to the Muslims!' (Qur'ān 61, 13) is specified by the non-Qur'ānic addition 'about paradise' (*bi-l-jannati*). While the description of paradise in *sūra* 61 stands before this verse, which rather marks a transition to a summons to worldly strife and victory,⁴⁴⁸ the motif of paradise is implicitly continued in the subsequent Qur'ānic quotations quoted in this decree. Thus, the verse 'Praise be to God who guided us to this, we could not be rightly guided if God did not guide us!' (Qur'ān 7, 43) quoted in the Arabic text is spoken by the inhabitants of paradise (*aṣḥāb al-janna*) in the Qur'ānic context, as is 'Praise be to God who takes sadness from us!' (Qur'ān 35, 34) in its Persian counterpart. The quotation of the verses in the context of Jahānshāh's decree accordingly frames Jahānshāh, his court and realms as speaking the Qur'ānic words of the inhabitants of paradise. In this way, Jahānshāh's conquest of Iraq, one of the *topoi* of verdant fertility in Arabic-Islamic scholarly traditions, is imbued with salvational meaning as an exertion that realizes an earthly paradise. The parallel deployment of two different verses, both of which are spoken by the inhabitants of paradise in the Qur'ān, demonstrates the pivotal significance of this rhetorical device for the interpretation of the decree.

This redeployment of a paradisiac Qur'ānic voice is extended in the Persian version of the decree. Thus, the quotation 'those who say: God is our Lord!, and remain firm' (Qur'ān 41, 30), that is used to characterize the inhabitants of the Arabian steppes who are called upon to abstain from plundering the pilgrims, is spoken by angels descending upon the people in the original context of the Qur'ān. Accordingly, the messengers of Jahānshāh to the Arabs are rhetorically set in a parallel to the angels sent from paradise by God. In this instance, the Qur'ānic quotation (*alladhīna qālū rabbunā llāhu thumma staqāmū*) is also extended within the framework of rhymed prose or *saj'* in its non-Qur'ānic rhyming complement 'firmly pursuing the righteous path and persevering' (*wa-stawū 'alā l-manhajī l-qawīmi wa-qāmū*). This extension of the Qur'ānic text, itself composed in *saj'*, by a rhyming Arabic counterpart should not be seen as an attempt at emulating the divine voice of the Qur'ān,⁴⁴⁹ but rather as a display of rhetorical brilliance in classical Arabic within the linguistic

448 See the commentary to this verse in al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 740.

449 See van Ess 1981 for the imitation of the Qur'ān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa', as well as Leube 2019 on non-Islamic attempts attributable to the 13th-century CE Catalan scholar Ramon Martí at imitating Qur'ānic style.

matrix of the Persian version of the decree. This categoric difference of register between the Qur'ānic quotation and its non-Qur'ānic counterpart is also demonstrated by the exclusive vocalization of the former, unless, of course, this difference in vocalization should represent an intervention of the editor(s) of the text.

Similarly intertextual dimensions of meaning also inform the other Qur'ānic quotations included in this decree. Some opposition to Jahānshāh's appointment could intertextually be alluded to in the quotation 'if you decide upon a matter, put your faith on God!' (Qur'ān 3, 159), as the original context is one of Muḥammad remaining steadfast in spite of criticism opposing his clemency after a victory. While it is not clear whether the appointed leader of the *hajj* was indeed seen to have been compromised by the revolt of *pīr* Būdāq, the redeployment of this quotation appears to justify Jahānshāh's (otherwise not attested) decision to strive for reconciliation rather than punishment after the victory over his son. The legal bindingness of the Qur'ānic quotation 'If someone replaces it after hearing it, may the fault be upon those who replace it, as God is the Hearing and Knowing.' (Qur'ān 2, 181), which calls for the absolute safekeeping of the succession of inheritance of the leadership of the *hajj* as granted by Jahānshāh, is enforced by the Qur'ānic context of the verse, which is precisely to the subject of keeping inheritances safe. This Qur'ānic reference is then further expanded by the addition of the curse-formula 'If anybody should change it, may the curse of God and the angels, all the people and the Lord of retribution on the Day of Judgement be upon him.'⁴⁵⁰ Accordingly, the deployment of Qur'ānic quotations in this decree demonstrates the eloquence and creativity of the 'Turkmen' chancelleries in realizing the intertextual potential of Qur'ānic quotations to its fullest.

Possibly due to the composition of this decree in the immediate aftermath of prolonged inner-familiar warfare, the information regarding the administrative and economic configurations shaping Jahānshāh's patronage over the pilgrimage as symbolized by his dispatch of a *maḥmal* is rather sketchy. In addition to appointing a leader of the convoy, both the Arabic and the Persian versions of the decree specify that the cost for the *maḥmal* and the delegation should be borne by the town of al-Ḥilla and its adjacent areas. Fitting the context of Jahānshāh attempting to frame himself as restoring stability after chaotic oppression, this allocation of funds is presented as a continuation

⁴⁵⁰ Cf. the parallel curse-formula in the conclusion of Jahānshāh's edict inscribed in the great mosque of Gurgān / Astarābād, inscription 862 Gurgān / Astarābād, edited by Dhābilī 1351 / 1972, 313–314, Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1352 / 1973a, 30–33, and Ma'tūfī 1387 / 2008, 266.

of a well-established custom.⁴⁵¹ This is particularly interesting in light of Jahānshāh's earlier sending of a *maḥmal* in 850 / 1446 CE to 1447 CE, the year of his first capture of Baghdād.⁴⁵²

Both versions enumerate a large number of addressees in very general terms, who are implicitly called upon to accept Jahānshāh's nomination of 'Abdalḥaqq and assist the organization of the journey. This may reflect the lack of established contacts in the Ḥijāz (see below), as established contacts would arguably have been addressed in more specific terms. As reflected in the very unspecific range of addressees, the decree amounts to a statement of Jahānshāh affirming the identity of his nominee to the leadership of the pilgrims joining the *hajj* via Iraq to anybody who may have been concerned. In contrast, a much greater degree of specific relations is suggested in the intriguing reference in the Persian version of the text that separate missives had been sent to the leaders of beduins living in the Arabian Peninsula, who are called upon to assist the leader of the pilgrimage during the journey. Unfortunately, however, no further information regarding the identity of these contacts and the nature of their ties to Jahānshāh appears to be available.

To contextualize this decree appointing 'Abdalḥaqq and his descendants as leaders of the pilgrimage on behalf of Jahānshāh, I now present a brief overview of the historiographical depiction of the dispatch of *maḥmals* representing the patronage of 'Turkmen' rulers over the convoy of the pilgrims to the Ḥijāz. We have already come across the dispatch of a *maḥmal* in Faḍlallāh's description of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* at Mount Sahand in 895 / 1490 CE. The importance of courtly patronage over the pilgrimage as represented in the *maḥmal* and possibly also in other performative acts related to the celebration of the *hajj* is demonstrated by the intensity of diplomatic exchange and contestation surrounding it, particularly between rulers controlling 'Irāq and the Mamlūks in Egypt and Syria. While this history extends beyond the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms to Timurid rulers such as Shāhrukh,⁴⁵³ performative hegemony over the *hajj* appears to have been shaped to a large degree not only by the strategic planning of the courts, but also by power struggles within the interpersonal networks tasked with deploying courtly agency in the 'pivotal

451 See Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujūm* 14, 322, for the preparation of the *maḥmal* of the Jalāyirid ruler Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in al-Ḥilla in 831 / 1428 CE.

452 For the arrival of the *maḥmal* and the pomp of the convoy, see al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 458, and al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 19–23.

453 See for instance the *maḥmal* sent by Shāhrukh in 848 / 1445 CE, which was accompanied by an inner *kiswa* for the Ka'ba (*kiswatun li-l-ka'batī l-sharīfati min dākhilihā*) described in al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 458. An overview of Shāhrukh's policies connected to the *hajj* is given by Woods 1999, 50–51.

periphery' of the Ḥijāz. This may explain the importance evidently attached to the appointment of a leader of the *ḥajj* such as 'Abdalḥaqq and is very well illustrated in the following account of how *qara* Yūsuf profited from power struggles among the dignitaries appointed to oversee the *ḥajj* by the Mamlūk ruler al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad:

On Muḥarram 16th 821 (February 23rd 1418 CE), the [Mamlūk] *sultān* was informed about the news from the Ḥijāz. When the *amīr* and *dawādār* Yashbak al-Jakamī, who had been appointed as the second leader of the *ḥajj* and the *maḥmal*, came to Medina after the conclusion of the *ḥajj*, it became apparent that he had approached the convoy from 'Irāq and bought camels from them. Then, he had gone forward with a small number of companions and joined the convoy from 'Irāq, fearing that the *sultān* would punish him as he had punished the *amīr* Āqbāy, the viceregent in Syria, as this Yashbak was a close companion (*ṣadīq*) of Āqbāy. It was said that they had secretly been planning a coup against the *sultān*. Thus, this Yashbak went [with the '*irāqī*' convoy] until they returned to 'Irāq, where he approached the *amīr qara* Yūsuf. *Qara* Yūsuf honored him and allotted him wages, so he stayed with him until the death of *qara* Yūsuf.⁴⁵⁴

While we do not know whether the *maḥmal* sent from Baghdād 'following the customary manner' to the pilgrimage of 820 / 1418 CE was sent in the name of *qara* Yūsuf,⁴⁵⁵ *maḥmals* in the name of Qaraqyunlu rulers are attested after Jahānshāh's first conquest of Baghdād in 850 / 1446 to 1447 CE.⁴⁵⁶ Interestingly, al-Jazīrī's history of the *ḥajj* does not mention Jahānshāh's agency during the dispatch of this convoy, but rather reports that the *maḥmal* of 850 / 1447 CE had been sent by 'Aḥmad *shāh* b. [*qara*] Yūsuf'.⁴⁵⁷ This name clearly represents a confusion of the earlier Qaraqyunlu ruler of Baghdād, *shāh* Muḥammad b. *qara* Yūsuf, with the young son of Jahānshāh b. *qara* Yūsuf, Muḥammadī

454 Ibn Taghrībirdī *Nujūm* 14, 64.

455 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 438. Cf. the '*irāqī*' *maḥmals* sent from Baghdād without any explicit indication of their affiliation to a particular ruler in 816 / 1414 CE, 817 / 1415 CE, 818 / 1416 CE, and 819 / 1417 CE, al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 434–437, as well as al-Jazīrī's reference to a hiatus of *maḥmals* coming from 'Irāq of over ten years before 831 / 1428 CE due to the oppression of 'the oppressor b. *qara* Yūsuf', who should be identified with *shāh* Muḥammad, see al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 448.

456 See al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 458, as well as al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 23, and al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 3, 73. Cf. the indication that no *maḥmal* was sent from 'Irāq from 813 until 815 due to the conflict between the Jalāyirid ruler Aḥmad [b.] Uways and *qara* Yūsuf, al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 433.

457 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 458.

mīrẓā, who had been installed as governor of Baghdād by his father earlier in 850 / 1446 CE.⁴⁵⁸ This suggests a certain level of imprecision regarding the exact identification of the ruler extending his patronage over the convoy of the *hajj* by means of the *maḥmal*. Alternatively, this may also simply reflect a lack of interest in matters unrelated to the *hajj* on the part of al-Jazīrī. In any case, we read that the convoy of this year was led by a young 'Mongolian Turkmen' (*mina l-turkumāni l-mughul*: This type of 'ethnic' categorizing of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is discussed below) named Ja'far who showed himself 'one of the heroes of Islam' (*min fursāni l-islām*) in fighting off attacks by Arab beduins.⁴⁵⁹

Al-Jazīrī also does not refer to the transition of governorship in Baghdād after a period of 2 ½ years from Muḥammadi *mīrẓā* to his brother *pīr* Būdāq⁴⁶⁰ in his mention of the *maḥmals* sent from 'Irāq in 851 / 1448 CE,⁴⁶¹ 852 / 1449 CE,⁴⁶² and 853 / 1450 CE.⁴⁶³ It would be very tempting to explain the lack of references in al-Jazīrī's account to '*irāqī* *maḥmals* for the years between the *maḥmal* arriving in Mecca in 853 / 1450 CE until the *maḥmal* participating in the *hajj* of 871 / 1476 CE under the leadership of 'Abdalḥaqq by this change of governorship from Muḥammadi *mīrẓā* to *pīr* Būdāq. However, this would force an emendation of al-Ghiyāth's explicit reference to the time of Muḥammadi *mīrẓā*'s governorship in Baghdād from 2 ½ years to 3 ½ to allow for the dispatch of four *maḥmals* by Muḥammadi *mīrẓā* before the discontinuation of the dispatch by *pīr* Būdāq.⁴⁶⁴

Al-Jazīrī does, however, refer to problems in guaranteeing the security of the pilgrims coming from 'Irāq during these years, particularly in his description of how the convoy of the pilgrims was plundered by al-Musha'sha' in 857 / 1453 CE.⁴⁶⁵ According to the independent report of al-Ghiyāth, the spoils that

458 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 23.

459 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 458. This Ja'far can almost certainly not be identified with the Aqquyunlu rival of *uzun* Ḥasan named Ja'far b. Ya'qūb, see Woods 1999, 62–80.

460 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 23.

461 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 459.

462 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 459.

463 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 460. Cf. the indication of Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 110, that *mīr sayyid* Muḥammad, the father of the influential mystic Aḥmad Lālayī, had died on Muḥarram 7th 855 / February 9th 1451 CE while returning from the *hajj*. If *mīr sayyid* Muḥammad did not conduct his return from the pilgrimage with an uncommon slowness, this indicates a continuation of the *hajj* in the year 854 / 1451 CE that may have not included courtly Qaraqayunlu sponsorship signalled by a *maḥmal*.

464 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 23.

465 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 463. See the brief description of how *sayyid* Muḥsin Musha'sha' upheld the family tradition of abolishing the fasting, prayer, *hajj*, and alms widely held to be mandatory in Islam in Ghaffārī *Tārikh*, 93, as well as the suggestion that Jāmī's prestige was such that even Muḥsin Musha'sha' supported his pilgrimage, Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 180.

were taken at this occasion also included a *maḥmal*.⁴⁶⁶ As al-Jazīrī states, the pilgrimages of the years between the *maḥmals* sent by Jahānshāh or his sons in 853 / 1450 CE and 871 / 1467 CE were not attended by pilgrims travelling to Mecca from ʿIrāq.⁴⁶⁷ Arguably, this disruption of the pilgrimage from ʿIrāq for 17 (lunar) years⁴⁶⁸ demonstrates the factual importance of the patronage of the ruler over the convoy of the pilgrims beyond its functionalization in the representation of courtly authority.

After the dispatch of Jahānshāh's *maḥmal* to the pilgrimage of 871 / 1467 CE, the pilgrimage from ʿIrāq appears to have again been discontinued until the transition from Jahānshāh to *uzun Ḥasan* was completed. Although an *ʿirāqī maḥmal* of 874 / 1470 CE is mentioned without further details by al-Jazīrī,⁴⁶⁹ it is not entirely clear who dispatched it.⁴⁷⁰ In the following year, however, *uzun Ḥasan* sent a *maḥmal* accompanied by his brother Uways to signal his patronage over the attendance of *ʿirāqī* pilgrims during the *hajj* of 875 / 1471 CE. Besides the brief mention by al-Jazīrī,⁴⁷¹ this occasion is described in detail in the court history of *uzun Ḥasan* written by Ṭīhrānī:

[In mid-875 / the beginning of 1471 CE], the *maḥmal* of the *hajj* arrived from Yazd, where its preparation and splendor had been ordered by the command of the ruler and for which no effort had been spared. To honor the customs of Islam, it had been dispatched by his highness the first among the *sayyids*, *sayyid* Niʿmatallāh the Second, and was brought from Yazd to [*uzun Ḥasan's qishlāq*]⁴⁷² at Qumm. Large flocks of people embarking upon the pilgrimage (*iḥrām bastagān*) had joined it on its way, some with their own provisions and accouterment, some in the hope for donations by the *sultān*.

466 al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 33.

467 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 467. See the reference to the insecurity of the pilgrimage during the final years of *pīr Būdāq's* governorship in Baghdād, which Jāmī allegedly made to Jahānshāh when the latter sent him his collected poems (*dāvān*), which suggests that Jāmī may have contributed to Jahānshāh's decision to issue the decree translated above, Bākhārzi *Maqāmāt*, 140–141, as well as 185.

468 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 467.

469 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 468.

470 Woods 1999, 108, refers to Aqqyunlu *maḥmals* in 873 / 1469 CE and 874 / 1470 CE. While it certainly is very likely that the *maḥmal* of 874 / 1470 CE was dispatched under the patronage of *uzun Ḥasan*, this is not explicitly confirmed by the sources. My editions of the sources cited in the notes by Woods 1999, 260, do not contain mentions of a *maḥmal* from ʿIrāq during the *hajj* of 873 / 1469 CE.

471 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 469.

472 For this *qishlāq*, see Ṭīhrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 552.

His highness *uzun Ḥasan* (*ṣāhib-qirān*), together with the noble princes, the greatest commanders, the best of the honorable ministers, as well as the remaining soldiers and inhabitants of Qumm, came forward and brought the noble *maḥmal* into town. The hungry and destitute, who raised the call of their longing for the *ḥajj* to the Kaʿba from everywhere, and those raising the chant ‘God, God, here we are!’ of the pilgrimage (*labbayka, allāhumma labbayka*) that rushed forward were aided by *uzun Ḥasan* (*ṣāhib-qirān*) and fitted out with provisions and riding animals. He appointed his own brother Uways *bīk* as the leader of the pilgrims (*mūr-i ḥājj*) and gave him full authority in this matter. Thus, a great number of people riding and on foot, who were well supplied and escorted, set out together with the *maḥmal*.⁴⁷³

That *uzun Ḥasan*’s performative patronage at the *ḥajj* extended beyond the provisioning of destitute Muslims for their pilgrimage is narrated by al-Jazīrī for the following pilgrimage of 876 / 1472 CE. According to his report, the convoy coming from ‘Irāq attempted to secure a place of honor for their *maḥmal* relative to the *maḥmal* sent by the Mamlūk *sultān* Qāyṭbāy, at first by attempting to carry their *maḥmal* before his and then by attempting to carry it on the right of the Egyptian *maḥmal*, rather than to its left.⁴⁷⁴ In the following *ḥajj* of 877 / 1473 CE, these tensions reached a climax with the Mamlūk leaders of the Egyptian pilgrims and the ruler of Mecca forcing the leaders of the ‘*irāqī*’ convoy to participate in the ceremonial of the pilgrimage as part of the Egyptian convoy, leaving the ‘*irāqī maḥmal*’ at the grave of Muḥammad’s wife Maymūna.⁴⁷⁵ According to the Mamlūk historiographer Ibn Iyās, this open conflict had been caused by attempts of the leaders of the ‘*irāqī*’ convoy to have the Friday sermon (*khutba*) of Medina read in the name of *uzun Ḥasan* as the ‘servant of the holy precincts’ (*khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*).⁴⁷⁶ In an act

473 Ṭihirānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 553–554, cf. the very brief paraphrasis in Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*.

474 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 469. The normative Mamlūk-Egyptian view on the proper performance integrating the *maḥmal* in the *ḥajj* is described by al-Qalqashandī *Ṣubḥ*, 4, 279 and 281, as well as al-Qalqashandī *Ṣubḥ*, 12, 233, on the reception of the Egyptian *maḥmal* by the ruler of Mecca.

475 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 469–470. This *ḥajj* is also described in Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt*, 260–264, due to the attendance of the famous mystic ‘Abdalraḥmān Jāmī, cf. the suggestion that this (or the following year’s?) convoy of pilgrims may have been plundered by the Mamlūks in retribution to the raiding of the countryside of Aleppo in the name of *uzun Ḥasan*; Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 181.

476 Ibn Iyās *Badāʾiʿ*, 3, 88. Cf. the attempt of *uzun Ḥasan* of having the Friday sermon of Herāt delivered in his name, described in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 30–31.

of performative violence,⁴⁷⁷ the two leaders of the *ʿirāqī* convoy were sent to Egypt,⁴⁷⁸ where they were kept in prison until their eventual release in 887 / 1483 CE.⁴⁷⁹

After this escalation of the conflict at the *ḥajj* of 877 / 1473 CE, al-Jazīrī alludes to charges of bribery surrounding the *ʿirāqī maḥmal* during the *ḥajj* of 880 / 1476 CE and 881 / 1477 CE.⁴⁸⁰ According to these charges, the leaders of the *ʿirāqī* convoy had attempted to bribe the ruler of Mecca to ensure the presence of their *maḥmal* during the ceremonies of the *ḥajj* outside of Mecca. The next information regarding Aqquyunlu *maḥmals* pertains to the *ḥajj* of 886 / 1482 CE. As al-Jazīrī mentions that the Mamlūk leaders of the Egyptian convoy and the ruler of Mecca decided that this *maḥmal* could only be included in the *ḥajj* after being stripped of its textile cover, it appears likely that some of the calligraphic embroidery of this *maḥmal* included pretensions of Aqquyunlu hegemony over the Hijāz.⁴⁸¹ Although rumors claimed that ‘the children of *uzun Ḥasan*’ would send an army to Mecca in the following year, no *ʿirāqī* convoy appeared during the *ḥajj* of 887 / 1483 CE.⁴⁸²

The sequence of *maḥmals* sent by the Aqquyunlu ruler *sultān* Yaʿqūb to every *ḥajj* between the *ḥajj* of 892 / 1487 CE until the *ḥajj* of 895 / 1490 CE is so regular that al-Jazīrī explicitly remarks the absence of *ʿirāqī* pilgrims at the *ḥajj* of 896 / 1491 CE.⁴⁸³ While Faḍlallāh’s description of the dispatch of the *ʿirāqī maḥmal* from Tabrīz at the *yaylāq* of Saʿīdābād in 895 / 1490 CE has already been discussed above,⁴⁸⁴ the organization of the *ḥajj* of 892 / 1487 CE at the beginning of this sequence is described in an elaborate Persian missive, which Faḍlallāh himself claims to have composed for *sultān* Yaʿqūb. This missive constitutes a counterpiece to the decree of Jahānshāh translated at the beginning of this discussion of the dispatch of *maḥmals* by the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts and is translated together with its introduction by Faḍlallāh:

477 For the concept of ‘performative violence’ in the negotiation of appropriateness see Payne 2017.

478 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 469–470, Ibn Iyās *Badāʾiʿ*, 3, 88.

479 Ibn Iyās *Badāʾiʿ*, 3, 191–192.

480 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 470–471.

481 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 473.

482 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 474. I have not been able to verify the source of the claim of Woods 1999, 269, for an Aqquyunlu *maḥmal* during the *ḥajj* of this year.

483 al-Jazīrī *Durar*, 1, 475–477. Cf. Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 183 and 218, for the appointment of a leader of the convoy of the pilgrimage by *sultān* Yaʿqūb in 892 / 1487 CE.

484 According to Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 429, ed. ‘Ashīq, 407, Saljūqshāh *bīgum*, the mother of *sultān* Yaʿqūb, had arranged to perform the *ḥajj* in this year and only cancelled her journey due to state affairs (*maṣāliḥ-i mulkiyya*).

After his return to the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz in this year [891 / 1486 CE], *sultān* Ya'qūb (*azm-i humāyūn*) decided to order the dispatch of a blessed *maḥmal* for the following year, which would be sent by the road of Baghdād to the Ka'ba of desire. To this end, the ruler decided to encourage and urge the people to embark on this most excellent of journeys, particularly the inhabitants of Khurāsān and Māzandarān. Thus, I (*in banda*) was ordered to draft an august missive encouraging the pilgrims, suspending the taxes and tolls (*tamghā wa-bāj*), and promising provisions, transport, as well as the hope of grants and patronage (*tarfih wa-tarbiyat*). The shape (*ṣūrat*) of this missive and its arrangements is quoted below as it was sent to Khurāsān, to enable the honored readers (*arbāb-i baṣīrat*) to recognize the great piety of this well-disposed king.

The shape of the missive sent from the august chancellery to the lands of Khurāsān (*ba jānib-i khurāsān*) to encourage the pilgrims:

To the *sayyids*, the judges and scholars, the notables and *shaykhs* of the mystical orders (*mashāyikh-i ṭarīqat*), as well as those travelling on the paths of truth, the entirety of the Muslims (*jumhūr-i ahl-i islām*) and the notables and commoners living in the regions of Khurāsān, Astarābād, and Māzandarān, may God bless their affairs! By the will of the Giver of the order 'And turn your face toward the Ka'ba (*al-masjid al-ḥarām*)!' (Qur'ān 2, 144), our Ka'ba-like court (*bārgāh-i ka'ba-ishtibāh-i mā*) has become the direction of prayer of the different groups of Muslims embarking on the pilgrimage (*qibla-yi ṭawāyif-i ṭayīfān-i ahl-i islām*) and the direction that is faced by the notables and commoners. Praised be God for this! No work, nature, or deed has been spared for the command 'And We will give you a direction of prayer to satisfy you' (Qur'ān 2, 144), so we have carefully observed the loved direction of prayer (*qibla-yi ibtighā'*) and turned toward the satisfaction of the Lord to continually employ our noble intention and fortunate desire to spread the slogans of the commands of the prophet and raise the banners of the customs of Muḥammad (*sunan-i muṣṭafawī*). We have answered the righteous command 'and announce the pilgrimage to the people, who will come on foot and on every emaciated camel, coming from everywhere' (Qur'ān 22, 27) with the tongue of humbleness, saying 'God, God, here we are!', and always listened closely to follow the 'striving for the satisfaction of God!' (Qur'ān 2, 265), searching for the path of divine content with the call 'Here we are, searching for you!'⁴⁸⁵ Accordingly, the august mind has decided that we will dispatch a blessed *maḥmal* to the pilgrimage of the

485 See for this variant of the *talbiya* quoted on the authority of Ibn 'Umar, Muslim *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 531.

year 892 from the House of Peace (*dār al-salām*) Baghdād, which is the shortest road leading to the beauty of the Ka'ba. Joyful for the arrival of this good news, everybody must be filled with longing and desire and shall begin the pilgrimage, donning the garb of a pilgrim (*iḥrām*) on this auspicious journey.

Accordingly, 'demonstrating their entire inclination by their state' (*iḥḥāran li-kamālī l-intinā'i fī sha'nihim*), we have decreed that wherever anybody belonging to this splendidly powerful group shall go or travel within our well-protected domains, their auspicious arrival shall be met and welcomed with measures of honor and splendor. During their coming and going, they shall not pay any taxes or tolls (*tamghā wa-bāj*), road-protection or tribute (*rāhdārī wa-sawqātī*), transit fees or bribes (*nukhtabāshī wa-salāmī*) or anything of this kind.⁴⁸⁶ Their baggage shall not be interfered with or carried to the custom-house (*tamghākhāna*). They shall be free and exempt (*tarkhān wa-marfū' al-qalam*) of any administrative obligations (*takālīf-i dīwānī*) and shall not be obliged to pay any further dues to the governors and rulers they meet on their way. They shall not be obliged to obtain letters and signatures (*sanad wa-imḍā*) of the governors of the regions and the mere text (*sawād*) of this order shall be treated as binding and confirmed by the seal of the judges of Islam and the governors. No messenger or rider of the post (*ilchiyān wa-yāmchiyān*) or anybody else coming their way (*āyanda wa-rawanda*) shall commandeer their animals, as any thanks or complaints they may voice will be greatly sanctioned and rewarded. A missive to this effect shall not be required to be renewed every year. This shall be known as binding and effective to the governors and prefects, the overseers of the administrative matters and concerns, the collectors of taxes and tolls, the castellans of the castles and the guardians of the streets.⁴⁸⁷

The encouragement to prospective pilgrims by promising rewards and lifting taxes suggests that the turnout of pilgrims travelling to Mecca in the different convoys and under the protection of the *maḥmals* of various rulers was seen as an index of the power of their respective patron. Although Faḍlallāh does not offer any reasons why the inhabitants of Khurāsān and Māzandarān were singled out in this missive, this may simply be due to the coincidence that

486 These different fees connected to personal mobility are briefly discussed by Minorsky and Woods in Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 47, in Minorsky's abridged translation, cf. Hinz 1936, 104.

487 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 229–230, ed. 'Ashīq, 222–223.

he himself happened to have composed this particular text. In any case, the situation of most of these regions outside of effective Aqqyunlu administration indicates the visibility of this type of patronage over the *hajj* on a globally Islamic scale. Keeping in mind the geography of *sultān* Ya'qūb's realms, they would arguably also be the people most affected by the different types of way taxes enumerated in the missive, as almost their entire journey would cross areas under *sultān* Ya'qūb's rule, where his waiving of taxes could be expected to take effect.

Although he merely quotes the 'shape' (*ṣūrat*) of this missive without the introductory *basmala* and *ḥamdala*, or for that matter the titles of the sender,⁴⁸⁸ the date, or the seals that are included in Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī's edition of Jahānshāh's decree translated above, Faḍlallāh succeeds in demonstrating his rhetorical brilliance. The Qur'anic quotations are well-chosen, particularly the reference to Qur'ān 2, 265, 'striving for the satisfaction of God', where the inter-textual context is precisely one describing those who spend money and effort for the satisfaction of God. Accordingly, this quotation anticipates the content of the missive, namely the abolishment of taxes for the sake of divine favor.

The Arabic phrase 'demonstrating their entire inclination by their state' (*iḥḥāran li-kamālī l-intinā'ī fī sha'nihim*), referring to the external manifestation of *sultān* Ya'qūb's intention to encourage the prospective pilgrims to embark on the *hajj*, is not as straightforward to explain. As far as I see, it does not represent a literal quotation, but rather turns on the interpretative operations and terminology of the Arabic-Islamic genre and practice of commentary (*tafsīr*), where the terminology of 'demonstrating the inclination' constitutes one of the recurring patterns in which the Qur'ān in particular is interpreted as a demonstration of the inclination of God. According to this suggestion, the inclusion of this Arabic phrase continues the hyperbolic representation of *sultān* Ya'qūb that begins in the comparison of his court with the Ka'ba (*bārgāh-i ka'ba-ishtibāh-i mā*) and continues by suggesting that his court constitutes the direction or *qibla* faced by pious Muslims from all over the world in prayer. This equation of *sultān* Ya'qūb's court with the Ka'ba as the 'house of God' accordingly enables the deployment of terminology and interpretative operations usually directed at God's word as manifest in the Qur'ān to *sultān* Ya'qūb's intentions as manifest in the following part of the missive, where he enumerates the various taxes and obligations that are waived for prospective pilgrims crossing the Aqqyunlu realms.

488 This corresponds to the *invocatio* and *intitulatio* according to the diplomatic terminology used in Fagner 1980.

The final mention of the dispatch of a *maḥmal* to the *ḥajj* by a 'Turkmen' ruler is contained in the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*. It is dated to the year 900 (*hijratdan toqūz yüz tamām oldu*, equivalent to the *abjadī* numerical value of the letters of *kharq*)⁴⁸⁹ and was sent out in the name of *sultān* Rustam. The narrative, however, is mostly concerned with the rivalry between Ibrāhīm Gulshanī and other Aqquyunlu courtiers.⁴⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the physical presence of the *maḥmal* as an object during the stay of the convoy of the pilgrims in Baghdād is demonstrated in the alleged refusal of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī to hand over the *maḥmal* to the provincial governor Ya'qūb *khān*, a brother of the incumbent ruler *sultān* Rustam.⁴⁹¹ The suggestion that Ibrāhīm Gulshanī was accompanied by 600 armed followers embarking on *jihād* while traveling as pilgrims (*altıyüz ālat-i ḥarblı ḥujjāj-i mujāhidīn*)⁴⁹² may indicate that influential participants in the pilgrimage also contributed to the security of the entire convoy.

This overview of the dispatch of the *maḥmal* representing the patronage of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers over the convoy of pilgrims joining the *ḥajj* via the 'road of Baghdād' exemplifies the sensibility of inner-Islamic inter-court relations during the long 15th-century CE. The dispatch of the *maḥmal* exemplifies the interlacement of multiple repertoires, mediums, and performative acts during the negotiation of 'appropriateness' in the relations between different courts. In an exemplary investigation of the *fatḥnāma* or letter of victory by means of which *uzun* Ḥasan informed the Mamlūk *sultān* Qāytbāy of his victory over the Timurid ruler Abū Sa'īd, Melvin-Koushki has shown how subtle manipulation of the structure expected from similar documents in this text sent a message that differed starkly from its literal content.⁴⁹³ This multi-levelled deployment of meaning also characterizes the two decrees in the names of Jahānshāh and *sultān* Ya'qūb translated above, which similarly draw on intertextual connotations of Qur'ānic quotations to convey their message.

As in the physical mistreatment of the unfortunate envoy of *uzun* Ḥasan in Cairo in the case investigated by Melvin-Koushki, performative violence was also used in the negotiation of appropriateness concerning the *maḥmal* between the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers and the Mamlūks. Thus, the alleged

489 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 227.

490 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 227–239.

491 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 228. Cf. the suggestion that Ibrāhīm Gulshanī 'took the *maḥmal* from the hands of his detractors and began to load up' (*qalqıp maḥmali dakhī ellerinden alıp yükledip 'āzm eder*), Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 232.

492 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 232.

493 Melvin-Koushki 2011.

attempts of the leaders of *uzun* Ḥasan's convoy of 877 / 1473 CE to have the Friday sermon in Medina read in his name were answered by their imprisonment in Egypt until 887 / 1483 CE. Similarly, the curious case of the *maḥmal* of 886 / 1482 CE that was only included in the performance of the *ḥajj* after having been stripped of its textile covering illustrates the multi-levelled deployment of significant representational elements during the performative negotiation of status and authority between the Mamlūks and the 'Turkmen' rulers patronizing the *ḥajj*. At the same time, we need to keep in mind that this *maḥmal* arrived in Mecca shortly after the Aqqyunlu victory over Mamlūk forces near Urfa in 885 / 1480 CE, which certainly contributed to the tensions.⁴⁹⁴ As the *maḥmal* of 886 / 1482 CE likely was the first sent by *sultān* Ya'qūb since his rise to power and the Mamlūk defeat, it may well be possible that the objectionable, likely calligraphic, decoration of the textile covering of this *maḥmal* would not have caused undue grievance in other circumstances. This demonstrates the importance of multiple intertwined strands of mediums, repertoires, and performative actions along the manifold channels of communication characteristic to the elaborate culture of Islamicate inter-court diplomacy.

3.3.2.2 Receiving Delegations at the 'Turkmen' Courts

Like its counterpart of the dispatch of delegations, the reception of envoys at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts should be seen as a highly visible recurring occasion during which relations of status and authority were negotiated by means of multiple entwined threads of meaning pertaining to multiple channels of communication. The visibility of this stage for the performative negotiation of multiple repertoires of rightful authority in the representation of the ruler is starkly demonstrated in the following episode:

His highness the refuge of the divine law, the judge Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Nūrullāh narrated that once, when envoys of the Mamlūk and Ottoman rulers came to Tabrīz, *sultān* Ya'qūb *mīrzā* had convened a most splendid and magnificent courtly session (*majlis*) on the day of their reception. He wore a gold-embroidered robe (*dakla*) and sat on the throne of rulership (*sarīr-i saltanat*) while he received the envoys. When everybody was on their spot, the judge 'Īsā (*qāḍī 'īsā*) entered the meeting and saw the king in this attire. He came forward, exclaiming: 'Wearing gold-embroidered clothes is forbidden (*ḥarām*) to men!' and ordered his attendant (*mulāzim*), *amīr* Sirāj al-Dīn, right there to take this robe from the shoulders of Ya'qūb *mīrzā* and dress him in an undyed and coarse

494 See Woods 1999, 129–130.

garment (*farjī-yi ābaft-i khud-rang*). The king did not take any objection and was not at all disturbed by this inappropriate enforcement of Islamic normativity (*iḥtisāb-i bī-maḥall*) by the judge. In this manner, this powerful minister prevented the well-disposed ruler from engaging in anything that was against the noble divine law.⁴⁹⁵

As emblematic as this performative enforcement of Islamic normativity during a diplomatic reception by *qāḍī* ʿĪsā Sāwajī is, it is not at all trivial to pin down its different levels of meaning. It is clear that the setting of the reception was aimed at representing the power and authority of *sultān* Yaʿqūb through a splendid display of material wealth and social capital. This display is manifest in the trappings of the audience hall, the throne, and *sultān* Yaʿqūb's garments, as well as the attendant courtiers and notables. Khwāndamīr ostensibly narrates the episode to illustrate the beneficial influence of *qāḍī* ʿĪsā Sāwajī on *sultān* Yaʿqūb. Nonetheless, the highly performative setting in which the minister chose to exert his influence also turns his changing of the robe of the ruler into a communicative gesture directed both at the external envoys and at the court assembled for their reception. *Sultān* Yaʿqūb's calm acceptance of his minister's intervention could be seen as a signal of his humility. However, closer scrutiny of the scene indicates that his acquiescence ultimately emerges as a powerful performance of his dignity, as any conceivable alternative course of action would likely have led to a disastrous loss of face for some of the involved parties. In this way, *sultān* Yaʿqūb's impassiveness during the change of his robe by his minister even underlines the material splendor of his court, as being able to afford being entirely unconcerned about the difference between a splendid, gold-embroidered robe and a much simpler garment arguably represents an even greater display of material wealth than simply possessing a gold-embroidered robe.⁴⁹⁶

The episode may also be taken as an indication of the personal courage of *qāḍī* ʿĪsā Sāwajī in asserting Islamic normativity at *sultān* Yaʿqūb's court, however the closeness of both suggests that he really did not risk any unforeseen opposition by the ruler. Finally, Khwāndamīr's positionality at the Timurid, Ṣafawid, and Mughul courts⁴⁹⁷ gives a paradigmatic quality to his narration of

495 Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 3, 432.

496 A similar display of ostentative simplicity amidst a dazzling display of material wealth is the unornamented saddle and reigns of the mule on which the Fāṭimid caliph rode to the yearly ceremonial of the opening of the dam of the Nile, see Nāṣir-i Khusraw *Safarnāma*, 85.

497 See Bockholt 2021 for the influence of Khwāndamīr's changing courtly embeddedness on the different variants of his *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*.

this anecdote, which should accordingly be seen as salutary advice. Arguably, *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb thus emerges as the ideal of an unperturbed and self-controlled ruler, while any courtier hearing this story is given an implicit warning not to overstep his bounds by the subsequent execution of the over-assertive judge and minister *qāḍī* ‘Isā Sāwājī after the death of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb.

As we have already come across many of the significant parameters and aspects pertaining to the reception of delegations and a good number are yet to come in the course of this study, I conclude this discussion with a brief analysis of the importance of personality and personal skills as described in the report of an envoy who arguably presents his diplomatic success at the Aqqyunlu court of *uzun* Ḥasan in over-perfect terms. The Mamlūk envoy Ibn Ajā attended the court in Tabrīz in 876 / 1471 CE and described his mission in his *History of the Amīr Yashbak*. His reputation appears to have been tainted by something of a carrierist touch in the eyes of his contemporaries, as he purportedly attempted to use his scholarly background to secure influence and wealth by throwing himself at influential political figures.⁴⁹⁸ His description of how he claims to have drawn on his scholarly Arabic-Islamic learning to become something of a super-envoy at the court of *uzun* Ḥasan fits this charge and makes him an ideal example of how the personality and background of an envoy could be deployed to optimize his reception and standing at the court that received him.

As discussed above during the reconstruction of the architectural and urban configurations of the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz, Ibn Ajā had been lodged together with his companions in the complex of the Muẓaffariyya during the night of Tuesday, the first of Rabi‘ 11 876. This is equivalent to the night from Monday to Tuesday, September 16th to 17th 1471 CE,⁴⁹⁹ the day of their arrival in Tabrīz. According to his report, *uzun* Ḥasan had also returned to Tabrīz from the *yay-lāq* because he was informed of the arrival of Ibn Ajā.⁵⁰⁰ After Ibn Ajā’s success in opening an access to the facilities on the morning of Tuesday by means of his note to the chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, he describes his arrival at the court as follows:

498 See his biography in al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw’*, 10, 40–41.

499 See Leube Prolegomena (forthcoming) for a detailed reconstruction of the chronology and itinerary of Ibn Ajā’s journey to and from Tabrīz on the basis of the different editions of the manuscript and its copies.

500 Ibn Ajā *Ta’rīkh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65, ed. Tulaymāt, 104. Ibn Ajā’s embassy is not mentioned in *uzun* Ḥasan’s court historiography. Instead, *uzun* Ḥasan’s return to the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz in the fall of 876 / 1471 CE is introduced as ‘having completed the festivities [of his ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān], the ruler returned to the town of Tabrīz to spend the winter (*barāya qish-lāmīshī*)’ (Ṭīhrānī *Diyyārbakriyya*, 563).

During the morning of Wednesday [Rabīʿ II 2nd 876 / September 18th 1471 CE], the *sulṭān* [*uzun*] Ḥasan asked me to come to his presence (*bayna yadayhī*). Due to a fever, I excused myself. He, however, sent someone to ask about my wellbeing and convey his greetings, and had some honey, fruits, and similar uncooked foods prepared for me.

On Thursday [Rabīʿ II 3rd 876 / September 19th 1471 CE], the official given the function of receiving and taking care of courtly ambassadors (*mihmandār*) came to me and said: The king asks you to come to his quarter (*khalwa*) after the midday-prayer! Thus, I prayed my midday-prayer and went with him. When we arrived at his palace, we were brought to a room and seated until the afternoon-prayer, then he asked us to him. When I entered his presence, he was surrounded by a group of scholars (*ahl al-ʿilm*) and merchants who had come to him from other regions. As I approached him, he rose from his seat (*qāma min makānihī*) and seated me at his side.

Right at the beginning, he asked me about our lord (*mawlānā*), the *sulṭān* al-Malik al-Ashraf [Qāʾitbāy], may God make his reign everlasting! Then, he asked me about his excellency (*al-maqarr al-ashraf*), the *amīr* Yashbak, the secretary of state (*dawādār*), the mainstay of the realm (*niẓām al-mulk*) and leader of the Islamic armies (*bāsh al-ʿasākir al-islāmiyya*), may God make his supporters strong! (*aʿazza llāhu anṣārahū*). I replied: They are well and send their greetings to the king. He repeated: May they be well in every respect!, and went on: By God, I love them both! As far as I know, my empire and their empire is one. Look, my armies are ready, take as much of them as you want (*mahmā khtarta minhum khudh*)! I have asked the *sulṭān* many times for this, but he never replied to me, so I did not know what he wished for (*mā ʿalimtu l-murāda*).⁵⁰¹

While we need not discuss the following particulars concerning the campaign led by Yashbak against the Dulghādirid / Dhū l-Qādirid ruler *shāh* Suwār and its ramifications for the relations between the Aqqyunlu ruler *uzun* Ḥasan and the Mamlūks, Ibn Ajā claims to have fulfilled his diplomatic mission. True to his claim that *uzun* Ḥasan returned to Tabriz from his *yaylāq* explicitly to receive him, he is sufficiently sure of being favorably received due to the high standing of his patrons that he excuses himself for a day due to his illness.

The motif of *uzun* Ḥasan caring for the physical wellbeing of his guest by sending honey and fruits to Ibn Ajā resonates with something of a leitmotif

⁵⁰¹ Ibn Ajā *Taʾrīkh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 66–68, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 105.

throughout his report. Even before their arrival in Tabrīz, Ibn Ajā and his retinue are met on Monday [Rabīʿ I 30th 876 / September 16th 1471 CE] by the official given the function of receiving and taking care of courtly ambassadors (*mihmandār*), the *amīr* Rustam,⁵⁰² who presents a portable meal (*simāt*) sent by *uzun* Ḥasan.⁵⁰³ On Tuesday, *uzun* Ḥasan enters Tabrīz and moves into his palace (*al-dār al-muʿadd li-l-imāra*), where some mystics (*baʿd al-fuqarāʾ*) present him with two dishes of honey and bread. These are delivered to Ibn Ajā and his retinue by *uzun* Ḥasan's runner (*sāʿī*), who is ordered to inform the envoy that *uzun* Ḥasan had intended to remain in the *yaylāq* and had only returned to Tabrīz to receive Ibn Ajā.⁵⁰⁴ This custom of supplying foodstuffs to arriving envoys is also mentioned in some of the other extant descriptions of diplomatic receptions at the court of *uzun* Ḥasan.⁵⁰⁵

Following his favorable reception by *uzun* Ḥasan and after having explained the current state of the campaign and presenting the letter of *amīr* Yashbak to *uzun* Ḥasan, Ibn Ajā takes part in *uzun* Ḥasan's performative scholarly sessions reading the famous *ḥadīth*-collection or *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī on the night from Thursday to Friday. These scholarly sessions, during which Ibn Ajā claims to have dazzled *uzun* Ḥasan and his court with his command of Arabic-Islamic learning, are independently attested as having taken place on the nights from Thursday to Friday in *uzun* Ḥasan's court history written by Ṭihrānī for the beginning of the year 876 / summer 1471 CE:

In the beginning of Muḥarram 876 (June 1471 CE), [*uzun* Ḥasan] returned to the town of Tabrīz. [...] Every night from Thursday to Friday (*shab-i jumʿa*), [*uzun* Ḥasan] gave scholars and notables access to the courtly session (*majlis*), who had gathered from near and far to the world-ruling throne to settle affairs, and fulfilled the personal and general requests of those attending his court. Thus, he treated everybody kindly by means of general feasts and beneficence.⁵⁰⁶

502 For him, see Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 464 and 481.

503 Ibn Ajā *Taʾriḫ*, ms.-copy Cairo, 66–68, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 103.

504 Ibn Ajā *Taʾriḫ*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 104.

505 E.g. Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 196, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 599.

506 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 558–559, as well as the discussion in Woods 1999, 106. Cf. also the recurring assemblies of scholars at the *majlis* of *uzun* Ḥasan during the night from Thursday to Friday described in Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 530, corresponding to Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 736, as well as Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 51 and 53, as well as the discussion of a *ḥadīth* quoted by both al-Bukhārī and Muslim brought up by 'the judge of Yazd' (*yazd qaḍīsī*) during the *majlis* of *sultān* Yaʿqūb, Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 104–107, cf. Dunietz 2015, 126. It may be worth considering whether this 'judge of Yazd' might be identified with Ḥusayn Maybudī, see Shūshtarī *Majālis*, 2, 221–222, for another anecdote that places Ḥusayn Maybudī as a minor but outspoken scholar at the *majlis* of *sultān* Yaʿqūb.

Although this is not explicitly remarked on by Ṭihrānī, Ibn Ajā's description of *uzun* Ḥasan's performative courtly session with scholars and notables, followed by a joint dinner, indicates that this weekly reception was continued after *uzun* Ḥasan's return to Tabriz in Rabīʿ 11 876 / September to October 1471. In a forthcoming contribution, I discuss the scholarly arguments by which Ibn Ajā claims to have impressed the scholars of Tabriz in detail.⁵⁰⁷ Therefore, I now continue the examination of how Ibn Ajā claims to have made a good figure as an envoy at *uzun* Ḥasan's court with the joint dinner following the courtly session:

Afterward, the food was brought and everybody ate. I was still unwell. The table-cloth (*simāt*) was spread for the attendants and a small table with five or six bowls was set in front of the king. He asked me to join him at his personal table (*ilā māʾidatihi l-mukhtaṣṣa bihi*), and when he saw that I only ate a bit of bread without any other food or meat, he asked me about this. I replied: I have abstained from both for 18 days. Thus, he called for some confection of unripe fruits (*rubb ḥiṣrim*), which was brought in an emerald bowl, and signalled that I should eat from it (*ashāra ilayya bi-l-akl*). Accordingly, I ate a little to thank him for his care. Then I got up according to our custom, but he was amazed by my getting up and asked: Why do you not wait until we lift the table-cloth? I excused myself and explained that nature and habit are strong and had induced me to this without thinking about it, as it had indeed been.⁵⁰⁸

Attempting to regain some of the standing lost during the preceding scholarly discussion dominated by Ibn Ajā, the judge Ḥasan (*al-qāḍī ḥasan*) b. Yaʿqūb,⁵⁰⁹ who should be identified with 'the judge and minister Ḥasan' mentioned as interceding on behalf of *darwīsh* Qāsim at the court of *uzun* Ḥasan by Ibn Karbalāʾī⁵¹⁰ and as the patron of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī,⁵¹¹ challenged Ibn Ajā by remarking that this truly was a despicable habit. Interestingly, a sense of interregional polemics is given by his explicit reference that the habit was

507 See Leube Genre (forthcoming).

508 Ibn Ajā *Taʾrīkh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 71–72, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 108–109.

509 The name of his father is mentioned later, Ibn Ajā *Taʾrīkh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 81, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 117.

510 Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 89, see also the discussion of the episode Lingwood 2014, 101–102. He also appears among the signatories of a decree of *uzun* Ḥasan, see Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1352 / 1973a, 67, as well as his appearance in Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt Arabic*, 204–205, cf. Lingwood 2014, 102. An epitaph and chronogram composed for a *khwāja* Ḥasan dated to 894 may also refer to this figure, see Ahlī *Kullīyyāt*, 565.

511 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 25, 29–37, 48–50, 55–57, 65, 68, and 93–94, cf. Dunietz 2015, 122, and Lingwood 2014, 90–91.

that of 'your region' (*'ādat iqlīmikum*), suggesting that not only Ibn Ajā but the whole Islamicate realm of Syria and Egypt suffered from the bad habit of not letting one's fellow meal-companions finish before rising from a shared meal. According to Ibn Ajā's report, the deployment of a normativity based on 'common sense' and 'nature' by the judge Ḥasan gave him a splendid opportunity to once again display his scholarly erudition. Therefore, Ibn Ajā claims to have demonstrated how his habit of rising from a shared meal before everyone had finished was attested among the customs sanctioned by Muḥammad himself. He clinched his point by referring to the successive eating of Muḥammad's poorer companions (*ahl al-ṣuffā*) from a single dish.⁵¹²

Besides the interregional polemics which pervade Ibn Ajā's report,⁵¹³ his asymmetric deployment of scholarly erudition to counter a charge of deficient courtly manners is particularly striking in this episode. This asymmetry continues throughout his description of his stay in Tabrīz, beginning from the elaborate and highly erudite note (*ruq'a*) to the chief judge 'Alā' al-Dīn that serves the humble purpose of opening a way to the facilities and continuing in his description of sophisticated and somewhat bookish disputes during *uzun* Ḥasan's performative scholarly *majlis* on the night from Thursday to Friday.⁵¹⁴ Due to the functionalization of Ibn Ajā's narrative as part of his strategic scheming for positions and influence within the scholarly configurations of the Mamlūk elites, his report certainly cannot be taken at face value. Nonetheless, its resonance both with the external information about its author and the configurations of the 'Turkmen' *qishlāq* in Tabrīz makes it a very suggestive illustration of the contested courtly sphere.

A final aspect of this asymmetric deployment of learning concerns the linguistic skills of Ibn Ajā in the Turkic language. As attested by al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Ajā had demonstrated his command of Turkic (*turkī*) by translating the popular narrative elaboration of the Arabic-Islamic genre of *futūḥ* or early Islamic conquests known as the *Futūḥ al-Shām* of al-Wāqidi⁵¹⁵ into 12,000 Turkic verses.⁵¹⁶ After a brief comment on the faulty translation of a *ḥadīth* read from the *Ṣaḥīḥ*

512 Ibn Ajā *Ta'rikh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 72–73, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 109. For a brief overview of the *ahl al-ṣuffā* see Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, 1, 196–197.

513 For a detailed discussion of the relational deployment of 'culture' to subordinate the Aqquyunlu courtly configurations and realms under their Mamlūk counterparts in Ibn Ajā's account of his journey to Tabrīz, see Leube Hierarchy (forthcoming).

514 See Leube Genre (forthcoming).

515 This text exists in multiple different versions and editions. See al-Wāqidi *Futūḥ* for a contemporary edition explicitly aimed at rekindling the spirit of *jihād* among Muslims (al-Wāqidi *Futūḥ*, 1, 4), as well as the forthcoming study by Yoones Dehghani Farsani.

516 al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 10, 41. Flemming 1977, 111, briefly discusses the second part of this Turkic translation stored in the library of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul.

of al-Bukhārī for *uzun* Ḥasan by a member of his court (*fa-tarjama shaykhun minhum al-ḥadītha li-l-bādshāh bi-ghayri tartībīn*),⁵¹⁷ Ibn Ajā explicitly claims to have drawn on his command of Turkic to demonstrate the erudition and stylistical excellency of his patron. According to his presentation, he had been a fellow student of the father of judge Ḥasan and praised the learning of his patron Yashbak to a degree that judge Ḥasan refused to believe him. To overcome his doubts, Ibn Ajā claims to have produced a letter written by Yashbak to *shāh* Suwār, which indeed demonstrated a perfect command of style and erudition by his patron. When *uzun* Ḥasan heard about this, he called Ibn Ajā to him and asked him to read him the text composed by Yashbak:

Thus, I read it letter for letter (*ḥarfan ḥarfan*), and every time I finished a passage (*faṣl*), I translated it for him [*uzun* Ḥasan]. Whenever he was astounded by a phrase (*kalām*), [*uzun* Ḥasan] exclaimed: By that, you've destroyed the whorehouse (*akhrabta bayta l-qaḥba zān*)!, and shook his head.⁵¹⁸

The allegedly verbal quotation of *uzun* Ḥasan's reaction presents a pronounced contrast to the literary erudition of Ibn Ajā's patron and is discussed in greater detail during the investigation of the significance of language to the deployment of 'ethnically' charged elements at the 'Turkmen' courts. In any case, Ibn Ajā's (claimed) deployment of his linguistic skills resonates well with al-Sakhāwī's testimony that he had produced a rhymed Turkic translation of the *Futūḥ al-Shām* for courtly patrons within the Mamlūk realms. Even if some aspects of Ibn Ajā's report appear hyperbolic, his representation of how personal knowledge and skills could be deployed by an envoy during the various settings of his reception at court demonstrate the importance of choosing a suitable envoy for important missions.

3.3.3 *Establishing and Maintaining Networks of Loyalty and Patronage*

As we have already seen during the discussion of the courtly configurations in the Qara- and Aqqyunlu *yaylāq*, the court constitutes a pivotal *topos* for the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks. Building on the preceding discussion of delegations and receptions, I begin with a very brief overview of the functional elites performatively engaged by Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers in the *qishlāq*. Subsequently, I provide an overview of the architectural patronage of 'Turkmen' rulers as a crucial mode of patronage

⁵¹⁷ Ibn Ajā *Ta'riḥ*, ms.-copy Cairo, 70, ed. Tulaymāt, 107.

⁵¹⁸ Ibn Ajā *Ta'riḥ*, ms.-copy Cairo, 84, ed. Tulaymāt, 118.

engaging the elites of the entangled urban sphere. This argument concludes with a case-study of the spatial and chronological axes of courtly patronage in the *qishlāq* as represented in Qara- and Aqquyunlu foundation inscriptions that are preserved *in situ* in the townscape of Iṣfahān and its surroundings.

3.3.3.1 Engaging Functional Elites in the *Qishlāq*

Building on the preceding discussion of how individuals and objects were dispatched and received at the court, I now give a very brief overview of the different functional elites of the ‘Turkmen’ *qishlāq* that were integrated in courtly networks of loyalty and leadership by means of performative patronage. After rhetorically comparing the town of Tabrīz with the sacred precinct of the *ḥaram* in Mecca and giving the account of *uzun* Ḥasan’s entry in Tabrīz together with his performative petitionary prayer for his deceased rival Jahānshāh that has already been translated above,⁵¹⁹ Ṭihrānī gives an ideal description of how a new ruler actualized the multiple interpersonal networks of the entangled urban sphere of the *qishlāq* by means of performative acts:

On the second day after [*uzun* Ḥasan’s] arrival, the *sayyids*, scholars, and people of Tabrīz and its countryside (*ahālī-yi tabrīz wa-sā’ir-i bilād*), who had come to town under the shadow of the banner of his state (*dar ḡill-i liwā-yi dawlatash*), were called to the courtly session (*majlis*). In this way, the courtly session was embellished with the admonitions, advice, and guidance of those concerned with the affairs of the state and the religion (*mutaṣaddiyān-i umūr-i mulk wa-dīn*). Because he [*uzun* Ḥasan] had heard complaints about the frauds (*khiyānāt*) of the local judges and guardians of the matters of the divine law, he scared them considerably (*takhwīfī-yi balīgh kard*) and some days later removed every one of them from office (*majmū‘-rā ma’zūl sākht*). Due to the recommendation of the author (*īn banda*) and the encouragement and promotion of the most influential members of the court, a member of the family of Turka (*yakī az mawālī-yi turk*)⁵²⁰ was appointed to oversee the governance of the divine law (*ḥukūmat-i shar’iyyāt*). Furthermore, [*uzun* Ḥasan] ordered a

⁵¹⁹ Ṭihrānī *Diwārbakriyya*, 522–523, see above.

⁵²⁰ The reference is likely to a member of the well-known family of the Turka Iṣfahānī, rather than to ‘a client of the Turks,’ as this phrase might alternatively be translated. See Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 209, ed. ‘Ashīq, 200, for the (involuntary) involvement of the family of the Turka Iṣfahānī in the revolt of Bāyandur *bīk* against *sultān* Ya‘qūb, as well as the brief family history given by Aubin 1956b, 145–147, and Quiring-Zoeche 1980, 220–228. The most likely candidate would probably be *khwāja* Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Turka (see Ṭihrānī *Diwārbakriyya*, 448, and Quiring-Zoeche 1980, 224–225), however I am

huge relief (*takhfifī-yi 'aẓīm*) on the taxes (*jihāt-i dīwānī*), that had been imposed upon the inhabitants of this town and region during the reign of the deceased king and the preceding *sultāns*. He had a binding decree to this effect sent to the secretaries of the highest administration. This was contemptibly written and composed by the author of this text (*ba-inshā wa-implā-yi shikasta-basta-yi īn ḥaqīr*).⁵²¹

Following his greetings to the beneficiaries of the endowments of his deceased predecessor Jahānshāh and his wife *khātūn* Jān *bīgum* pronounced at the endowment complex of the Muẓaffariyya during his entry into Tabrīz, *uzun* Ḥasan's court sets up at Ṣāhibābād to establish the locale where the interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq* are convened. Among the functional elites, one should be wary of drawing too sharp a line between the different groups, as exemplified by the very permeable distinction between *sayyids* claiming descent from Muḥammad and scholars (*'ulamā'*), who included many *sayyids*.

As in the courtly *ṣaylāq*, the beneficency of the ruler plays a pivotal role in the establishment of interpersonal ties of loyalty and leadership between *uzun* Ḥasan and influential local multipliers. These should in turn be understood as power brokers manifesting the allegiance to *uzun* Ḥasan of their personal networks. Crucially, the appointment of a new hierarchy overseeing the administration of divine law in the town of Tabrīz by *uzun* Ḥasan is framed as an intervention of the ruler that follows the advice and consensus of the functional elites assembled during his courtly session. True to the regional scope of this performative establishment of interpersonal ties, the beginning of *uzun* Ḥasan's rule over Tabrīz is celebrated by a reduction of taxes, which certainly should have been greeted by everybody assembled as a welcome gesture. This type of decree performatively abolishing taxes after a change of rulership in a particular town was especially important for local elites, as shown for instance by the decree of Jahānshāh abolishing taxes on the town of Astarābād / Gurgān, which is displayed in an extant epigraphic copy in the southern *īwān* of the great mosque of Astarābād / Gurgān.⁵²² Similar epigraphic inscriptions commemorating decrees of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers abolishing local taxes

not currently aware of any further references to his being appointed to an office in Tabrīz by *uzun* Ḥasan.

521 Ṭihrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 523–524.

522 Inscription 862 Gurgān / Astarābād, see the editions by Dhabīḥī 1351 / 1972, 313–314, Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1352 / 1973a, 30–33, and Ma'tūfī 1387 / 2008, 266.

are extant in the great mosques of Ardabil, Kāshān, Mardin, and Yazd, as well as formerly in the great mosque of Erzincan.⁵²³

This privileged access to the courtly sessions granted to influential multipliers embedded in the overlapping networks of loyalty and patronage in the *qishlāq* extended to the ruler's acceptance of complaints and grievances in the form of performative audiences. This is commonly described with the Islami-cate term of *maẓālīm*.⁵²⁴ Although this is not explicitly indicated by the court historiographies of Tīhrānī and Faḍlallāh, the same type of access to the court granted to influential multipliers in the *qishlāq* could also be granted to non-Muslim figures. This is most visible in Armenian and Syriac sources written within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms, which frequently describe the influence and respect commanded by Christian clerics at the 'Turkmen' courts.⁵²⁵ A good example of this functionalization of the court in the *qishlāq* as a nexus of trans-communitarian networks is the intercession of the Armenian *catholikos* Zak'aria III with Jahānshāh. According to a colophon written in 1462 CE in Erciş, Zak'aria came to Tabriz to intercede with Jahānshāh and his wife (!), who

523 Inscription 878 Ardabil, edited by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977b, 283; Šafarī 1370–1371 / 1991–1992, 2, 181–182, and Sa'ādātī, Sa'ādātī 1394 / 2015, 7; inscription 879 Ardabil, edited by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977b, 280–282; Šafarī 1370–1371 / 1991–1992, 2, 183, and Sa'ādātī, Sa'ādātī 1394 / 2015, 7; inscription 869 Kāshān, edited by Ḥusayn Shahshahānī in Suhayl *Tārikh*, 530; the unpaginated digitalized text of Mashkūti 1346 / 1967, and Narāqī 1348 / 1969, 220–221; inscription 857 or earlier Mardin, edited by Oppenheim 1909, 68; inscription 863 Yazd, edited by Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2, 144; inscription 875 Yazd, edited by Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2, 139–140, and inscription 897 or earlier Erzincan, see the photograph published by Kemali 1932, 236, reproduced by Xač'atryan 1987, ris. 90, cf. the partial edition of Xač'atryan 1987, 104.

A similar practice is discussed for Mamlūk decrees by von Oppenheim 1909, 9–12 (Jaqlmaq at the grave of Khālid b. al-Walīd near Ḥimş in 844), 15 (al-Malik al-Kāmil Sha'bān at Qal'at al-Ḥiṣn in 744, supposedly almost identical to another inscription of the same ruler at the castle of Ṭarābulus / Tripolis), 20–21 (Khushqadam at Maşyāf in 870), 24–29 (Qā'itbāy and Qānsūh [?] at the *maşjid al-'umari* in Ḥamā in 874 and 904 respectively), 30–31 (Jānbardī at the mosque of Abū l-Fidā in Ḥamā in 920), and 154 (Jaqlmaq at the *maşjid al-ḥanābila* in Damascus in 847).

In these cases, as in those decrees epigraphically inscribed by the 'Turkmen' courts enumerated above, a tendency toward the inscription in the early years of the rule of the respective ruler can be observed. Cf. Hinz 1949, as well as Heidemann 2007.

524 See Woods 1999, 109, for the translation of the emblematic passage, Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 74, describing the courtly performance of *uzun* Ḥasan redressing *maẓālīm*. This type of courtly performances is discussed below.

525 The social and cultural history of Christians under 'Turkmen' rule is now beautifully reconstructed by Carlson 2018; see 50–57 for a discussion of 'personal' contacts between rulers and Christian dignitaries. A succinct overview of the different Christian denominations in this region is given in Carlson 2018, 24–27.

offered him a robe of investiture (*xlay*, see Arabic *khil'a*) and gave him the relic of the right hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator. Building on this connection, Zak'aria then offered to serve as an intermediary between Jahānshāh and the rebellious Kurdish *amīr* of Bitlis, collecting the levies of Bitlis on Jahānshāh's behalf and thereby saving Jahānshāh the cost of keeping his army in the field and simultaneously protecting the inhabitants of the regions from the devastations of war.⁵²⁶ That such efficient cooperation with the court could also undermine the standing of intermediaries is only hinted at in the remark of another Armenian colophon that Zak'aria III 'occupied both [pontifical] seats not by *tabal* [here likely to be understood as "proper appointment", cf. Arabic *qabāla*], but by the dispensation and grace of Jahānshāh *khān* (Jəhanşay Łan).'⁵²⁷

As illustrated by Zak'aria's mediation between Jahānshāh and regional Muslim power brokers, this reliance of Armenian clerics on intercessions of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court was particularly effective in face of demands made by local and regional actors. This is reflected in the diplomatic evidence of decrees freeing Christian (or, for that matter, Muslim)⁵²⁸ dignitaries from taxation, which were issued by the central court and could be used to ward off demands at regional collection of taxes.⁵²⁹ Particularly interesting in this context are the decree of Jahānshāh's wife *khātūn Jān bīgum* and its re-affirmation by *sulṭān* Ya'qūb that grant courtly 'Turkmen' affirmation to claims of Armenian priests to be accepted as the leaders of the Armenians in the province of Aghwān.⁵³⁰ Both decrees grant freedom from taxation to all Armenians under the leadership of the beneficiaries of these decrees. Thereby, the support of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts not only formally accepted inner-Armenian claims to leadership within the Christian community, but also gave a strong incentive to Armenians to accept the leadership of these particular clerics to profit from the exemption from taxes levied in the name of the 'Turkmen' courts. If we accept the evidence of the ordinances of *uzun Ḥasan* preserved for individual locales in Ottoman sources that Christians were generally taxed much higher than Muslims under 'Turkmen' rule,⁵³¹ these fiscal

526 Sanjian 1969, 271–274. The same events are also described in a colophon written in 1459 CE, see Sanjian 1969, 263–264.

527 Sanjian 1969, 277, with some stylistical adaptations. Cf. Sanjian 1969, 286, for rumors that Zak'aria was poisoned by rivals.

528 See the editions by Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973a, Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973b, Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 1353 / 1974, and Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'i 2535 / 1976, as well as the studies by Aubin 1956b and Busse 1959, together with the overview given by Fragner 1980.

529 See the documents edited by Papazān 1956, 244–257.

530 See the documents edited by Papazān 1956, 248–249 and 254–255.

531 Hinz 1950c, 182–184.

privileges may have made the taxload bearable for those non-Muslims who succeeded in being included among the followers of these clerics.

While the documentation is not quite as rich for other Christian communities within the ‘Turkmen’ realms, similar intercessions at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts are recorded for the leaders of the Syriac Orthodox community. In this way, the Syriac Orthodox patriarch John bar Shayallāh interceded with *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s court in Tabrīz to secure an imperial decree that enabled him to build a church without interference from local Muslims (‘Kurds’).⁵³² This deployment of ‘Turkmen’ courtly support to counter interferences by regional power brokers should be understood within the fractal-galactic model of multiple intersecting courtly configurations on different levels of regional and transregional power.

Due to the greater regional concentration of the Syriac Orthodox community within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realm⁵³³ and continuing earlier patterns of interaction with the Artuqid rulers of this region,⁵³⁴ most interactions described in the Syriac continuations of the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus are with the regional rulers or governors in Mardin. In this way, a decree (*sīgilyūn*) appointing him as ‘patriarch of all Syriac Christians [read: Belonging to the Syriac Orthodox patriarchate]’ (*paṭrirkā dā-kolhūn sūryayē*) is stated as having been given to patriarch Nūḥ by the Aqquyunlu ruler of Mardin (*shulṭanā dā-mardīn*) Qāsim bīk (*qāsim bāgī*) in 1494 CE.⁵³⁵ In accordance to Islamicate customs, this appointment was accompanied by the gift of a robe (*thawbā*, cf. Arabic *thawb* as a synonym of the Arabic-Islamic terminus technicus of *khil‘a*). In this case, we are explicitly informed that this appointment was subsequently ratified in a second decree, which was given to Nūḥ together with a second robe by the *amīr* (*amīrā*) of Hasankeyf. This likely illustrates the contested jurisdiction over the Syriac Christians of the Țur ‘Abdīn between the regional courts of Mardin and Hasankeyf.⁵³⁶ A counterpart to this type of Christian intercession at the court of influential Muslim dignitaries appointed or recognized by the ‘Turkmen’ courts is represented in the suggestion that the Syriac (*āsūri*) Christians, most likely belonging to the Church of the East, of the regions of Hakkari and Diz, who regularly travelled to Egypt and Syria, decisively contributed to the overthrow of a Dunbulī Kurdish governor installed in this region by the Aqquyunlu.⁵³⁷

532 See the discussion in Palmer 2007, 194–195.

533 See Palmer 2007, 191.

534 Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus *Chronicon*, 3, 537–540.

535 Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus *Chronicon*, 3, 559–562.

536 Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus *Chronicon*, 3, 561–562.

537 Bidlīsī *Sharafnāma*, 1, 93–94, cf. 392. The transregional mobility of non-European Christians is also attested in Syriac colophons, see Carlson 2018, 36, for a succinct overview of

3.3.3.2 Engaging the Elites of the *Qishlāq* by Means of Architectural Patronage

During the preceding overview of the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks of loyalty and patronage at the courtly *qishlāq*, architectural patronage has emerged as a crucial medium manifesting the committed support of a ruler to a particular network. As illustrated by the decree which the Syriac Orthodox patriarch John bar Shayallāh secured from the court of *sultān* Ya'qūb in Tabrīz to enable him to build a church without interference by local power brokers, this medium also could be deployed to establish ties with non-Muslim communities living under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule. The one source referring to the erection of an Armenian church dedicated to St. Vardan in Mākū by the Qaraquyunlu ruler Ḥasan'alī may be somewhat hyperbolic in ascribing direct architectural patronage to the Muslim ruler.⁵³⁸ Nonetheless, another Armenian colophon attests to the foundation and restoration of churches in an explicit reference to the rule of Jahānshāh.⁵³⁹ We also find numerous references to the respect Armenian clerics commanded at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, as well as to presents given to clerics and monasteries by 'Turkmen' rulers.⁵⁴⁰ The flourishing of Christian sacred architecture during 'Turkmen' domination over Eastern Anatolia in particular is also attested by numerous extant remains of Armenian and Syriac churches.⁵⁴¹

Notwithstanding this 'marginal inclusion' of Christian sacred architecture in the courtly patronage of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, the main focus of this performative manifestation of the piety of the ruler and his close ties to particular networks in the *qishlāq* was the construction and renovation of Islamic sacred architecture. The economic foundation of these monuments in revenue-generating endowments has already been discussed in the preceding case-study of the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz. Therefore, I focus the following discussion on the narrative depiction of how courtly patronage engaged with urban networks by means of architectural patronage. As an example of how the ruler's patronage of renovations to monuments sponsored by preceding rulers could be described, I begin with Ṭīhrānī's description of the repairs to the

the transregional mobility of dignitaries and scribes affiliated to the Church of the East between different churches and monasteries.

538 Sanjian 1969, 304–305. See the skeptical comment on this passage by the editor.

539 See Sanjian 1969, 292–293.

540 Sanjian 1969, 307, for *uzun* Ḥasan giving a present to the monastery of Glak, as well as the accounts describing the gifts of Jahānshāh and his wife to Zak'aria discussed above. See also the description of how the governor of Van, Maḥmūd *bīk*, received Zak'aria and the relic of the right hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator, and gave Zak'aria a robe (*xlay*, cf. Arabic *khil'a*), Sanjian 1969, 275.

541 See Sinclair 1987–1990.

mausoleum at Sulṭāniyya founded by the Īlkhānid ruler Ūljāytū / Muḥammad Khudābanda, as well as to the great mosque of Abhar, which were commissioned by *uzun* Ḥasan in 875 / 1471 CE:

[After celebrating the Feast of the Sacrifice (*ʿīd al-aḏḥā*) in the *yaylāq* between Qazwīn and Sulṭāniyya,] the world-conquering banners moved toward Sulṭāniyya. While coming through the region of Abhar, [*uzun* Ḥasan] ordered the repair of the great mosque (*maṣjid-i jāmiʿ*) of this town, paying for the cost of these repairs from his personal funds (*az khāṣṣ al-māl-i khud*). At the plain⁵⁴² of Sulṭāniyya, which lies adjacent to the town, he ordered to halt, staying almost a week at this place. [During this time, *uzun* Ḥasan] visited (*ziyārat dar-yāft*) the just [Īlkhānid] *sulṭāns*, *sulṭān* Muḥammad Khudābanda and *sulṭān* Abū Saʿīd. He also ordered the repair of the high cupola [of the mausoleum] and the *īwāns* of the mausoleum (*abwāb-i al-birr*, *sic* in the edition)⁵⁴³ from the endowments of this foundation. These repairs were overseen by the courtly administration (*dar ḥawza-yi dīwān*).⁵⁴⁴

This passage is particularly interesting in its description of the different funds which could be drawn upon by *uzun* Ḥasan to renovate the great mosque of Abhar and the mausoleum at Sulṭāniyya. The functional elites of the *qishlāq*, as well as the extraordinary funds that could be spent on architectural patronage, are exemplarily represented in Ibn Karbalāʾī's account of the foundation of the complex of the Naṣriyya in Tabrīz after the death of *uzun* Ḥasan. The first part of this passage describing *uzun* Ḥasan's deathbed-plea to *darwīsh* Qāsim to oversee the posthumous foundation of a complex of endowments in his name has been translated above.⁵⁴⁵ The account of the foundation itself continues as follows:

542 I read *qariq*, plain, instead of the vocalization as *qurq*, embargo or enclosure, given by the edition, as I am not aware of *qurq-i sulṭāniyya* as a toponym near Sulṭāniyya.

543 The reference is to the designation of the gates of paradise as *abwāb al-birr*. Interestingly, this equation of the architecture of the mausoleum of Sulṭāniyya and its octagonal plan with the gates of heaven has imbued the phrase *abwāb al-birr* with an abiding topographical specificity in Sulṭāniyya, which I noted among the current explanatory signs during my visit on site in 2014 CE.

544 Tīhrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 557–558. Cf. the magnificent depiction of Sulṭāniyya by Matrakçı reproduced in Matrakçı *Bayān*, pl. 31b and 32a.

545 See also the designation of ʿAlī Kujujī as the overseer of the foundation of the Muṣaffariyya in Tabrīz by *khātūn* Jān *bigum*, Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 43.

When the justice-spreading *sultān* [*uzun Ḥasan*] had departed from this transient palace (*sarāy-i fānī*), his son *sultān* Khalīl sat in his place. The said *darwīsh* [Qāsim] asked for his permission and worked tirelessly to further and fulfill the last will of the deceased *sultān*,⁵⁴⁶ until one day the dust of contention and enmity rose between *sultān* Khalīl and his brother *sultān* Ya'qūb. After *sultān* Ya'qūb had emerged victorious and taken over the rule (*salṭanat bar way qarār mīgīrad*), the said *darwīsh* came to the service of *sultān* Ya'qūb and presented the last will of the paradise-dwelling *sultān* and his own intention [of fulfilling it] in pious and seemly fashion (*dar wādī-yi barr wa-iḥsān*).

King (*pādshāh*) Ya'qūb showed unlimited grace and the highest degree of compassion to the *darwīsh* and declared: I will receive anything you say and command with the soul and heart of favor! Thus, in the year 882 (1477–1478 CE), a large number of *sayyids* and *shaykhs*, scholars, wise men, and astrologers was assembled to choose an auspicious hour for the foundation and determine its direction of prayer (*qibla*). Thus, the initial foundation of the complex (*imārat*) of the Naṣriyya was established and from every country and region masterful workers (*ustād-kārān*) and uncomparably able architects (*mi'mārān-i ḥādhiq bī-badal*) were called together and set to work on the complex.

In seven years, the said *darwīsh* accumulated debts and dues (*taḥwīl wa-kilā'ī*) of 2.000 *tūmān*. When the clerks (*mustawfiyān*) undertook to settle this commitment, another 10.000 *tūmān* in addition to what had been spent on the construction of the complex had been given in precious possessions [as revenue-generating endowments financing the running of the complex?], while the clerks found 1.600 yokes of oxen working on the construction. When they brought this to the attention of the king, the king showered innumerable favors and many preciousities on the high-ranking *amīr* [one of the clerks?] that had conveyed the envy of [*darwīsh* Qāsim's] rivals and the jealousy of his worthless enemies to the king.

On the day that the carpets were spread in the great mosque (*maṣjid-i jāmi'*) [of the Naṣriyya], a great feast was given, during which almost 500 sheep were served to the *sayyids* and judges, the scholars, ascetics (*zuhhād*), and servants of God (*ibād*), the mystics (*fuqarā*) and the notables and commoners among the general populace. On this day, the king

546 But cf. the indication contained in an undated letter of *sultān* Khalīl to an Ottoman courtier that *darwīsh* Qāsim had been sent as a delegate to the Ottomans, Fekete 1977, 225–228. Fekete dates this letter to ca. 883.

bestowed costly robes (*khil'athā-yi naḥīs*) that had been worn by the king himself on him [*darwīsh* Qāsim] from head to toe⁵⁴⁷ and showed him numerous kindnesses.⁵⁴⁸

While the general content of this passage is rather clear in its favorable description of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's generosity, some aspects are worth noting as particularly significant to the configuration of the courtly *qishlāq*. The first concerns the determination of the direction of prayer (*qibla*). As the mathematical determination of the precise direction of the Ka'ba in Mecca as seen from other locations on the three-dimensional surface of the earth is not at all trivial, different *qiblas* corresponding to different methods of determining this direction of prayer were argued for in Islamicate intellectual history.⁵⁴⁹ While the conduct of prayer in the correct direction is incumbent on the individual Muslim, mosques with their professed purpose of offering a suitable site for collective prayer by means of their layout and the prayer-niche (*miḥrāb*) usually point to one single *qibla* at a time, even if cases of a re-orientation of mosques by means of carpeting or architectural interventions can certainly be found. Accordingly, the determination of the correct *qibla* during the foundation of a mosque presented an ideal opportunity for patrons to demonstrate their concern for the correct observation of the Islamic prayers by deploying numerous functional elites that determined the direction of prayer in their name and, as in the above story, in some cases also chose an astrologically auspicious time to begin the construction. This exemplifies the modes in which the agency of the ruler was inscribed not only into urban structure, but also performatively affected all Muslims praying according to the *qibla* as manifest in the new foundation. Due to the status of mosques and religious endowments as inalienable possessions of God (*waqf*), this *qibla* also remained together with the foundation as an abiding visible marker of the patron's piety and good governance. As the mosque usually lay at the heart of complexes of pious foundations, its layout in turn frequently determined the layout of the other components of the complex, even if a determining influence of the *qibla(s)* on the orientation of urban structure in general cannot be empirically demonstrated as underlaying the fabric (*bāft-i tārikhī*) of pre-modern Islamicate towns.⁵⁵⁰

547 I read *az sar tā pā ba-way pūshānad* instead of the *az sar tā pā-yi ba-way pūshānad* of the edited text.

548 Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 91.

549 See King 1985 for the classic study of different *qiblas* as attested in extant foundations within the townscape of Cairo.

550 See Bonine 1990.

The joint deployment of Islamic scholars representing various traditions of Islam and astrologers (*munajjimān*) to jointly determine both the Islamically legitimated *qibla* and a time for the foundation that would be auspicious according to astrological predictions demonstrates the alienness of a 'modern' distinction between 'religious' and 'occult' sciences in the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. This matter is discussed in greater detail below. This embeddedness of architectural patronage in the administrative and interpersonal configurations of the town must be kept in mind during the following investigations of spatial and temporal axes of architectural patronage in the *qishlāq* of Işfahān that can be reconstructed based on the epigraphic record extant *in situ*.

3.3.3.3 Spatial and Chronological Axes of Architectural Patronage in Işfahān

The preceding section has shown how administrative and social configurations shaped the performative patronage of architectural renovations and foundations by the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. I now present a case study of spatial and chronological axes that can be traced within the entangled urban sphere of Işfahān by means of epigraphic foundation and renovation inscriptions relating to the 'Turkmen' courts. The exclusive focus on inscriptions naming Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers certainly restricts the explanatory power of this case study in disregarding the strong ties with pre- and post-'Turkmen' architectural patronage in Işfahān, particularly in the name of Timurid and Şafawid rulers. Nonetheless, the dense succession of five 'Turkmen' foundation inscriptions that have been preserved *in situ* in Işfahān and its surrounding countryside represents an ideal corpus for a close reading of the spatial and chronological axes of architectural patronage under the Qara- and Aqquyunlu.⁵⁵¹ To demonstrate the importance of reading epigraphy in the spatial context of its surrounding urban structure, I consistently include 'spatial' arguments in my discussion. The post-'Turkmen' history of Işfahān has certainly entailed the disappearance of further evidence that may well have suggested a different interpretation of the spatial dimension of courtly foundations. Accordingly, the 'spatial' and 'urbanistic' arguments made in this case study need to be checked for their validity in other towns and periods. Nonetheless, this presentation strongly suggests that urban structure needs to be taken seriously in

⁵⁵¹ The fragmentary inscriptions inscription 885 Işfahān a, see Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 387, and inscription 885 Işfahān b, see Aube 2017, 118, cf. the English translation by Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 387, have not been preserved *in situ* and are accordingly left out of the following survey.

an engagement with courtly representation deployed in the mediums of architecture and epigraphy.

In and around Iṣfahān, five foundation inscriptions naming ‘Turkmen’ patrons or overlords have been preserved in their original location. The history of Iṣfahān during the 15th- and 16th-centuries CE, as well as the social background of the foundations have been discussed in detail by Quiring-Zoche, who also supplies a map of the town that forms the basis of the following sketch:⁵⁵²

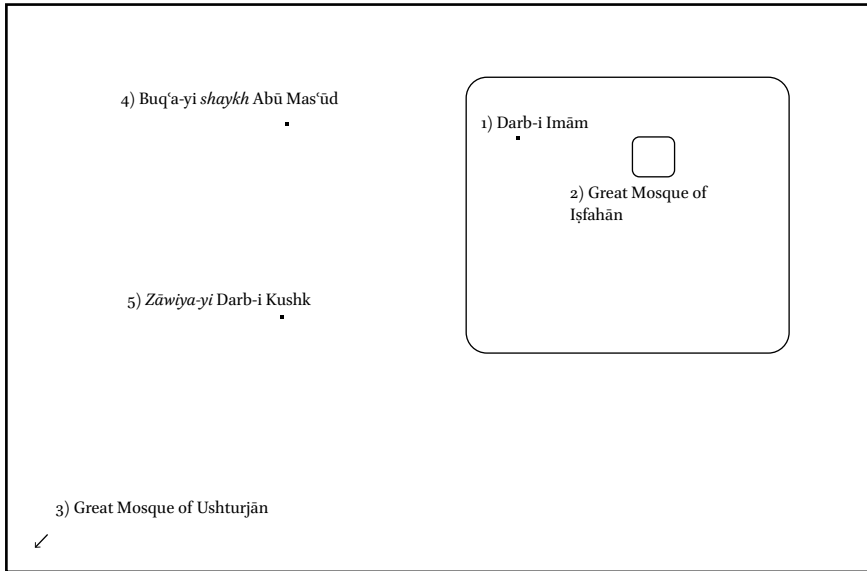


FIGURE 5 ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in Iṣfahān

The chronological sequence of the foundations and repairs commemorated in the extant inscriptions runs as follows:

1. 857 / 1453 CE: Foundation inscription (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) of the mentor (*lāla*) Ṣafarshāh of Muḥammadī *mīrzā* b. Jahānshāh mentioning Jahānshāh and his son Muḥammadī *mīrzā* on the portal of the Darb-i Imām in Iṣfahān, as well as three additional inscriptions dating to the original Qaraqayunlu foundation (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān b–d).
2. 880 / 1475–1476 CE: Inscription commemorating repairs directly commissioned by *uzun* Ḥasan in the *qibla-īwān* of the great mosque of Iṣfahān (inscription 880 Iṣfahān).
3. Rabīʿ II 881 / July to August 1476 CE: Inscription commemorating repairs by Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ṣahīr al-Dīn Ushturjānī to the great mosque

⁵⁵² Quiring-Zoche 1980, 200–201, for the map.

- of Ushturjān / Īmānshahr some 30 km from Iṣfahān mentioning *uzun* Ḥasan (inscription 881 Ushturjān).
4. 895 / 1489–1490 CE: Foundation inscription of Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Arabshāh in the name of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb at the portal of the Buq‘a-yi *shaykh* Abū⁵⁵³ Mas‘ūd in Iṣfahān, as well as a secondary inscription on the same portal (inscriptions 895 Iṣfahān a and b).
 5. 902 / 1496–1497 CE: Foundation inscription of ‘Alī *bik* Purnāk mentioning *sulṭān* Rustam at the portal of the convent (*zāwiya*) and mausoleum in the extramural quarter of Darb-i Kushk in Iṣfahān (inscription 902 Iṣfahān). As the original location of this inscription is unambiguously attested in early 20th-century CE photographs, I include it in the following analysis notwithstanding its reerection in the garden of the palace of Chihil Sutūn.

Regarding the spatial footprint in and around Iṣfahān that can be traced in extant ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy, several significant patterns emerge. The first concerns the location of the only inscription commemorating direct patronage by a ‘Turkmen’ ruler, *uzun* Ḥasan’s inscription of 880 commemorating repairs to the great mosque of Iṣfahān (inscription 880 Iṣfahān). This inscription continues to be prominently visible in the vault of the *qibla-īwān*, dominating the most important *īwān* facing the court within the *four-īwān*-scheme of the main body of the great mosque of Iṣfahān.⁵⁵⁴ Within the spatial footprint of extant ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in the *qishlāq* of Iṣfahān, this location dominating the functionally relevant direction of the *qibla* of the most likely only mosque in Iṣfahān where the Friday-prayer was pronounced, in light of the affiliation of pre-*shī‘ī* Iran to the *shāfi‘ī* school of *sunni* law (see below), reflects the preeminent standing of *uzun* Ḥasan among the patrons of architectural patronage in Iṣfahān under ‘Turkmen’ rule.

If we follow this line of thought, the second most central location where epigraphy commemorating Qara- and Aqqyunlu architectural patronage in and around Iṣfahān is extant is occupied by the foundation inscription of Ṣafarshāh, the mentor of Muḥammadī *mīrzā* and factual governor of Iṣfahān at the so-called Darb-i Imām (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a and d). While this location is clearly not as pivotal and visually dominant to the religious life of the Muslim population of Iṣfahān as the *qibla-īwān* of the great mosque, it was included well within the likely course of the walls of the town. Additionally, the location likely profited from the prestige of the two descendants of 12-er *shī‘ī*

553 *Sit venia toponymiae*.

554 See Grabar 1990 for an evocative description of the great mosque of Iṣfahān as the heart of the town.

imāms buried there. The foundation may even have served as the site of burial for Jahānshāh's mother or another high-ranking member of the Qaraqyunlu court.⁵⁵⁵ Accordingly, the location of the sequence of inscriptions of (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a–d) reflects the comparably elevated position of its patron, who was able to choose a favorable location within the walled area of the town that included the graves of two well-respected *ṣayyids*, even if he did not occupy a position that would justify his sponsorship of a highly visible intervention in the great mosque of Iṣfahān itself.

Due to the structural realignment of Iṣfahān by means of the architectural patronage of the royal precinct and the magnificent square of Naqsh-i Jahān by the Ṣafawids,⁵⁵⁶ it is difficult to say anything definite about the significant axes of 'Turkmen' interventions in the urban fabric. Nonetheless, the location of the extant epigraphic commemorations of architectural patronage related to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts to the West and South of the great mosque should probably be connected to the establishment of a precursor of the square of Naqsh-i Jahān in the second half of the 15th-century CE, which was located in the South-Eastern part of the walled town.⁵⁵⁷ A palace named Naqsh-i Jahān is also mentioned as the seat of 'Turkmen' power where notables of Iṣfahān are brought to face the newly appointed Qaraqyunlu governor Ṣafarshāh in 857 / 1453 CE.⁵⁵⁸ Building on this hypothesis, we can describe the spatial configuration of the foundations commemorated by inscriptions (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a–d), (inscriptions 895 Iṣfahān a and b), and (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) as a reflection of the relative hierarchies of power and influence of their patrons. This 'spatial footprint' of subordinate 'Turkmen' patronage must be contextualized within the constraints of the entangled urban sphere of Iṣfahān. In addition, it should be seen as related in some way to the 'Turkmen' precursor of the square of Naqsh-i Jahān. Accordingly, the location of the foundations (4) and (5) commemorated by inscriptions (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a) and (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) to the West outside the walls of the town should be understood within a suburban area of gardens and burial sites. Within this area, foundation (4) commemorated by inscription (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a) represents a monumental rebuilding of a convent at the gravesite of a

555 See Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 342, quoting a history of Iṣfahān composed by *shaykh* Jābirī Anṣārī, who, however, introduces this bit information somewhat cautiously as a rumor (*güyand*).

556 See Herdeg 1990.

557 See Quiring-Zoche 1980, 64 and 192, as well as Kātib *Tārīkh*, 246.

558 See *Tīhrānī* Diyārbakriyya, 329. It may be possible that the palace with the murals depicting *uzun* Ḥasan's victories described by Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 196–197, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 599–600, was also situated near this precursor to the square of Naqsh-i Jahān.

venerated transmitter of *ḥadīth* deceased some centuries earlier.⁵⁵⁹ By contrast, (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) was erected at the site of a new foundation that was constructed as the burial site for the father of its patron in an area that had recently seen construction of funerary architecture.⁵⁶⁰ According to a suggestion of Golombek and Wilber, both foundations should furthermore be understood as forming ‘a new axis of communication’ which ‘may indicate the first expansion of the residential quarters west of the walled city.’⁵⁶¹ Notwithstanding their location outside the likely course of the Western walls of Iṣfahān, both locations accordingly relate and contribute to the topographical focus of ‘Turkmen’ architectural intervention in the urban and sub-urban fabric of Iṣfahān to the South and West of the great mosque.

Finally, the renovation of the ‘sides’ of the great mosque of the village of Ushturjān / Īmānshahr (3) was sponsored by a local patron who is not attested elsewhere. The original foundation of the mosque in 715 / 1372–1373 CE had been sponsored by a native of Ushturjān who had risen to some prominence in the administration of the Īlkhānid realms and likely chose Ushturjān as the site of his foundation due to his ties to this village.⁵⁶² Conversely, the patron of the repairs carried out under ‘Turkmen’ rule, Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ṣāḥir al-Dīn Ushturjānī, likely was a purely local figure who commanded the necessary funds to rebuild the mosque of his village. Accordingly, the distance of this foundation inscription from the heart of Iṣfahān and its great mosque in all likelihood reflects the positionality of its patron as an influential multiplier in a marginal part of the *qishlāq*.

Before we build on this topographical analysis of the locations of extant epigraphy commemorating architectural patronage in and around Iṣfahān in a close reading of the inscriptions themselves, a methodological reflection is necessary. The medium of epigraphy in many ways constitutes the most visible, accessible, and unambiguous among the multiple mediums and discourses jointly deployed in the performative culture of Islamicate societies. Notwithstanding demonstrable cases where a conscious intertextuality between extant inscriptions can be demonstrated exclusively within the single medium of epigraphy,⁵⁶³ today’s isolation of epigraphy that continues

559 Its eponymous figure, *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd Aḥmad b. al-Firāt al-Rāzī, was an important transmitter of *ḥadīth* during the 3rd-century / 9th-century CE. See al-Ziriklī *Aʿlām*, 1, 194.

560 See Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 386–387.

561 See Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 387.

562 See the designation of the original founder Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ushturjānī as chief minister (*malik al-wuzarāʾ*) in the original foundation inscription of the mosque (Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 267, and Leube 2015e).

563 See Leube 2021.

to be visible in the townscapes of Islamicate towns from its original social context is misleading. The importance of multiple intersecting interpersonal networks for a holistic understanding of the performative deployment of architectural patronage has already been argued for in the preceding section. For the Aqquyunlu epigraphy inscribed into the ruins of the Achaemenid palace of the so-called Tachara in Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis,⁵⁶⁴ this embeddedness of epigraphy ostentatiously commemorating very personal reflections of individual and named members of the court in interpersonal networks is strikingly demonstrated due to the preservation of Dawwānī's *Account of the Review*.⁵⁶⁵ This text enumerates the manifold individuals and groups contributing to the review of the military and civil personnel during which the calligraphies of 'Alī b. Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan were performatively inscribed into the Achaemenid ruins.

Beyond the embeddedness of abiding epigraphy in the ephemeral configurations of courtiers, craftsmen, and social multipliers, epigraphy should be understood as embedded in and resonating with multiple other mediums and discourses deployed in the performative representation of the court. Accordingly, the intertextuality establishing the *mundus significans* deployed in the medium of epigraphy must be understood as reflecting developments of representation in an entanglement of mediums even in those cases where epigraphy is the only medium that continues to be readily visible to this day. Accordingly, I distinguish cases where a 'direct' intertextuality can be demonstrated to inform extant inscriptions from what I describe as 'indirect' intertextuality, which must have resonated within the wider entanglement of mediums deployed in the representation of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. This 'indirect' intertextuality accordingly must be understood as connecting extant epigraphy with (partially lost) mediums such as coinage, chancellery, the performative *khutba* or Friday sermon, as well as other public performances and performative interactions of the court with multipliers and intermediaries embedded in the interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq*.

In engaging with epigraphy, particularly in the medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles or *mu'arraḡ*, it is crucial to consider the possibility of subsequent interference with inscribed text. As shown by Aube, one small tile mosaic on the entrance portal of the Darb-i Kushk that today displays the name '*alī*' reads *allāh* on a photograph published by Sarre in 1910.⁵⁶⁶ Accordingly, at least one case where a historical inscription affiliated to 'Turkmen' patronage in Iṣfahān

⁵⁶⁴ See Leube 2018.

⁵⁶⁵ Dawwānī *Arḡ*.

⁵⁶⁶ Aube 2017, 117, cf. the photograph reproduced in Sarre 1910, 78.

was altered during the 20th-century CE is clearly documented. As I show below, further 20th-century CE alterations to the epigraphy of the Darb-i Kushk can be traced thanks to the photographs published by Sarre. Nonetheless, I believe this one conclusively documented case of interference with epigraphy that resonates with a 'partisan *shīʿī* vision of Islam' demonstrates the possibility of further interferences with the inscribed text both before and during the 20th-century CE. The public propagation of *shīʿī* currents of Islam since the Ṣafawid takeover immediately following the period of 'Turkmen' rule suggests that such revisionist interferences may possibly have contributed to a greater presence of pro-*shīʿī* and pro-Ṣafawid slogans. A change of technique within one decorative program or the omission of inscriptions visible today from earlier surveys may also suggest additional cases in which part of the epigraphic program may not date to the original act of foundation or restauration commissioned by patrons affiliated to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

On this basis, I tentatively suggest the following cases in which post-'Turkmen' interferences with the Qara- and Aqqyunlu epigraphy preserved in Iṣfahān should be considered:

1. The four Persian hemistichs of inscription 857 Iṣfahān c (composed in black-line technique, rather than the *muʿarraḡ* tile mosaic of the remainder of the portal of the Darb-i Imām).
2. The inscription of the saying of Muḥammad 'I am the town of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate!' on the portal niche of the Buḡʾa-yi *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd below inscription 895 Iṣfahān a (resonates with 'partisan *shīʿī*' currents of Islam, located on a restored portal, not mentioned in the surveys of Hunarfar and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī).
3. The calligraphic tile mosaics of the portal of Darb-i Kushk and the text of inscription 902 Iṣfahān (some alterations to the tile mosaics can conclusively be demonstrated due to Sarre's photographs. Accordingly, further interferences would predate the 20th-century CE. Additional interferences are suggested by the somewhat uncommon shape and text of some of the tile mosaics, as well as by the grammatical difficulties of interpreting the clearly visible form *L'YN* among the titles of *sultān* Rustam Aqqyunlu in inscription 902 Iṣfahān).

While all of these cases are discussed in greater detail below, a conclusive answer to the question of whether the entirety of these texts dates to the 15th-century CE can probably not be gained without a detailed technical investigation of the materiality of these inscriptions. Accordingly, my suggestion that (some of) these cases may represent post-'Turkmen' interferences is very tentative at best. Nonetheless, discussing the question of the originality of these texts arguably contributes to an awareness for the always-present

possibility that epigraphy may not be as confidently and readily readable as it appears.

The following discussion of extant ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in and around Işfahān proceeds along a chronological axis. The earliest extant sequence of inscriptions is (1), commemorating the foundation of the so-called Darb-i Imām at the grave of two long-deceased *sayyids*⁵⁶⁷ by Şafarshāh, the mentor (*lāla*) of Muḥammadi *mīrzā* b. Jahānshāh in 857 / 1453 CE.⁵⁶⁸ In addition to the magnificent portal bearing the foundation inscription of Şafarshāh (inscription 857 Işfahān a) and two inscriptions of Persian verses (inscriptions 857 Işfahān b and c), a fourth Qaraqayunlu inscription composed of Persian verses is extant within the smaller of the two cupolas of the current building (inscription 857 Işfahān d), located immediately behind the portal.

Described as a ‘devious and cruel figure’ in a modern historical work,⁵⁶⁹ Şafarshāh, together with his brother Muḥammad, had served as mentor (*lāla*) to the Qaraqayunlu prince Muḥammadi *mīrzā*. He was sent to Işfahān in 857 / 1453 CE by Jahānshāh to assert Qaraqayunlu rule of the town before Muḥammadi *mīrzā* himself would arrive to performatively assume the position of provincial governor of Işfahān.⁵⁷⁰ The date of the foundation of the Darb-i Imām given in the extant inscription accordingly suggests that he commissioned the construction of this monument during his factual governorship in Işfahān on behalf of Muḥammadi *mīrzā*.

After his enforcement of Qaraqayunlu authority in Işfahān in 857 / 1453 CE, Şafarshāh is mentioned as having been given a provincial governorship (*wilāya*) by Jahānshāh⁵⁷¹ and subsequently joining Jahānshāh’s court.⁵⁷² He was captured with other notables after Jahānshāh’s death by *uzun* Ḥasan.⁵⁷³ A son

567 The names of the two *sayyids* are given as *imāmzāda* Ibrāhīm Baṭṭhā and *imāmzāda* Zayn al-‘Ābidīn in the Şafawid restoration inscription dated to 1129 / 1716–1717. See Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 345, and his discussion of the identity of both *sayyids*, Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 341–342.

568 For this monument see Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 341–353, Rafī‘ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 765–772, and Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 384–386, as well as magnificent illustrations in color as well as in black and white, including a ground plan of the Darb-i Imām in Golombek, Wilber 1988, 2. The ceramical decoration is discussed by Aube 2017, 105–109. A window ascribed to this foundation is currently displayed in the museum of Chihil Sutūn in Işfahān, see Rafī‘ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 361.

569 See Quiring-Zoche 1980, 44, paraphrasing Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 329.

570 Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 329, as well as Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 501.

571 Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 366.

572 Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 409.

573 Tīhrānī *Di-yārbakrīyya*, 426–427, cf. Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 76, and Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 664.

named Shāhqulī b. *lāla* Şafarshāh is mentioned as having been appointed by Ḥasan‘alī b. Jahānshāh as governor of Naţanz and Jarbādaqān / Gulpāyagān.⁵⁷⁴

While additional inscriptions commemorate later extensions and repairs to this monument, the four inscriptions (inscriptions 857 Işfahān a–d) can be assigned to the earliest part of the foundation dating to 857 / 1453 CE. As indicated above, three of these are extant within the decoration of the portal, while the fourth was inscribed within the smaller of the two cupolas of the building. Although this multiplicity of inscriptions extant at one foundation is somewhat atypical among the extant ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in the *qishlāq* of Işfahān, I discuss all four inscriptions, beginning with the foundation inscription ‘proper’, which I designate as (inscription 857 Işfahān a).⁵⁷⁵

The inscription (inscription 857 Işfahān a) is extant in the typical location of the main inscription commemorating the foundation of a monument over the main portal, starting on the right side of the niche of the portal before continuing with the name of the provincial governor Muḥammadī *mīrzā* over the middle of the entrance and ending with name of the factual patron Şafarshāh and the date on the left side of the portal niche. The inscription features an overarching Persian linguistic matrix (*dar zamānī ki ḥukūmat-i īn wilāya ... farmūda būd ... dar binā-yi īn buq‘a ... ihtimām ba-kār dāsht*), in which Arabic phrases and constructions are embedded. The inscription is written in a calligraphically accomplished *thulth* ductus in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu‘arraḡ*) before a background of dark and light blue arabesques with golden accents. The names of the rulers are accentuated by being written in gold instead of in white as the other parts of this inscription.⁵⁷⁶ I represent this golden color of the names by the use of bold in my translation:

[Right side:] At the time when the lord of the greatest lordship and ruler of the largest rulership, the world-sheltering king Abū l-Muẓaffar prince (*amīrzāda*) **Jahān-** [Middle] **shāh**, may God make his caliphate (*khilāfatahū*) eternal!, had given the governorship of this province to the rule and direction of the wise son of the king (*shāhzāda-yi ‘ālim*)

574 Tīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 441 and 444, Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 678.

575 A translation of these inscriptions by J. Clinton is contained in the discussion of the Qaraqayunlu foundation of the Darb-i Imām in Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 384–388. In some instances, I suggest a different reading or interpretation than that offered by Clinton without, however, noting every instance where my understanding of the epigraphic text differs from his.

576 Compare the discussion of this rendering of the names of the incumbent ruler(s) within the typology of Arabic epigraphy given by Ettinghausen 1974, 311.



FIGURE 6 The Qaraqyunlu portal of the Darb-i Imām

and upholder of the stipulations of the religion of Muḥammad, **Abū**⁵⁷⁷ **l-Faṭḥ Muḥammadī**, may God make his rule (*sulṭānahū*) eternal!, the greatest and very just commander (*amīr-i aʿzam-i aʿdal*), the mine of power and dignity, Jalāl al-Dīn Ṣafarshāh, may God prolong his reign (*dawlatahū*)!, [Left side] commissioned the erection of this high cupola and well-endowed complex, striving for the satisfaction of God, in the months of the year 857.⁵⁷⁸

Due to subsequent architectural interventions at the shrine of Darb-i Imām, the plan of the original foundation of Ṣafarshāh in 857 / 1453 CE is not entirely clear.⁵⁷⁹ As the content and arrangement of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) conforms to the usual matrix of ‘Turkmen’ foundation inscriptions in the medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles typically set on the inner sides of the portal niche above the main entrance of a foundation, which has already been discussed for the example of the endowment complex of the Muẓaffariyya in Tabrīz, I follow Golombek and Wilber in referring to the niche featuring (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a–c) as a portal niche. Nonetheless, it should be noted that (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) today surmounts a wooden grille, as the Darb-i Imām is currently accessed from another entrance dating to the Ṣafawid enlargement and restoration of the complex.

Behind the portal niche decorated with magnificent mosaics of glazed tiles (*muʿarrāq*) lies a small square chamber that is designated as a ‘vestibule’ by Golombek and Wilber.⁵⁸⁰ Due to (inscription 857 Iṣfahān d) composed of Persian verses referring to Jahānshāh and his son Muḥammadī *mīrzā* and giving the date 857 / 1453 CE, which continues to be visible underneath the cupola of this chamber, this chamber can also securely be dated as part of the original foundation of Ṣafarshāh. While the graves of the two long-deceased *sayyids* behind this chamber certainly were included in the original foundation in

577 Text *Abī l-Faṭḥ*, although the Arabic genitive is somewhat peculiar here.

578 *dar zamānī ki wālī-yi wilāyat-i ʿuẓmā wa-ḥākīm-i ḥukūmat-i kubrā pādshāh-i jahānpanāh abū l-muẓaffar amīrzāda jahānshāh khallada llāhu khilāfatāhū ḥukūmat-i in wilāyat bā ʿyālāt wa-ishārat shāhẓāda-yi ʿālīm muʿayyid qawāʿid al-dīn al-aḥmadī abī l-faṭḥ muḥammadī khallada llāhu sulṭānahū muḥawwaḍ farmūda būd amīr-i aʿzam-i aʿdal maʿdīn al-ʿizz wa-l-jāh jalāl al-dīn ṣafar shāh zāda llāhu dawlatahū dar binā-yi in buqʿa-yi rafīʿa wa-ʿimārat-i manīʿa ṭalaban li-marḍātī llāhi htimām ba-kār dāsht fī shuhūr-i sanati sabʿi wa-khamsīna wa-thamānīmīʾatīn.*

I translate on the basis of the editions of Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 343, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 766, as well as photographs of the extant right and middle portions of the text taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE.

579 See Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 384–385.

580 See Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 384–385.

some way,⁵⁸¹ Hunarfar mentions that the shape of some graves (*ṣūrat-i qubūrī*) was also visible in the first chamber or 'vestibule'.⁵⁸² As he notes, this resonates with rumors suggesting the burial of Jahānshāh's mother in the Darb-i Imām.⁵⁸³ As I argue based on my interpretation of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b) around the window surmounting the foundation inscription (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) in the portal niche, the content of the verses suggests that the 'vestibule' was indeed intended as the mausoleum of some high-ranking figure of the Qaraquyunlu (provincial) court.

If the hypothesis of the 'vestibule' having been intended as a mausoleum for contemporaries of Ṣafarshāh is accepted, this does not, however, present a definite answer to the question of whether the portal niche originally functioned as the main entrance of Ṣafarshāh's foundation. Alternatively, this niche may always have framed a larger lower window, currently closed with a wooden grille, and a smaller open-work window above it, around which (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b) is inscribed. While the burial of pious (and influential) Muslims in the entrance or vestibule of the mausoleum of a venerated figure does occasionally occur,⁵⁸⁴ the construction of windows connecting burial chambers to the street also is a regular feature of Islamic funerary architecture.⁵⁸⁵ Accordingly, the portal niche originally may have housed either a door or a window leading to the small chamber of the 'vestibule', even if the construction of a magnificent portal bearing a foundation inscription over a window rather than a door appears not to be attested elsewhere in Qara- and Aqquyunlu architecture.

Inscription (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b) is extant above (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) in the middle part of the portal niche. It is written in *thulth* ductus in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu'arraḡ*) in golden letters on a plain dark blue background and insofar atypical as it runs vertically up and down around a beautiful open-work window decorated with a mosaic of glazed tiles above the main portal. It is composed of three Persian verses in the *qaṣīda*-rhyme

581 See Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 384–385, for a discussion of the question whether the dome of the larger of the two extant cupolas, which rises above the graves of the two *sayyids*, forms part of the original Qaraquyunlu foundation.

582 Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 349. Today, the likely area where this 'shape of graves' had been visible is occupied by a cenotaph dated to the month of Sha'bān of 1369 *hijrī shamsī* and 1411 *hijrī qamarī*, which is equivalent to 1991 CE.

583 Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 342 and 349.

584 See for instance the burial of individuals affiliated to the Egyptian court in the (much later) mosque of al-Rifā'ī in Cairo (see al-Asad 1993).

585 See for instance the large windows featuring beautiful grilles in the mausoleums of Qalāwūn and *sultān* Ḥasan in Cairo. The implications of this feature for urban axes in Islamicate towns are discussed by Cerasi 2004 for the example of Istanbul.

scheme of A / A // B / A // C / A and most likely forms part of the original foundation by Şafarshāh:

It's written⁵⁸⁶ in the cupola of the firmament / Be pure as glass and fear no-one!

Loyalty is not in this world / Do not rejoice when it comes nor lament its absence.

See how after one's time / Has passed, one falls from the heavens into the dust.⁵⁸⁷

The motif of the vanity of earthly glory of this inscription fits the function of the site of the Darb-i Imām as the burial site of two venerated *sayyids* and also resonates with the verses of Sa'dī in (inscription 857 Işfahān c) translated below. At the same time, the reference to a time that has passed (*ānki awānash / gudhashta*) in line 3 resonates with the rumor that the mother of Jahānshāh or possibly another high-ranking member of the Qaraqyunlu court was indeed buried here. In this case, the inclusion of the inscription in the elaborate decoration of the portal niche suggests that Şafarshāh's foundation had been intended as the burial site for a high-ranking member of the court already at the time of its original foundation in 857 / 1453 CE.

If the 'vestibule' was indeed planned as a burial chamber, the verses of (inscription 857 Işfahān b) around the open-work window surmounting the portal leading to the likely burial site of Qaraqyunlu courtly figures resonate ingeniously with their location within the portal niche.⁵⁸⁸ After having read

⁵⁸⁶ Based on the photographs in my possession, I read *kitāba*, inscription, instead of the *kināya*, metaphor, in the editions of Hunarfar and Rafī'i Mihrābādī.

⁵⁸⁷ *Kitāba-ist bad-in gunbad-i aqlāk ki pāk bāsh chu jān wa-madār az kas bāk z-saqf-i khāna-yi dunyā majūy naqsh-i waḡā mashū ba-āmadanash shad wa-z shudan ghamnāk bi-bīn ba-'ayn-i baṣīrat ki ānki awānash gudhashta būd z-kaywān chigūna shud dar khāk.*

I translate on the basis of Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 344, and Rafī'i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 767, as well as the photographs taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE.

⁵⁸⁸ The proposed interpretation of (inscription 857 Işfahān b) and the following inscriptions (inscriptions 857 Işfahān c and d) as an elaborate play on their location within the spatiality of the original foundation of the Darb-i Imām by Şafarshāh proceeds *pace* Clinton's assessment that 'the imagery of the poem is fairly commonplace, and the quality of the poem [inscription 857 Işfahān d] is poor.' (quoted after Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 386). I am not aware of whether Clinton had access to high-resolution images of the portal that could have allowed the reconstruction of the spatial distribution of inscription (inscription 857 Işfahān b) in particular. Clinton does not include (inscription 857 Işfahān c) in his translation of the inscriptions of the Darb-i Imām. The editions of Hunarfar and Rafī'i Mihrābādī do not indicate the (as I argue, crucial) spatial arrangement of the poem.

the foundation inscription (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a) containing the names of Jahānshāh, Muḥammadi *mūrzā*, and Ṣafarshāh, the gaze of a visitor of the Darb-i Imām needs to rise and focus on the convoluted and turning letters of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b). According to my suggested reading of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b), the inscription begins with the first hemistich of verse 1 quoting ‘an inscription (!) in this ... cupola of the firmament’ (*katība bad-īn ... gunbad-i aḡlāk*), which is indeed inscribed in this very same semidome of the magnificent portal of the Darb-i Imām as the second hemistich of this verse. According to the ingenuous placement of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b) in this location, the semidome of the portal niche is accordingly turned into the cupola of the firmament. Within this truly celestial inscription, the turning point of the poem in the second hemistich of verse 2, translated above as ‘Do not rejoice when it comes – nor lament its absence’ and marked here by the dividing line exactly coincides with the apex of the pointed arch of the open-work window surmounting the portal that is framed by (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b). Accordingly, the downward motion of verse 3, ‘falls from the heavens into the dust’ is mirrored by the inscription of this verse on the downward-facing left side of the frame of the open-work window. In this context, the invitation to look closely (*bi-bīn ba-‘ayn-i baṣīrat*) in the first hemistich of verse 3 involves the reader straining to follow the text of this poem around the open-work window and plays with its location framing the window. The spatial arrangement of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān b) therefore suggests that the courtly figure for whose burial the current ‘vestibule’ was intended was precisely one who had outpassed his or her time and subsequently fallen from the highest heavens into the dust of the grave.

In contrast to (inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a and b), which are written in mosaics of glazed tiles (*mu‘arraḡ*), the four Persian hemistichs of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) are written on four medium-sized tiles set below the springing points of the arches of the *muqarnas* or stalactite vaulting of the portal niche. The text is written in white on a dark blue background in black-line technique. As far as I can see, this is the only instance where the technique of black-line to produce two-colored glazed tiles has been applied within the portal.⁵⁸⁹ Due to the limited size of these tiles, it may accordingly be possible that these tiles pre- or postdate the foundation of the Darb-i Imām by Ṣafarshāh:

⁵⁸⁹ This change of technique within the Qaraqyunlu portal niche of the Darb-i Imām is not discussed during the discussion of the ceramic decoration of the Darb-i Imām by Aube 2017, 105–109.

May this manner and order remain / When every mote of our dust has
 fallen,
 May this be a sign that remains after us / For I see nothing abiding in this
 world.⁵⁹⁰

The Persian verses of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) are the first two verses of the final poem contained in the preface of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*.⁵⁹¹ They complement the other inscriptions in the portal of the Darb-i Imām and the purpose of the foundation as a mausoleum. Two minor variations from the edited text of the poem in Sa'dī's *Gulistān* are *kār*, manner, in the epigraphic text of the first hemistich of the first verse instead of *naẓm*, arrangement, as in the edition, as well as *gītī*, world or time, instead of *hastī*, world or existence, in the second hemistich of the second verse. While both alternatives are metrically equivalent, they may somewhat downplay the (very implicit) reference to God as the Arranger and Bringer into existence, which could arguably be found in Sa'dī's verses, even if this argument is very tentative.

By contrast, the variant forms are highly significant in establishing the relation of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) to two earlier Timurid calligraphic inscriptions that draw on the same verses from Sa'dī's *Gulistān*. Chronologically, the first three verses of the final poem of the preface of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* were taken up in calligraphic inscriptions as follows:

1. The last line of an inscription composed by a certain Kamāl al-Dīn Īnāq⁵⁹² at the behest of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh and written into the ruins of the Achaemenid palace of the Tachara in Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in the fall of 826 / 1423 CE.⁵⁹³ This inscription combines the second and third verse of the poem and is written in one continuous line.
2. A panel of tile mosaic opposite the *mihrāb* of the Maṣjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās near Herāt that records the completion of the foundation in

590 *Bi-mānad sālḥā īn kār wa-tartīb z-mā har dharra khāk uftāda jā-yī gharaḍ naqshī-st ki-z-mā bāz-manad ki gītī-rā namī-bīnam baqā'ī.*

I translate on the basis of the edition of Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 343–344, as corroborated by photographs of the second hemistich of the first and the first hemistich of the second verse taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE.

Somewhat perplexingly, Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 768, does not give the first verse in his edition, but edits the concluding third verse of Sa'dī's poem instead.

591 Sa'dī *Kullīyyāt*, 35.

592 For him, see Leube 2021, 281–282. I have suggested identifying him with *mawlānā* Kamāl al-Dīn Ghiyāth al-Fārisī, who is placed at the court of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh in his biography according to Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 418–420.

593 Leube 2021, 278.

845 / 1441–1442 CE without mentioning its patron.⁵⁹⁴ This inscription features all three of the first three verses of the poem and is written in two lines with the break occurring between the two hemistichs of the second verse.

3. Inscription 857 Iṣfahān c, likely sponsored by Ṣafarshāh and Muḥammadī *mīrṣā* at the Darb-i Imām in 857 / 1453 CE. As stated above, this inscription features the first two verses of the poem, arranging each hemistich on a separate black-line glazed tile.

In comparison to the text of the first verse displayed in the Masjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās, (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) differs in reading *kār wa-tartīb* instead of *naẓm wa-tarkīb*. While both variants are metrically and semantically equivalent, the divergence of the word *tarkīb* in the Masjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās as compared to the *tartīb* of the printed edition illustrates the fluidity with which this and other well-known verses could be adapted to fit the circumstances of their deployment.⁵⁹⁵ By contrast, (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) differs from both Timurid epigraphic renderings of the second verse, as well as from the printed text of the modern edition of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, in reading *gītī* instead of *hastī*. The reading of *hastī* against the singular *gītī* of (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) is also displayed by the rendering of this verse on the seal of a certain *al-faqīr muḥammad* that was added to a decree of *sulṭān* Rustam dated to Rabī' 1 24th 902 / November 30th 1496 CE.⁵⁹⁶ As stated above, this variant displayed by (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) again is metrically and semantically almost equivalent to the Timurid and printed text.⁵⁹⁷

As far as I can see, neither of these variants appear to be motivated by numerological considerations according to the *abjadī* mode of converting letters into numbers. A 'direct' intertextuality linking (inscription 857 Iṣfahān c)

594 I cite this inscription based on the photograph published by Golombek, Wilber 1988, 2, ill. 191, cf. the discussion of the monument Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 311–312. I am greatly indebted to the anonymous reviewer of this book for making me aware of this inscription.

595 I have discussed the fluidity with which verses were deployed and subsequently edited (!) in modern scholarship at Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in Leube 2018 and Leube 2021.

596 Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1976, 107.

597 For the sake of completeness, the rendering of the final verse (which does not appear in inscription 857 Iṣfahān c) in the Masjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās differs from the text of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh at Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in reading *ba-rahmat* (conforming to the printed text) instead of *bi-khwānad* in the first hemistich. I have suggested that the verses quoted by Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh have been strategically adapted to the context of their deployment in the Tachara of *Takht-i Jamshīd* / Persepolis, see Leube 2021, 278–281. The rendering in the Masjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās differs from both the inscription at Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis and the modern edition in reading *maskīnān* instead of *darwīshān* in the second hemistich. This variation again is metrically and semantically equivalent.

to the two earlier Timurid epigraphic renderings of these verses could be suggested by the following three arguments:

1. The recentness of the Qaraqyunlu takeover of Iṣfahān from the Timurids during Ṣafarshāh's foundation of 857 / 1453 CE.
2. The likely inclusion of former members of Timurid courts among the courtly elites of the Qaraqyunlu.
3. The prominence of the *lieu de mémoire* of Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis in 15th-century CE Persianate courtly culture.⁵⁹⁸

Nonetheless, the metrical and semantic equivalence of the variants suggests a more 'indirect' intertextuality that is structured by a shared appreciation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*.⁵⁹⁹ As far as I can see, no additional link between the Darb-i Imām and the Tachara of Takht-i Jamshīd / Persepolis or the Masjid-i Ḥawḍ-i Karbās appears to exist.

Inscription (inscription 857 Iṣfahān d) is extant below the transition zone of the cupola spanning the vestibule immediately behind the portal niche.⁶⁰⁰ It is composed in two registers, the upper composed of Arabic invocations of God in *kūfī* ductus written in golden letters on a dark blue background and the lower written in *thulth* ductus in gold on a dark blue background.⁶⁰¹ The ten Persian verses of the lower register follow the rhyme scheme of a *qaṣīda* of A / A // B / A // C / A and can be translated as follows:

Invoking the God of mankind was built / This construction, the envy of
paradise.
By the gilded sun and canopy of this cupola / This high pavillon is a blue
album,
Envyng the sun of these eight vaults and nine views / The sun wanders
the heavens,
Out of love to this green heaven, the morning / Has set the sun to grace
this house.
The best of believers and the court of the king / Made Iṣfahān an earthly
paradise,

598 See Leube 2018 and Leube 2021, cf. Qāḍī Aḥmad *Gulistān*, 31–32, and Dawwānī 'Arḍ for 'Alī b. Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan, as well as the magisterial discussion of the *lieux de mémoire* of Takht-i Jamshīd and Pāsārgād in Persianate cultural memory by Melikian-Chirvani 1971.

599 Cf. the biography of Sa'dī as given by Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 202–210.

600 See the photograph Golombek, Wilber 1988, 2, ill. 377.

601 The invocations in the upper register are written in *repetitio continua* and read *yā subḥān*, *yā ḥannān*, *yā mannān*, *yā burhān* (oh Exalted One, oh Merciful One, oh Bountiful One, oh Proof!), cf. Hunarfār 1950 / 1971, 349, and Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 769–770.

In Jahānshāh's absence⁶⁰² Abū l-Faṭḥ ruled / Named by God Muḥammadī
sulṭān,
 The towers of the palace of his glory are higher / Than any arrow of
 suspicion,
 Fate took a blade and struck down / One who acted haughtily, the sun of
 mankind,
 If Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad is gone / The glory of *mūr* Ṣafarshāh abides.
 By the grace of the Opener of gates this building was finished / In the
 year 857.⁶⁰³

Although I have not been able to check this inscription against high-resolution photographs, I do not share Clinton's negative evaluation of the quality and originality of these verses.⁶⁰⁴ Instead, I view the sun as a leitmotif that ties the poem together and closely resonates both with its location at the base of the cupola and the political events of Ṣafarshāh's governorship of Iṣfahān. After a brief introduction, the first four verses deploy motivic variations of the imagery of the sun and the blue heavens to establish the equation of the cupola, which was likely decorated with glazed blue tiles, with the firmament. This equation draws on the designation of medallions, such as the one that must have marked the apex of the cupola, as *shamsa* or sun-shape. While some details, particularly in verse 2,⁶⁰⁵ remain unclear, the hyperbolical claim that the celestial sun envies the magnificently decorated cupola of the Darb-i Imām

602 As noted by Hunarfar 1950 / 1971, 350, the reading of '*ahd-i FQD*' is dubious. I tentatively emend to '*ahd-i bu'd*', during the time of Jahānshāh's absence.

603 *Niẓām yāft ba-nām-i khudā-yi 'ālamīyān 'imārati ki būd rashk-i rawḍa-yi riḍwān ba-nazd-i ṭās-i zar-andūd wa-chatr-i 'in gunbad muraqqa'ist-i kabūd 'in raft' shādurwān z-rashk-i shamsa-yi 'in hasht ṭāq wa-nuh manẓar chu dharra shamsa-yi khwushid gashta sar-gardān nihāda shubḥ bad-'in sabza sipihr z-mihr ba-rāyi zaynat-i 'in buq'a jān-i jāwidān ba-yumn-i himmat-i zayn al-'ibād wa-dawlat-i shāh bihisht rū-yi zamīn gasht milk-i iṣfahān ba-'ahd-i bu'd-i jahānshāh ān abū l-faṭḥi ki kard nām khudāyash muḥammadī sulṭān burūj-i qaṣr-i jalālāsh az ān raft' tar ast ki tīr-i wahm rasad bar-way az kamān-i gumān ajal ba-dast-i khudash dād tiḡh wa-zad bar pāy kasi ki kard sar-afrāz shams-i 'ālamīyyān agar z-dunyā-yi dūn shams al-dīn muḥammad raft jalāl-i mūr ṣafarshāh bād dar dawarān tamām gasht ba-faḍl-i mufattihi l-abwāb ba-sāl-i hashtasad wa-panjāh wa-haft 'in bunyān.*

I translate on the basis of the editions of Hunarfar 1950 / 1971, 350, and Rafi'i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 770.

604 Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 386.

605 The term *muraqqa'*, translated above as 'album' to allow for an ornamentation of the cupola with arabesques, can also be translated as a patched cloak, such as that worn by some Islamic mystics. In this case, the phrase would turn on a similarly plausible equation of the architectural decoration, possibly executed in the technique of *mu'arraḡ* or a mosaic of glazed tiles, of the cupola with textile ornaments.

(verse 3) and the even more ambitious assertion that the celestial sun is made to rise in the morning due to the love of the morning to this beautiful cupola (verse 4) firmly establish the gist of the first four verses.

My interpretation of the following verses 5–9 turns on the political events of Şafarshāh's governorship over Işfahān in 857 / 1453 CE. According to Țihirānī, who was himself involved in the political turmoils in Işfahān during this time, Şafarshāh was something of a controversial figure, particularly after the sudden (and, for Şafarshāh, quite opportune) death of his main antagonist *khwāja* Maḥmūd Ḥaydarī.⁶⁰⁶ Accordingly, I suggest identifying the 'best of believers' (*ẓayn al-'ibād*) in verse 5 with Şafarshāh, who together with the remainder of the personnel of Qaraqayunlu courtly administration (*dawlat-i shāh*) claims to have turned Işfahān into a paradigm of good governance (*bihisht rū-yi zamīn*). Accordingly, the praise of Jahānshāh and his son Muḥammadī *mūrā* as being so highly exalted that no evil rumor can reach them in verse 7 takes on something of an evocative function, as Şafarshāh clearly had no interest in being badmouthed at the Qaraqayunlu court by dissatisfied notables embedded within the interpersonal networks of Işfahān.

The claim that 'fate' (*aqal*) itself had taken a sword and struck down the 'sun of mankind' (*shams-i 'ālamīyyān*) that had acted haughtily in verse 8 takes up the leitmotif of the sun by playing on the *laqab* or honorific title of the individual killed by fate, who is referred to as Shams al-Dīn, literally *sun (!) of the religion*, Muḥammad, in the first hemistich of verse 9. This individual who met his deserved punishment for acting haughtily is explicitly contrasted with the abiding glory of Şafarshāh himself, the patron of this magnificent foundation in the second hemistich of verse 9. The final verse 10 then gives the date of the completion of the foundation, which is remarkable insofar as the year of 857 indeed fits the meter of the poem when it is spelled out in Persian.

Although there is certainly no dearth of influential contemporary figures named Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, nobody with this name and *laqab* fits the political context of Şafarshāh's governorship in Işfahān in 857 / 1453 CE. By contrast, a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad was influential in the transition from the Timurids to Qaraqayunlu rule in Işfahān in 853 / 1449 CE without, however, being explicitly linked to Şafarshāh.⁶⁰⁷ If we do follow the poem's allusion to a political adversary who acted haughtily vis-a-vis Şafarshāh and met his end amidst rumors that were unjustified according to Şafarshāh, the most likely and arguably only candidate that emerges is *khwāja* Maḥmūd Ḥaydarī himself. This identification does, however, call for an emendation of

606 Țihirānī *Diwārbakrīyya*, particularly 328–329.

607 Kātib *Tārīkh*, 252–255.

the name Muḥammad in verse 9 to Maḥmūd, as well as possibly an emendation of his *laqab* Shams al-Dīn to the ‘Imād al-Dīn which is once given as the *laqab* of *khwāja* Maḥmūd Ḥaydarī by Ṭihrānī.⁶⁰⁸ These emendations are particularly problematic as neither of them is metrically equivalent to the forms given in the editions of both Hunarfar and Rafī‘ī Mihrābādī. Nonetheless, I argue that he would be the only candidate fitting the political context.⁶⁰⁹ As long as a definite edition of the inscription is not available, there remains a slight possibility that the name may simply have been misread. If, however, the name should indeed be unambiguously readable in the epigraphic context, one would have to seriously consider whether Ṣafarshāh could have had reason to (transparently) veil the name of his antagonist, or if *khwāja* Maḥmūd could have borne multiple *laqabs*.

Following this wealth of text inscribed in Ṣafarshāh’s foundation of the Darb-i Imām, (inscription 880 Iṣfahān) commemorating repairs by *uzun* Ḥasan to the great mosque of Iṣfahān that were concluded in 880 / 1475–1476 CE appears almost laconic. This Arabic inscription composed in rhymed prose or *saj‘* is written in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu‘arraḡ*) in white on a dark blue background. The name of God, as well as the *kunya*, name, and *laqabs* of *uzun* Ḥasan are written in gold letters. This is represented by bold in the following translation. Further sparse golden accents suggest arabesques in the field behind the inscription. This type of accent is executed in light blue tiles in the immediate vicinity of the golden writing of *uzun* Ḥasan’s *kunya*, name, and *laqabs*:

Praise be to **God** and prayer to his prophet Muḥammad. The most noble and great⁶¹⁰ *sulṭān* **Abū l-Naṣr Ḥasan *bahādur***, may God make his kingship and rule eternal!, has ordered the restoration (*iṣlāḡ*) of what collapsed of this well-built mosque and the rebuilding (*i‘āda*) of this high

608 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 327.

609 See the justified skepticism of Golombek and Wilber regarding an identification of the Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad named in verse 9 with the Timurid prince and governor of Iṣfahān, Muḥammad b. Bāysunghur, Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 386, quoted in Aube 2017, 106.

610 The golden lettering of the adjective *al-a‘zam*, the greatest, does not extend to the *Alif* of the article. As the *Alif* of *allāh*, God, is written in gold in the eulogy for *uzun* Ḥasan, it may arguably be justified to read something of a calligraphic *hyperbaton*, where *a-llāh* is written in white tiles and frames the ‘name’ of the patron, who is in turn framed by the golden *hyperbaton* of *a-l-a‘zam*.

ceiling and the other parts that had vanished⁶¹¹ from his legal property (*min mālihi l-ḥalāli*) in the year 880.⁶¹²

Due to the extensive Şafawid rebuilding of the great mosque of Işfahān, it is difficult to ascertain the factual extent of the repairs commemorated in (inscription 880 Işfahān). Although it has been suggested that the currently extant decoration of the minarets surmounting the *qibla-īwān* or even the magnificent ceramic decoration of this *īwān* in general could date to the patronage of *uzun* Ḥasan,⁶¹³ Aube convincingly argues on stylistical grounds that the sole remaining testimony of Aqquyunlu patronage is precisely this inscription.⁶¹⁴ Following her argument, I also do not believe there is compelling reason to assign the undated inscriptions by a craftsman signing as ‘Jamāl, the servant of *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Bannā’⁶¹⁵ or another craftsman signing as ‘the tile-worker Shams al-Dīn’⁶¹⁶ to the repairs funded by *uzun* Ḥasan that are commemorated in (inscription 880 Işfahān).

While we cannot confidently describe the extent of the repairs commissioned by *uzun* Ḥasan, his inscription in the *qibla-īwān* of the great mosque of Işfahān can be firmly rooted in the performative practices and terminology of architectural patronage performed by the ‘Turkmen’ courts. We have already discussed *uzun* Ḥasan’s order to repair the great mosque of Abhar during his passage from Qazwīn to Sulṭāniyya in 875 / 1471 CE.⁶¹⁷ Most likely, the repairs to the great mosque of Işfahān that were completed in 880 / 1475–1476 CE as attested in (inscription 880 Işfahān) were also ordered during a time when

611 In light of the close parallel to the terminology of this inscription with that attested in descriptions of courtly restaurations to architectural monuments in Aqquyunlu court historiography (see below), I retract my earlier doubts (see Leube 2015a) regarding the somewhat ambiguously written word *inṭimās*, annihilation. Instead, I suggest an emendation of the enigmatic ‘*jarghaba*’ of Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 95, and Rafī’ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 540, to *jarā laḥū*, giving the perfectly acceptable *qad amara ... bi-ṣlāhi ... wa-li-mā jarā laḥū l-inṭimās* translated above.

612 *Ḥamdun li-llāhi wa-ṣalātu ‘alā nabiyyihī muḥammadin qad amara l-sulṭānu l-a’dalu l-a’ṣamu abū l-naṣri ḥasanun bahāduru khallada llāhu mulkahū wa-sulṭānahū bi-iṣlāhi mā khtalla min hādhā l-jāmi’i l-man’i wa-i’ādati hādhā l-saqfi l-rafi’i ba’da l-indirāsi wa-li-mā jarā laḥū l-inṭimāsu min mālihi l-ḥalāli fi sanati 880.*

I translate on the basis of photographs taken *in situ*. Cf. the editions of Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 95, and Rafī’ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 540, as well as Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 379.

613 Cf. the somewhat inconclusive discussion in Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 379, as well as Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 70–71, and Rafī’ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 531.

614 Aube 2017, 110–111.

615 Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 95, and Rafī’ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 540–541.

616 Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 379.

617 Ṭihrānī *Di-yārbakriyya*, 557–558, translated above.

uzun Ḥasan was present in this town. The most likely occasion for this visit of *uzun* Ḥasan to Iṣfahān would have been during the revolt of his son *ughurlu* Muḥammad in 879 / October and September 1474 CE, which is described by the reports of the Venetian envoys Barbaro and Contarini.⁶¹⁸

The terminology of (inscription 880 Iṣfahān) is also deeply rooted in the rhetoric used to describe the performative commission of repairs by the ‘Turkmen’ courts in contemporary narrative sources. The assertion that *uzun* Ḥasan had financed his repairs to the great mosque of Iṣfahān ‘from his legal property’ (*min mālihī l-ḥalālī*) draws on the normative Islamic discourses restricting the sources of legitimate funds at the disposal of the ruler or other patrons (see above). The same concept is deployed in Ṭihrānī’s (Persian) account of *uzun* Ḥasan’s commission of repairs to the great mosque of Abhar in 875 / 1471 CE, where it is stated that he paid for these repairs ‘from his personal funds’ (*az khāṣṣ al-māl-i khud*).⁶¹⁹ As indicated by the Arabism of *khāṣṣ al-māl*, which is embedded in the Persian linguistic matrix of Ṭihrānī’s court history, these ‘personal funds’ must here be understood to refer to the normative Islamic discourses on rightful possessions of the ruler. Accordingly, *khāṣṣ al-māl* should here be interpreted as a functional equivalent of *al-māl al-ḥalāl* in (inscription 880 Iṣfahān).

The terms *indirās* and *inṭimās*, literally collapse and disappearance, are bound together in a nice rhyme, which is functionalized in the *sajʿ* or rhymed prose of (inscription 880 Iṣfahān). They occur in reversed order in Faḍlallāh’s exuberant description of the repairs, which the wife of *uzun* Ḥasan and mother of *sultān* Yaʿqūb, Saljūqshāh *bīgum* commissioned at the great mosque of Tabriz.⁶²⁰ Faḍlallāh singles out a magnificent cupola, *qubba*, that was built in the name of Saljūqshāh *bīgum* over the former main *miḥrāb* (*qibla-gāh-i qadīmash*). Accordingly, the pair of *indirās* and *inṭimās* could conceivably have taken on a more specific meaning connected to high half-domes or domes in Aqqyunlu rhetorics of courtly architectural patronage. In any case, *khāṣṣ al-māl* and *indirās* / *inṭimās* both constitute technical terms and concepts specific to the commissioning of repairs in the rhetoric of architectural patronage within the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms.

618 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 139–140, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 548–549; Contarini *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 196–197, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 599–600.

619 Ṭihrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 557–558, translated above. See also the phrase *az khāṣṣ-i māl-i khud* designating private sponsorships to the mosque of *khwāja pīr* Husayn Dāmghānī in Yazd, financed by *khwāja* Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī some time after 840 / 1436 CE in the *Tārīkh-i Jadīd-i Yazd* that was likely written under Qaraqyunlu rule, Kātib *Tārīkh*, 120.

620 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 428, ed. ‘Ashiq, 406.

Inscription (inscription 881 Ushturjān), dated to Rabīʿ 11 881 / July to August 1476 CE, is extant in a stone (limestone?) tablet set at a height of about four meters into one of the pillars of the prayer hall of the great mosque of Ushturjān / Īmānshahr, some 30 km from the center of Iṣfahān. It is written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian and composed of the restoration inscription proper in the center, which is framed by a surrounding inscription of Qurʾān 9, 18, and a brief praise of God and Muḥammad.⁶²¹

[Persian] During the caliphate of his highness, the king of Islām, [Arabic] the greatest sulṭān and owner of the necks of the people (*mālik riqāb al-umam*)⁶²² Abū l-Naṣr Ḥasan *bahādur khān*, may God make his kingship and rule eternal!, the right and left [wings]⁶²³ of the great mosque of Ushturjān were repaired (*yuʿmaru*) from the source (*bi-mawārid*)⁶²⁴ of the beneficence of the personal funds (*khāṣṣi māli jūdī*) of the righteous and God-fearing *shaykh* Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaḥīr al-Dīn Ushturjānī, striving for the satisfaction of God, exalted be He!, may He extend his life and presence on earth (*amadda lahū aḡalahū wa-ḥuḍūrahū*)⁶²⁵ and

621 It is a pleasure to thank the caretakers of the great mosque of Īmānshahr for their kind permission to take these photographs, as well as to use a mobile scaffolding normally reserved for repairs to obtain a better angle for the camera.

Cf. Leube 2015e and the editions by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 275–277, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 825–826, as well as Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 365–366.

622 This title is occasionally attested in ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy, cf. the inscription of *uzun* Ḥasan’s uncle Ḥamza on the lock of the castle of Mardin, Etem 1936, 141, and the foundation inscription of the Kadem Paşa Hatun Türbesi in Erciş, inscription 863 Erciş, edited by Şerif 1932, 61; Aslanapa 1957, 105, and Xačʿatryan 1987, 125–126 and 194.

623 I do not share Golombek and Wilber’s suggestion of understanding ‘right and left’ as the entirety of the mosque (Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 365), as the brick pillars of the ‘halls’ to the sides of the court (today roofed over) of the great mosque of Ushturjān are made up of the same type of masonry as that in which the stone tablet bearing (inscription 881 Ushturjān) is set and should accordingly be attributed to the repairs commissioned by Kamāl al-Dīn. By contrast, the masonry not only of the dome over the *miḥrāb*, but also the *īwān* leading to it and the entrance portal facing it across the court should be assigned to another (earlier?) period of construction at this mosque.

624 I misread this term as *mawāḍhir* due to the ambiguous placing of the ‘dot’ of the letter *Bāʾ* in my earlier edition Leube 2015e. The *namūd* suggested by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 276, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 825, is nonetheless incorrect upon closer examination of the clearly readable shape of the letters.

625 I failed to recognize the very small letters of *aḡal*, lifespan, at the bottom of the line in my earlier edition Leube 2015e. The reading of *ḥuḍūr* is tentative and necessitates some emendation of the letters. I am, however, confident in my assessment of the Arabic linguistic *matrix* of these lines *pace* Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 277, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 826.

strengthen him to withstand the blemish of oblivion by means of precious prayer. It was completed in the month of Rabi' II of the year 881.⁶²⁶

The framing text can be translated as follows:

In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate. Only those shall build the mosques of God who believe in God and the Day of Judgement, hold the prayer, pay the alms, and fear none but God: Maybe they will be among the rightly guided. (Qur'ān 9, 18). Truly speak God the Great and His prophet (*ṣadaqa llāhu l-ʿaẓīmu wa-ṣadaqa rasūluhū*).⁶²⁷

While the insistence on the personal funds of the patron that were used to finance the repairs to the great mosque of Ushturjān resonates with (inscription 880 Işfahān) of *uzun* Ḥasan and the rhetoric of architectural patronage discussed above, the identity of Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ḥaḥir al-Dīn Ushturjānī cannot to my knowledge be clarified by means of other sources.⁶²⁸ The language of (inscription 881 Ushturjān) is particular in so far as it somewhat stretches the rules of Arabic grammar in the Arabic part of the text. Particularly interesting is the retainment of *uzun* Ḥasan's *kunya* Abū l-Naṣr in the

626 I translate on the basis of photographs taken on site in 2014 CE.

Dar zamān-i khilāfat-i ḥaḍrat-i pādshāh-i islām al-sultāni l-aʿẓami māliki riqābi l-umami abū [sic] l-naṣri ḥasanin bahādura khāna khallada llāhu mulkahū wa-sultānahū yuʿmaru yamīnu wa-yasāru masjidi [l-]jāmiʿi ushturjāna bi-mawāridi khāṣṣi māli jūdi l-shaykhi l-sāliki l-muttaqī kamālī l-dīni ismāʿīla bni ḥaḥiri l-dīni ibrahīma [l-]ushturjānī btighāʿan li-marḍātī llāhi taʿālā amadda lahū ajalāhū wa-ḥuḍūrahū wa-aʿzzahū li-raddi dhahli l-shayni bi-duʿāʿin nādirin kamala fī taʾrikhi rabīʿi l-thānī sanati iḥdā wa-thamānīna wa-thamānīmīʾatin.

627 I translate on the basis of photographs taken on site in 2014 CE.

Bi-smi llāhi l-raḥmāni l-raḥīmi innamā yaʿmuru masājida llāhi man amana bi-llāhi wa-l-yawmi l-ākhirī wa-aqāma l-ṣalāta wa-atā l-zakāta wa-lam yakhsa illā llāha fa-ʿasā ūlāʾika an yakūnū minā l-muhtadīna ṣadaqa llāhu l-ʿaẓīmu wa-ṣadaqa rasūluhū.

I interpreted the verbal form of *ṣadaqa* I before God as an imperative II in my earlier edition Leube 2015e. I would like to retract my earlier suggestion to read *ṣallī* [*ʿalā*] *rasūlahū*, pray [for] His prophet, as the necessary emendation of an *ʿalā* to make up for the missing *Qāf* of the second *ṣadaqa* before 'His prophet', which is still missing on closer inspection of the photographs of the inscription, does cause more problems than it solves. This is also the reading given by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 275, and Rafiʿi Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 825, and resonates well with the eulogy for Muḥammad in the *ḥadīth* of (inscription 895 Işfahān b).

628 He is certainly not identical with the well-known poet Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, who lived some centuries earlier and is occasionally quoted in the context of the performative culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. See for his biography Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 148–154.

nominative, rather than in the genitive case of Abī l-Naṣr, as would be expected due to the dependency of the whole clause from his caliphate (*khilāfa*). This may represent a taking over of the Arabic *kunya* into Persianate rhetorics in a 'fossilized' form resistant to declination.

According to the rules of Arabic grammar, one would also expect an article before the adjectives of *maṣjid* [*al-*] *jāmi'*, as well as in [*al-*] *Ushturjānī*. In both cases, the missing article may represent a Persianism, as both *maṣjid-i jāmi'* and *Zahīr al-Dīn-i Ushturjānī* would be organically linked by an *iḍāfa*-construction that is frequently not indicated in the written text if the passages were written or 'internally dictated'⁶²⁹ in Persian. Arguably, one could address these terms as Persian kernels embedded in the overarching Arabic linguistic matrix of the inscription. However, both the participle I of *jāmi'* and the generation of a relational adjective by means of the Arabic *nisba* underlaying the toponymic *nisba* of *Ushturjānī* depend on the Arabic language. Therefore, I would rather assume an unconscious blurring of the rules of Arabic grammar in this somewhat peripheric inscription. In general, the Arabic style of (inscription 881 *Ushturjān*) is not too elaborate, as shown by its being written in simple instead of rhymed prose (*saj'*) and also by the somewhat cumbersome concatenation of genitives in *bi-mawāridi khāṣṣi māli*⁶³⁰ *jūdi l-shaykhi*.

The two inscriptions of the so-called Buq'a-yi *shaykh* Abū (!) Mas'ūd that can securely be dated to the original foundation of the mausoleum of Abū Mas'ūd Aḥmad b. al-Firāt⁶³¹ and its adjacent convent during the rule of *sultān* Ya'qūb in 895 / 1489–1490 CE stand within the magnificent decoration of the entrance portal with a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu'arraḡ*).⁶³² While the inscription at the base of the cupola visible in illustrations given by Golombek and Wilber apparently dates from a later restoration,⁶³³ Rafī' Mihrābādī suggests that some verses of a Persian poem praising *shaykh* Abū Mas'ūd, which may date to the original foundation of the mausoleum, may have been preserved inside the foundation.⁶³⁴ Due to the fragmentary preservation of this inscription, I do not offer a translation of this text.

629 See for this fortunate concept of 'internal dictation' Dain 1975, 44–46.

630 Cf. *khāṣṣ al-māl* in the passage Tīhrānī *Dīyārbakrīyya*, 557–558, discussed above for the necessity of understanding *khāṣṣ* as a substantive determined by *māl* (in turn determined by *status constructus* due to the following genitive of *jūdi*) in this context.

631 For him, see al-Ziriklī *A'lām*, 1, 194.

632 See Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 353–357, and Rafī' Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 805–808, as well as Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 388–389. The ceramic decoration of the portal is discussed by Aube 2017, 111–114.

633 Golombek, Wilber 1988, 2, illustrations 382 and 383, see Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 355–356, and Rafī' Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 806–807.

634 Rafī' Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807–808.

The inscription of a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad that can be translated as 'I am the town of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate!' (*anā madīnatu l-ʿilmi wa-ʿalī bābuhā*)⁶³⁵ in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarraḡ*) on two small plaques on both sides of the entrance portal is mentioned neither by Hunarfar nor by Rafīʿī Mihrābādī but clearly visible on an illustration published by Golombek and Wilber.⁶³⁶ I tentatively assign this inscription to repairs undertaken in the second half of the 20th-century CE with a *terminus ante quem* of 1988 CE, even if the indication of Golombek and Wilber that the vault of the portal niche had not been reconstructed at the time of their writing⁶³⁷ makes one doubt the extent of these hypothetical repairs. As far as I can see, this *ḥadīth* is not attested elsewhere in 'Turkmen' epigraphy with the exception of the (much restored) entrance portal of the convent of Darb-i Kushk (see below). It does, however, appear in the decree of Jahānshāh appointing a leader of the *ḥajj* in 870 translated above and matches the stylistica of the Aqqyunlu decoration of the portal, particularly in (inscription 895 Iṣfahān b), rather closely. Therefore, it may conceivably also date to the original foundation.

The current vault over the entrance portal, which is also decorated by a (modern) mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarraḡ*), dates to 2004 CE.⁶³⁸ The mausoleum of Abū Masʿūd Aḥmad b. al-Firāt has been vandalized after the period under study due to charges of him having been a vehemently anti-*shīʿī* transmitter of *ḥadīth*.⁶³⁹ If the tentative suggestion of assigning the small inscription mentioned above to the time between ca. 1955 CE and 1985 CE should be correct, its commission could accordingly be understood as a modern attempt to improve the public image of Abū Masʿūd. In this context, inscription of this specific pro-ʿAlī *ḥadīth* could be argued to exemplify the inclusion of *ḥadīth* sympathetic to contemporary *shīʿī* views in *sunni* collections and networks of transmission. However, although Abū Masʿūd was involved in the transmission of ('*sunni*' compilations of) *ḥadīth*, he is to my knowledge not mentioned to have transmitted this *ḥadīth* in any of its attested chains of transmission (*isnād*).

The actual founder of the Buḡʿa-yi *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd gives his name as Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn ʿArabshāh in the inscription. As no person of this name appears to be attested elsewhere, it is tempting to identify the founder with a son of ʿArabshāh Āyīnlū, a high-ranking general and sometime leader of

635 See al-Suyūṭī *Jāmiʿ*, 1, 415.

636 Golombek, Wilber 1988, 2, illustration 380.

637 Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 388.

638 Aube 2017, 112.

639 See the extensive account in the *Khuld-i Barīn* by Aḥmad Bayān Iṣfahānī as quoted in Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 355, and the short paraphrase in Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 806.

the chancellery (*amīr-i dīwān*) of Jahānshāh.⁶⁴⁰ As, however, neither the *laqab* Jalāl al-Dīn nor any offspring appear to be attested for ‘Arabshāh, who furthermore did not have any obvious connection to Iṣfahān, this suggestion is based solely on the rarity of the somewhat uncommon name of ‘Arabshāh.⁶⁴¹

The Arabic foundation inscription, which I edit below as (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a), is written in a *thulth* ductus in a beautiful mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu‘arraḡ*), set within a dark blue background structured by spiralling arabesques in light blue with some whitish accents. The greater part of the text is written in white. By contrast, the *kunya*, name, and some of the *laqabs* of *sultān* Ya‘qūb appear to have originally been accentuated by being written in gold. Somewhat atypically, this inscription is written in a smaller course of letters running across the whole upper part of the width of the three internal sides of the portal niche, which is then continued in the lower course written in larger letters, which once again starts at the interior side of the portal niche to the right of the entrance before again continuing across all three sides.⁶⁴² The name and honorifics of the prophet Muḥammad, which have been arranged in the smaller letters of the higher course directly above those of *sultān* Ya‘qūb centered over the entrance, also appear to show traces of having been written in gold. While it is difficult to ascertain the precise extent of these golden accents, my rendering of the golden letters by means of bold in the following translation departs from the virtuoso parallelism of arranging the name of *sultān* Ya‘qūb directly below the name of the prophet Muḥammad. According to this interpretation, the calligrapher composed a wedge-shaped trapezoid centered on the entrance portal and widening at the top, within which the inscription was executed in golden letters. The final part of the inscription giving the signature of the calligrapher is written in very small letters squeezed into the lower left corner of the very end of the inscription:

[First course] Praise be to God, who illuminates the hermitages of con-
viviality (*ṣawāmi‘ al-uns*)⁶⁴³ and the convents of holyness (*khawāniq*

640 See Ṭīhrānī *Ḍiyārbakriyya*, 358–361, for his role in the revolt of Ḥasan‘alī b. Jahānshāh during his father’s expedition to Herāt in 863 / 1459 CE. See the map Woods 1999, 199, for an approximate localization of the Kurdish ‘tribe’ of Āyīnlu north of the river Aras in the area between Kars and Ağrı during the first half of the 15th Century CE.

641 See the one ‘Arabshāh, certainly not identical to the general of Jahānshāh, attested in al-Sakhāwī’s monumental biographical dictionary of the 9th- / 15th-century CE, al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw‘*, 5, 131.

642 A similar arrangement is followed in the foundation inscription of the Muḡaffariyya (inscription 870 Tabriz a) translated above.

643 The vocalization as *uns* instead of the somewhat more fluent *ins*, mankind, is specified by the unambiguous vocalization with a *ḍamma* visible on the photographs of the

al-quds) by the lamps of the existence of His friends (*al-awliyā'*) among those who serve as an *imām* for the pious (Qur'ān 25, 74) and those who spend the night prostrate and standing for their Lord (Qur'ān 25, 64). Peace and blessing be upon the sun of the firmament of prophecy (*'alā shamsi falaki l-risāla*), Muḥammad the chosen (*al-muṣṭafā*), sent to happily guide those who call to God (*li-hidāyati man kāna fī l-dhikri mas'ūdan*), and upon his relatives and companions, the people of piety and purity. *Ad rem* (*wa-ba'da*): It has founded [sc. the building of this mausoleum, see below] in the days of the greatest *sulṭān* and most just and noble *khāqān*, who sets the foundations of governance and raises the pillars of watchfulness, [second course] the guardian of the lords of justice and beneficence and annihilator of the causes of going astray and oppression, who puts his trust in the Keeper and Merciful, Abū l-Muẓaffar Ya'qūb *bahādur khān*, may God make his kingship and rule eternal!, [it has founded, see above] the building of this mausoleum that is known as the one of [Abū] Mas'ūd of Rayy (*al-mawsūma al-mas'ūdiyya al-rāziyya*) with his pure funds (*min khālīṣ mālihi*)⁶⁴⁴ the poor servant needful of the mercy of God, Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Arabshāh. This was written by the servant Kamāl b. Shihāb, the calligrapher from Yazd (*al-kātib al-yazdī*), may God pardon the sins of both and veil the blemishes of both with His grace!, in the year 895.⁶⁴⁵

inscription. It is likely caused by the rhyme with the following *quds* within the rhymed prose (*saj'*) of the inscription.

644 Cf. the phrase *mina l-khālīṣāt*, (financed by funds) drawn from legal sources, in the restoration inscription at the *zāwīya* of *imām* 'Abdallāh in Hasankeyf attributed to *sulṭān* Khalīl that gives the date 878, inscription 878 Hasankeyf, partially edited by Sauvaget in Gabriel 1940, 1, 309.

645 *Al-ḥamdu li-llāhi lladhī nawwara ṣawāmi'a l-unsī wa-khawāniqa l-quḍsi bi-maṣābihi wujūdi l-awliyā'i minā lladhīna ja'alū li-l-muttaqīna imāman wa-lladhīna yabītūna li-rabbihim sujḡadan wa-qiyāman wa-l-ṣalātu wa-l-salāmu 'alā shamsi falaki l-risālati muḥammadini l-muṣṭafā l-mab'ūthi li-hidāyati man kāna fī l-dhikri mas'ūdan wa-'alā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ahli l-tuqā wa-l-naqā wa-ba'da fa-qad assasa fī ayyāmi l-sulṭāni l-a'ẓami l-khāqāni l-a'dali l-akrami wādi' qawānini l-siyāsati rāfi' asāṭini l-ḥirāsati ḥamī arbābi l-'adālati wa-l-ṭhsāni māhi asbābi l-ḡalālī wa-l-ṭughyāni l-mutawakkili 'alā l-muḥaymini l-raḥmāni abī l-muẓaffari ya'qūba bahādura khāna khallada llāhu mulkahū wa-sulṭānahū bi-bunyāni hādhihi l-buq'ati l-mawsūmati bi-l-mas'ūdiyyati l-rāziyyati min khālīṣi mālihi l-'abdu l-faḡīru ilā 'afwi llāhi muḥammaduni bnu jalāli l-dīni 'arabshāha katabahū l-'abdu kamāluni bnu shihābini l-kātibu l-yazdiyyu ghafara llāhu dhunūbahumā wa-satara bi-faḡlihi 'uyūbahumā fī sanati 895.*

I translate based on the photographs taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE. Cf. Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 357, and Rafī' Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807. Neither Hunarfar nor Rafī' Mihrābādī include the vocalization clearly visible on the photographs of the extant inscription in their editions.

Due to the virtuoso display of the spatial parallelism between the prophet Muḥammad and *sulṭān* Ya'qūb centered over the middle of the entrance portal, which likely was accentuated by the golden color of the pertinent portions of the text, (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a) is somewhat stretched by the monumental hyperbaton of *fa-qad assasa*⁶⁴⁶ ... *al-'abd*. This *hyperbaton* spans one third of the upper and two thirds of the lower course of the inscription. I have taken the liberty of representing this in my translation by means of the Semitism of 'It has founded ... the servant' to retain the elaborate spatial layout of this inscription.

The introductory *ḥamdala* refers twice to the *Sūrat al-Furqān* of the Qur'ān in what amounts to a display of stylistic brilliance, first in an allusion to Qur'ān 25, 74 (*alladhīna ja'alū li-l-muttaqīna imāman* vs. the Qur'ānic *wa-j'alnā li-l-muttaqīna imāman*) and then in a verbal quotation of Qur'ān 25, 64. A second wordplay ties together the praise of Muḥammad as the one who guides 'happily' (*mas'ūdan*) with the *kunya* of the eponymous *shaykh* Abū Mas'ūd. This wordplay underlines the importance of Abū Mas'ūd Aḥmad b. al-Firāt al-Rāzī as a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, which in turn preserve the guidance of Muḥammad. The 'calligrapher from Yazd' Kamāl b. Shihāb also signs his name on other calligraphies and has recently been the subject of an article.⁶⁴⁷

Inscription (inscription 895 Iṣfahān b) stands on the right and left inner faces of the portal niche below (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a). It features an unvocalized Arabic *ḥadīth* and is executed in beautiful white letters composed in a *thulth* ductus before a dark blue background structured by light blue arabesques with golden accents in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu'arraḡ*). Interestingly, it begins to the left of the portal and continues on the right-hand side. Arguably, this position frames this inscription as something of an afterthought at which one arrives after having read the two courses of the foundation inscription (inscription 895 Iṣfahān a):

The prophet, God bless him and his family and grant them peace, said: If one gives alms (*taṣaddaqa*), they shall be from the just proceeds of honest earnings, as God only accepts the honest. God accepts it with his right hand (*bi-yamīnihī*), before he raises it for its owner (*li-ṣāhibihī*) as one of you may raise a colt (*faluww*) until it becomes as large as a mountain. Truly speaks the prophet of God.⁶⁴⁸

646 Both Hunarfār 1350 / 1971, 357, and Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807, read *fa-qad banā wa-assasa*, which I cannot confirm from the photographs of the inscription.

647 Aube 2015.

648 *Qāla l-nabiyyu ṣallā llāhu 'alayhi wa-ālihī wa-sallama man taṣaddaqa bi-'adli thamaratin min kasbin ṭayyibin wa-lā yaqbalu llāhu illā l-ṭayyibi fa-inna llāhu yaqbaluhā bi-yamīnihī*

This well-known *ḥadīth* describing the profitability of almsgiving is quoted in al-Bukhārī as a commentary by Muḥammad himself on the importance of giving alms from honest earnings (*min kasabin ṭayyibin*), which is explicitly linked to Qurʾān 2, 276–277, by al-Bukhārī in the narrative framing of the *ḥadīth*.⁶⁴⁹ Accordingly, the prominent epigraphic inscription of this *ḥadīth* in the original entrance portal of the Buqʿa-yi *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd appears to indicate that Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn ʿArabshāh did indeed claim to have financed his foundation as a charitable endowment that fulfilled the stipulations of the ‘giving alms from honest earnings’.

Inscription (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) is the sole complete epigraphic remainder of several foundations established under ‘Turkmen’ rule, which were formerly situated in the quarter of Darb-i Kushk.⁶⁵⁰ It was set over the main entrance of a complex including a convent (*zāwiya*) and a mausoleum on the three internal sides of the portal niche among a beautiful decoration executed in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarrāq*). This decoration and (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) have been restored and reset in a reconstructed portal in the garden of the palace of Chihil Sutūn in Iṣfahān.⁶⁵¹ As argued by Golombek and Wilber, it may be possible that some panels executed in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarrāq*), at least two of which appear to represent fragmentary foundation inscriptions, which are currently dispersed in various collections, originally come from a mausoleum behind the convent.⁶⁵² Another small inscription is visible to the left of the entrance on the photographs published by Sarre. This has today disappeared.⁶⁵³

In a recent publication, Sandra Aube has drawn attention to changes that affected the calligraphic decoration of the portal during its redeployment in the garden of the palace of Chihil Sutūn. She has identified the change from an ‘*allāh*’ clearly readable as written in square *kūfī* ductus on one of the

thumma yurabbūhā li-ṣāḥibihā ka-mā yurabbī aḥadukum faluwwahū ḥattā yakūna mithla l-jabali ṣadaqa rasūlu llāhi.

I translate based on the photographs taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE. Cf. Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 357, and Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 807.
649 al-Bukhārī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1, 174.

650 Cf. the suggestion of Golombek, Wilber, 1, 387, of connecting the fragmentary inscriptions (inscriptions 885 Iṣfahān a and b) with this ruined cluster of foundations. Nonetheless, their misreading of the name of the patron *pīr* ʿAlī *bīk* Purnāk in (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) calls for a reevaluation of their reconstruction.

651 See Sarre 1910, 77–78, Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 358–359, Rafīʿī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 137–138, Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 389, as well as the discussion of the ceramic decoration in Aube 2017, 115–117.

652 Inscriptions 885 Iṣfahān a and b, see Golombek, Wilber 1988, 1, 386–387.

653 Sarre 1901, *Tafel* 67, Sarre 1910, 78, see Sauvaget 1938, 106.

photographs published by Sarre to ‘*alī*’.⁶⁵⁴ This change appears to have been aimed at making the portal agree to contemporary ‘partisan *shīʿī*’ sentiments. Nonetheless, Aube’s conclusive demonstration that at least one change has been made to the decoration of the portal in the 20th-century CE does not exclude the possibility of further interferences that could have taken place before the reconstruction of the portal in the garden of the palace of Chihil Sutūn. Therefore, I believe we also need to question the authenticity of the other slogans calligraphically inscribed in the current portal that resonate with contemporary *shīʿī* partisanship.⁶⁵⁵

As is argued below, ‘*shīʿī*’ and ‘Alid currents of Islam were certainly included in ‘Turkmen’ courtly representation. Nonetheless, the deployment of pro-‘Alid *ḥadīth*, slogans or acts of devotion does not automatically signify a ‘binary confessional’ affiliation of its patron to an exclusively ‘*shīʿī*’ vision of Islam. In contrast, some trends leading to aspects of such a ‘confessionalization’ have recently been argued for as surfacing from the 16th-century CE onwards.⁶⁵⁶ While this debate is certainly still ongoing, I believe scholarship on ‘Turkmen’ representational culture and courtly iconography has long overstated the significance and ‘pro-partisan stability’ of such elements. During the post-‘Turkmen’ history of material objects that were originally deployed in courtly representation, one should expect a tendency toward a greater emphasis on elements resonating with ‘partisan *shīʿī*’ visions of Islam. Therefore, I believe it is important not to overstate arguments based on number or relative prominence, but rather keep in mind that the representational culture of the Qara-and Aqquyunlu court included elements from a wide variety of permeable traditions.

In the medium of public epigraphy, this problem is exacerbated by the deceptively ‘direct’ accessibility of publicly visible inscriptions, which is frequently coupled with a neglect of sustained source-criticism directed at these texts. Source criticism engaging with the medium of epigraphy needs to proceed along its own methodological framework, combining a technical analysis of the materials used with a critical evaluation of whether the building materials were indeed always deployed in their current configuration. This needs to be complemented by a sustained analysis of the cultural and epistemic context, as well as the social and economic configurations of their production. Nonetheless, the preservation or disappearance of material objects and

654 See Aube 2017, 117, cf. the photograph reproduced in Sarre 1910, 78.

655 See Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 359, as well as Rafīʿi Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 137.

656 See Krstić 2009, Krstić 2011 and Krstić 2019, as well as Terzioğlu 2013. This is discussed in greater detail below.

monuments is subject to chance. Therefore, even the most detailed investigation of one inscription or monument continues to risk its mis-interpretation due to the chance disappearance of other elements decisive for its historical context. Accordingly, I believe it is important to keep in mind the possibility of subsequent interventions and processes of selection that ‘tilted’ the surviving evidence in a particular direction.

Within the current calligraphic decoration of the portal executed in square *kūfī* in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu’arraḡ*), some revisionist interferences resonating with contemporary *shī‘ī* partisanship can clearly be shown to be recent thanks to the two photographs published by Sarre at the beginning of the 20th-century CE.⁶⁵⁷ At the same time, several slogans resonating with contemporary *shī‘ī* partisanship can be discerned already on Sarre’s photographs alongside calligraphic panels that are not readily readable or potentially suspicious.⁶⁵⁸ The defacement of epigraphy, particularly epigraphy executed in the medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu’arraḡ*), by means of a transposition of its components can indicate revisionist interference with formerly *sunni* epigraphy, as demonstrated by the defacement of the names of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān for instance in the great mosques of Yazd or Sanandaj.⁶⁵⁹ As I was informed during my visit to Sanandaj in 2014 CE, the latter defacement took place in the 1990s CE, while the transposition of the components of the square *kūfī* medaillons that formerly displayed these names in the sides of the *qibla-īwān* of the great mosque of Yazd likely dates to much earlier times. Due to this *longue durée* of a revisionist engagement with epigraphy resonating

657 Besides the change of *allāh* to *‘alī* in illustration 97 (Sarre 1910, 78) pointed out by Aube 2017, 117, see the only partially visible panel to the extreme left of the lower course, which has evidently been altered, and the righter of the two panels of the upper course in the same illustration, which has been tilted by 90° in its current setting, as well as the first and fifth panels from the left in the middle course of larger panels in Sarre 1901, *Tafel* 67, both of which have been altered.

658 See in particular the four small medaillons now reading *khudā* on the second and fourth position from the left in the lower and upper course of Sarre 1901, *Tafel* 67, which could be the result of a re-arrangement of tiles formerly used to write *‘umar*, as well as the *ṣamad* in the third medaillon from the left in the lower and upper course, which could have been arrived at by a re-arrangement of the name *‘uthmān* when spelled in square *kūfī* in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu’arraḡ*).

659 See also the observation of the Ottoman chronicler Kātib *chelebi* who in 1045 / 1635 to 1636 CE observed that the names of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, and ‘Uthmān had been defaced from an Aqquyunlu inscription at the mosque of the Naṣriyya in Tabriz that had originally contained the names of the first four caliphs, quoted by Mashkūr 1352 / 1973, 742, as well as the reference to a defacement of the names of the first three caliphs in one of the vaults in the passageways and galleries facing the East *īwān* of the great mosque of Iṣfahān in Galdieri 1972–1984, 3, 64 and plate 118.

with contemporary *shīʿī* sentiments from the times of the Ṣafawids until modern times, preliminarily I do not accept the authenticity of the epigraphical slogans that resonate with contemporary *shīʿī* sentiments at the former entrance portal of the foundation complex of Darb-i Kushk as dating to the original foundation commemorated in (inscription 902 Iṣfahān).

Most notable among these dubious inscriptions is the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad stating 'I am the town of knowledge and 'Alī is its gate!' (*anā madīnatu l-ʿilmi wa-ʿalī bābuhā*),⁶⁶⁰ which is currently also displayed in the ceramic decoration of the Buqʿa-yi *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd discussed above. This *ḥadīth* is very prominently displayed in two panels of a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarraḡ*) composed in square *kūfī* ductus, which are set above the foundation inscription over the corners of the frame of the door in its current setup in the garden of the palace of Chihil Sutūn. Both panels are clearly visible on one of the photographs published by Sarre.⁶⁶¹ Should both inscriptions of this *ḥadīth* in the current setup of the portals of the Buqʿa-yi *shaykh* Abū Masʿūd and the convent of Darb-i Kushk be original, this prominent epigraphic display of a *ḥadīth* resonating with contemporary *shīʿī* sentiments and transmitted within the networks of ('*sunniʿ*?) transmission of *ḥadīth* would be quite significant for the representational culture of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule in and around Iṣfahān. Nonetheless, preliminarily I do not accept the authenticity of both epigraphic inscriptions of this *ḥadīth* in the forgery-prone medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarraḡ*) as genuinely dating to the original foundation of both monuments.

Inscription (inscription 902 Iṣfahān) is written in a mosaic of glazed tiles (*muʿarraḡ*) in a beautiful *thulth* ductus in white letters before a dark blue background structured by arabesques in light blue bearing golden flowers. The *kunya*, name, some of the titles, and the beginning of the eulogy of *sultān* Rustam are written in gold tiles. This is represented by bold in my translation:

This noble convent (*zāwiya*) and high and exalted cupola (*junbad*)⁶⁶² were completed as a mausoleum of his highness his father, may God grace his dust!, during the time of the caliphate of the most notable of the *sultāns* of the time (*ʿayn salāṭīn al-zamān*) and resort of the *khāqāns* of mankind (*muʿīn khawāqīn al-insān*), the lamp of the world and the religion, Abū l-Muḡaffar Rustam *bahādur khān*, may God, exalted be He!, make his caliphate, kingship, and rule eternal!, by his highness the most brave and noble, the glory of the generals and nobles in the world,

660 See al-Suyūṭī *Jāmiʿ*, 1, 415.

661 Sarre 1901, *Tafel* 67.

662 Cf. Persian *gunbad*, cupola, vault.

the upholder of the religion of the realms (*mu'ayyid dīn al-amlāk*) and lord of the stars (*sayyid al-aflāk*), the ornament of the state, the happiness, and the religion *pīr* 'Alī *bīk* Purnāk, may his leadership be abiding (*abadat imāratuhū*)!, in the year 902 / 1496–1497 CE. Written by Mu'īn the secretary (*mu'īn al-munshī*).⁶⁶³

Due to the attested interference with the epigraphy of this portal discussed above, I suggest emending the clearly readable description of *sultān* Rustam as *la'īn al-khawāqīn(-i?) insān* or 'cursed of the *khāqāns* of mankind'. This form is suspicious not only due to its content,⁶⁶⁴ but also due to its breaking of the parallelism with the preceding *'ayn salāṭīn al-zamān*. As the current reading is clearly visible already on the photograph published by Sarre,⁶⁶⁵ this change of the epigraphy must have taken place before the 20th-century CE and would, if accepted, constitute an additional reason for doubting the authenticity of the other epigraphic decoration currently displayed on the portal, which resonates with contemporary *shī'ī* sentiments.

No emendation is required to read the name of the founder, which is fairly well readable on the photographs of the inscription. Although the correct form was suggested by Sauvaget,⁶⁶⁶ has been accepted by Woods,⁶⁶⁷ and is corroborated internally by the rhyming *saj'* of the inscription (*amlāk / aflāk / purnāk*), its false reading as Burnā, Barnā or the like has nonetheless widely precluded the correct identification of the patron of this portal with the *yār* 'Alī *bīk* b. Nūr'alī *bīk* Purnāk mentioned by Rūmlū as having executed the captive Qāsim

663 *La-qad sā'ada l-tawfiqū bi-ttimāmi hādhihī l-zāwiyati l-sharīfati wa-l-junbadi l-rafi'ati l-munīfati li-turbati ḥaḍrati wālidihī tāba llāhu thurāhu fī zamāni khilāfati man huwa 'aynu salāṭīni l-zamāni mu'īnu khawāqīni l-insāni sirāju l-dunyā wa-l-dīni abū l-muzaḥfari rustamu bahāduru khānu khallada llāhu ta'ālā khilāfatahū wa-mulkahū wa-sultānahū l-ḥaḍratu l-ashja'u l-akramu fīkhāru l-anāmi wa-l-ṣanādīdi fī l-'ālamī mu'ayyidu dīni l-amlāki wa-sayyidu l-aflāki zaynu l-dawlati wa-l-sa'ādati wa-l-dīnī pīru 'alī bīku purnāku abādat imāratuhū fī 902 katabahū mu'īnu l-munshī.*

I translate based on the photographs taken by my esteemed former student Julian Schmeißner in 2017 CE. Cf. Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 359, for the most commonly quoted edition of the inscription, which has to be read in light of the important corrections of Sauvaget 1938, 106, as well as Rafī'i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 137.

664 Sauvaget 1938, 106, suggested reading *la-'ayn*, 'but the notable', which I do not follow as it is difficult to reconcile with the following *insān*, breaks the parallelism with *'ayn salāṭīn al-zamān*, and necessitates a construction with *la-* that is unattested in the introductory praise of a ruler in 'Turkmen' epigraphy.

665 Sarre 1901, *Tafel* 67.

666 Sauvaget 1938, 106.

667 Woods 1999, 218.

bīk Purnāk in Iṣfahān in 907 / 1501–1502 CE.⁶⁶⁸ Due to the currency of the name ‘Alī among the Aqquyunlu generals affiliated to Purnāk and other interpersonal networks formulated in a terminology of ‘tribal’ affiliation, however, I currently do not see a way to confidently trace the life of him or his father any further.

After this overview of the extant epigraphy commemorating architectural patronage in and around Iṣfahān under Qara- and Aqquyunlu rule, I now briefly review the chronological axis of the representation of the respective rulers by means of eulogies, *laqabs*, and further epithets. Building on Quiring-Zoche’s analysis of architectural patronage as rooted in the social history of Iṣfahān during the 15th- and 16th-centuries CE,⁶⁶⁹ I focus exclusively on the representation of the nominal ruler in the foundation inscriptions.

Let us begin with the features shared by all or many of the extant inscriptions. While the execution in stone of (inscription 881 Ushturjān) commemorating the repairs to the great mosque of Ushturjān may simply be due to the comparatively peripheral location of Ushturjān within the entangled urban sphere of the *qishlāq* of Iṣfahān, the medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu’arraḡ*) is used in inscriptions (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a, inscription 880 Iṣfahān, inscription 895 Iṣfahān a, and inscription 902 Iṣfahān) and emerges as a salient feature of extant ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in Iṣfahān. In contrast to (inscription 881 Ushturjān), all of these inscriptions are positioned in locations that visually dominate relatively ‘public’ areas of the graded public sphere⁶⁷⁰ of the *qishlāq* of Iṣfahān, be it within magnificently decorated portal niches (*pīshṭāḡ*) towering over streets, or in the even more significant location of the *qibla-īwān* of Iṣfahān’s great mosque.

In these highly visible and prestigious locations, the dazzlingly colorful medium of a mosaic of glazed tiles (*mu’arraḡ*) is used to produce a hierarchical distinction of the ‘extended name’ of the ruler, which is executed in golden letters and thereby accentuated within the white letters of the remainder of the inscriptions. The importance of the medium of epigraphy to the performative representation of courtly authority is further underlined by the centering of the golden ‘extended name’ of the ruler in the spatial arrangement of the inscriptions. If the tentative suggestion of subsequent revisionist interferences with the epigraphy of the portals of the Buḡ‘a-yī *shaykh* Abū Mas‘ūd and / or

668 Rūmlū *Aḡsan*, 978.

669 See Quiring-Zoche 1980, 187–205, which should be read in the context of the other facets of urban history discussed in her study.

670 The concept of a ‘graded public sphere’ in pre-modern Islamic urban agglomerations has been masterfully developed by Wirth 2000, for an attempt at deploying this concept in an analysis of the spatiality of social history in early Islamic towns see Leube *Elites* (forthcoming).

the convent of Darb-i Kushk after the end of Aqqyunlu rule over Işfahān should be accepted, this would also indicate the importance and visibility of these inscriptions. In this case, the diachronic stability of practices of revisionist interference with epigraphy should be remarked upon, which demonstrate the abiding importance of the medium of epigraphy within the 'public' sphere of Işfahān until contemporary times.

The deliberate placement of the 'extended name' representing the incumbent ruler in the center of the spatial arrangement of the epigraphically inscribed text also extends to (inscription 881 Ushturjān), where the name of *uzun* Ḥasan occurs at a prominent position in the middle of the line after about a third of the inscription. The centering of the 'extended name' in inscriptions (inscription 857 Işfahān a, inscription 895 Işfahān a, and inscription 902 Işfahān) in the middle of the lintel of the main entrance to the respective foundations also figuratively subordinates anybody entering the foundation under the ruler. Thereby the preeminence of the respective sovereign is stabilized beyond his reign in these localized nodes of interpersonal networks⁶⁷¹ in and around Işfahān. This conscious spatial arrangement of epigraphy in a location that forces individuals to literally bow before and under the name of the ruler commemorated in the inscriptions is even more pronounced for the placement of (inscription 880 Işfahān) above the *qibla-īwān* of the great mosque of Işfahān. Here, the Muslim population of Işfahān congregates to this day to bow before the name of *uzun* Ḥasan and other rulers during the performance of prayer toward Mecca. This is particularly significant during the Friday sermon or *khuṭba* that forms one of the classic occasions for the performative representation of rulership within Islamic societies. Even if the placement of *uzun* Ḥasan's name in this inscription is taken to signal him as one of those leading the congregation in prayer, this still makes him a perennial *imām* or leader of the prayer of Işfahān. This bodily dimension of the acceptance of rightful authority by means of bowing resonates with the title *mālik riqāb al-umam*, owner of the necks of the people, in (inscription 881 Ushturjān). Furthermore, the framing of the ruler as 'the one to whose epigraphy one bows' or 'the one who epigraphically leads the congregation in prayer' is explicitly (and very fittingly) parallelized with the prophet Muḥammad by the spatial and chromatic arrangement of (inscription 895 Işfahān a).

The recurring structure of the 'extended name' of the ruler of '*kunya*, name, *laqabs*, eulogy' in the extant 'Turkmen' epigraphy in and around Işfahān also emerges as an important shared feature of the inscriptions discussed above. Significantly, this structure also extends to other mediums such as coinage

671 For this concept, see Leube 2020, particularly 285–286, and Leube Elites (forthcoming).

that similarly structured the visual culture of the relatively ‘public’ areas of exchange within the ‘graded public sphere’ of Işfahān and other towns. In this regard, it should be noted that the name of the ruler is centered on Qara- and Aqquyunlu coinage in a way that is very similar to the centering of the ruler’s name in the epigraphy discussed above. This spatial centering is additionally conditioned in the medium of coinage by the frequent occurrence of coins that were struck off-center, which means that the centering of the ‘extended name’ of the ruler on the dies would have been a very efficient way of ensuring the greatest chance of having the name of the ruler legibly impressed in the coins eventually minted from these dies. It would be tempting to speculate about a similarly greater stability of the middle parts of inscriptions written over the three internal faces of portal niches (*pīshṭāq*). Indeed, inscriptions (inscription 857 Işfahān a and inscription 902 Işfahān) have at some point lost large parts of the tile mosaic of one of their lateral parts, however a greater database would be needed to arrive at firmer conclusions regarding this question. In any case, the recurring spatial arrangement and structure of the ‘extended name’ of the ruler in the mediums of epigraphy and coinage emerges as an important strand signalling the entangledness of epigraphy with other mediums employed in the performative representation of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly culture.

While it is tempting to proceed with a close reading of the *laqabs* and eulogies of the rulers as attested in the extant Qara- and Aqquyunlu epigraphy in and around Işfahān,⁶⁷² the embeddedness of epigraphy in other mediums that have only partially (e.g. numismatics, chancellery) or only indirectly if at all been preserved (e.g. *khutba*, performative interactions with influential multipliers embedded in local and transregional interpersonal networks, performative receptions and parades) renders the significance of closer diachronical analysis of this data alone very doubtful. True to my analytical framework of ‘contested appropriation’, I therefore abstain from a separate investigation at this point. Instead, I include the epigraphy of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms in Işfahān and elsewhere as an important source in my investigation of the two analytical dimensions of ‘Turkmen’ representational culture of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘religion’ below.

3.3.4 *Storing and Displaying Capital in the Qishlāq*

The various types of capital invested in the interpersonal networks and urban topography of the entangled urban sphere of the *qishlāq* have implicitly been discussed in the preceding sections. I now conclude this overview of the manifestation of the ideal court in the *qishlāq* with a brief discussion of the

672 See Leube 2015e for some preliminary attempts in this direction.

dynamics structuring the storage and display of capital in urban settings by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

Within the extant sources, we mainly come across this important functionalization of the *qishlāq* on three recurring occasions. These are the spoils taken during the *prise de possession* of towns and castles in the context of a change of rulership,⁶⁷³ administrative records detailing valuables stored in the treasury,⁶⁷⁴ and contemporary accounts describing the performative display of valuables. Likely the most detailed and original report of such a performative display of ‘treasures’ is contained in the report of the Venetian envoy Barbaro, exemplifying the permeability of different levels of publicity within the ‘graded’ public sphere of the *qishlāq*. After having described a ‘relatively more public’ display of commodified economic riches during a performative reception of presents sent from an Indian lord at the palace of Hasht Bihišt in the garden of Şāhibābād in Tabrīz, Barbaro describes some ‘relatively less public’ performative displays of treasures given to him by *uzun* Ḥasan himself:

On the following day, the lord sent for me and declared that he wanted to give me a little display (*tanfaruzo*, cf. Arabic *tafaruj*), showing me the jewels that had been sent to him by this lord from India. First, he had a bow-ring (*dedal da arco*) of gold placed in my hand, which had a ruby of two carat in its middle, which was surrounded by some diamonds. Then [he showed me] two small rings (*annelli*) of gold with two rubies of four carat, 60 strings of pearls of five carat each (*de fili de perle .60. carati .5. l’una*), 24 pearls that were linked together (*ligate in peroli*) of seven carat each, which were white but not very round (*non ben tonde*), a cut diamond of 20 carat, not too clear but of a good color (*non troppo netto ma*

673 But see the report of Tīhrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 363, describing how Jahānshāh had 4000 *tūmān-i tabrizī* brought from the castle of Tārum, described as the ‘the place where the treasuries of [the Persian] *‘irāq* were collected’, to finance his military campaign directed against his son *pīr* Būdāq in Shīrāz.

674 The main source for this type of accounts of the treasury of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts that were preserved by chance are the didactic examples from the administrative records of Tabrīz added during the second half of the 15th-century CE to the 14th-century CE handbook of administrative accountancy by Māzandarānī. As argued by Hinz in Māzandarānī *Risāla*, on page 4 of the German introduction, the dates may have been altered for variation, usually by means of predating. As the accounts themselves replicate ‘real’ documents, these examples should be understood as pertaining to the central administration of Tabrīz before the 1470s CE with a tendency towards this terminus *ante quem*. These extant records from the treasury include a survey of pearls, rubies, and emeralds in the treasury by number (Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 11) and a survey of jewels and precious metals in the treasury by weight (Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 12).

de bona aqua), as well as the heads of two birds that had died on the way, which looked markedly different from the birds of our region.

After he had shown me these jewels, he asked me what I thought of this present, explaining 'A lord from beyond the sea sent it to me', meaning from beyond the Persian Gulf. I replied that the present was most beautiful and of a huge worth, but not so large as that he would not deserve much more. After this reply, he said: 'I want to show you mine, too', and ordered a small children's hood of silk (*tachia de seda da puto*) brought and placed in my hand. I immediately pulled out my handkerchief, so as to hold it through the handkerchief and not touch it with the hand. Upon this, he looked at me and said, turned to his courtiers (*ai soi*): 'Look at the Italians' (*guarda italiani*), as if to praise my manners and my mode of receiving this hood. At the top of this hood, there was a pierced balas ruby (*balasso*) in the shape of a date, clear and of good color, of 100 carat, which was surrounded by some large but old turquoises, as well as some large pearls, which were old as well. Afterwards, he had some very beautiful vessels of porcelain and jasper brought.

Another time that I was with him, I met him inside a beautiful tent pitched under a marquee (*in una camera sotto un paviglion*). He asked me what I thought of it and whether tents were made in the same manner in the lands of the Franks. I replied that it was exceedingly beautiful and that no comparison could be possible between our places (*logi*) and his, considering that his power was much greater than ours and that we did not use this type of tents (*camere*) in our lands. And indeed, it was exceedingly beautiful and well built of wood in the shape of a cupola (*in modo de una cuba*), connected by embroidered and gilt cloths of silk. The ground was entirely covered with the most beautiful carpets. It could have been 14 paces in circumference. Above this tent (*de sopra a questa camera*), there hung a large, rectangular, and embroidered canopy (*tenda*), which was tied tautly to some trees. [This canopy] gave it [the tent] shadow. Between this [canopy] and the tent (*cuba*), there was a beautiful marquee of bucassin cloth (*paviglion de bucassin*), which was entirely decorated and embroidered from the inside. The door of this tent was made from sandalwood inlaid with gold wire and mother of pearl (*radici de perle*), which was worked and inserted in it.

I met the lord sitting with some of his nobles (*con certi sui principali*) and having a knotted handkerchief in front of him. He opened it and pulled a string (*filza*) of 12 balas rubies from it, which resembled olives, were clear and of good color, and weighed between 50 and 75 carat each. Subsequently, he presented a balas ruby of 2 1/2 ounces, beautifully

shaped in form of a tablet (*in tavola de una bella forma*), a finger thick and unpierced, of the most perfect color, into the edge of which some small Arabic letters (*litterine moresche*) had been inscribed. When I asked what these letters signified, he answered that they had been written for a lord. After this, however, other lords, such as himself, had not wanted to inscribe further letters, so as not to damage the whole. He asked me what this balas ruby might be worth according to my estimate. I looked at it and smiled, whereupon he said: 'Say what you think!' I replied: 'Lord, I have never seen any like it and do not believe there could be any superior to it. Should I name a price and the balas ruby have the capacity to speak, it would ask me whether I had not ever seen any like it. And I should be constrained to reply that I have not. I believe, lord, that one could not measure its price in gold, but in some towns (*qualche città*).' He looked at me and said: '*Prancataini, Cataini*, the world has three eyes. Two of which hold the Chinese (*Cataini*) and one the Europeans (*i Franchi*).' Decisively, he said: 'Well and true!', and turning toward those surrounding us, he explained: 'I have asked this envoy what this balas ruby may be worth and he replied me thus and thus', repeating to them all I had said.

[Explanation of Barbaro that he had heard the same saying '*Cataini Cataini*' in Kaffa from the envoy of a Central Asian emperor (*ambassador de l'imperator tartaro*) who had come from China in 1436 CE and was now living in Kaffa. This Chinese envoy said 'We the Chinese (*nui Cataini*) have two eyes, you Europeans one,' and, turning to the Tartars that were there, he added: 'And you do not have any [eye]!', laughing heartily.]

Then he showed me a ruby of 1 1/2 ounces, formed like a round chestnut, of good color and clarity, which was not pierced and set in a circle of gold. I believed it [this ruby] was miraculous on account of its size. He then showed me some more cut and uncut balas rubies (*balassi zoieladi e non zoieladi*), among which there was a square tablet made into a buckle (*bocheta*), upon which five balas rubies of between 30 and 20 carat had been mounted together with some large pearls and big turquoises, which however were not of great worth, as they were old. Then, he had some *jubbas* (*subbi*, cf. Arabic *jubba*, woolen tunic)⁶⁷⁵ of gold cloth, silk and Damascene camlet brought, which were lined with silk, as well as the most beautiful ermine and sable, saying: 'These are some of the cloths of our town of Yazd (*Ies*). Your cloths are beautiful, but a bit heavy.' He then had some exceedingly beautiful carpets brought, which were made from silk.

675 See Stillman 2000, 12 and *passim*.

On the following day, he sent for me again and said: 'I want you to have a little display (*tanfaruzo*)!', while he placed a cameo of about the size of a *marcello* [a Venetian coin]⁶⁷⁶ in my hand, inside of which the exceedingly beautiful head of a lady had been sculpted, whose hair was spread out behind her and who wore a garland. He asked: 'Look, is this Mary?' I replied that it was not, whereupon he asked: 'But who is she?' Thus, I explained to him that this was the figure of one of the ancient goddesses, who were venerated by the *burpares* (cf. Persian *but-parast*), who are the idolators. When he asked how I knew, I replied that I had recognized her because these works had been produced before the coming of Jesus Christ. He shook his head a bit and did not say anything else.

Afterwards, he showed me three diamonds, one weighing 30 carat and perfectly clear from above and below, and the others weighing 10 and 12 carat, all of them cut, and said: 'Do you have jewels made like these in your lands?' When I replied that there were not, he took a bouquet of 40 threads of pearls in his hand, each of which threads held 30 pearls of between 5 and 6 carat each, half of which was round and beautiful and the rest could have been mounted without any apparent defects. Afterwards, he had about 40 pearls in the shape of pears and gourds of eight to ten carat each, none of them pierced and all of the most beautiful color, poured into a silver basin, while he said smiling: 'I will show you a load (*soma*) of these.' This was at the occasion of one of the nightly festivities to which he was accustomed, which took place during the circumcision of two of his sons.⁶⁷⁷

The structure of Barbaro's report describing the performative display of courtly riches in the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz exemplifies how more and less 'public' performances could overlap to convey an impression of courtly splendor to varying audiences. Following the reception of external envoys by *uzun* Ḥasan, *uzun* Ḥasan chose to invite the Venetian envoy Barbaro for some 'relatively less public' displays of his wealth. This was then followed by the 'public' celebration of the *rite de passage* of the circumcision of two of his sons, which furnished an opportunity to display and distribute riches to influential multipliers embedded within the interpersonal networks of Tabrīz, as well as within the court.

676 See the explanation by R. Morozzo della Rocca in Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 281–282.

677 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 123–127, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 535–538. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

I argue that the term *tanfaruzo*, display, is deliberately used repeatedly by Barbaro to convey the reciprocal performative display staged by *uzun* Hasan around the Venetian envoy. The ruler certainly displayed his treasures to impress the foreign envoy and convince European powers of the advisability of engaging in a firm alliance with him against the Ottomans. Nonetheless, *uzun* Hasan's repetition of some of Barbaro's answers to his dignitaries also demonstrates that this 'display' was simultaneously given to the Aqqyunlu courtiers. In this way, not only is the manner of Barbaro of touching the precious jewel-studded headgear through his handkerchief presented to *uzun* Hasan's courtiers as an exemplary display of proper manners, but Barbaro's composure while expressing both his awe and admiration for the splendid display of riches in flattering remarks to the ruler arguably also emerges as a habitus worthy of emulation by the Aqqyunlu courtiers.

That all involved parties were aware of this influence invested in Barbaro's role of an external envoy witnessing the courtly display of enormous riches is suggested by the attempt of Georgian envoys delivering tribute to *uzun* Hasan to convince Barbaro to use the influence invested in his role to their benefit:

[During a military expedition to Georgia,] Lord *uzun* Hasan came to an agreement with king Bagrat (*Pancratio*), the king of Georgia, and with Giurgura [the so-called *atabeg* of Samtskhe], who bordered the lands of this king [Bagrat], according to which [Bagrat] would give him 16.000 *ducati* and he [*uzun* Hasan] would leave the country with the exception of Tiflis. Wishing to pay this sum to the king [*uzun* Hasan], Bagrat and Giurgura sent four reasonable balas rubies, which were not quite as large and beautiful as those in the altar of San Marco in Venice, but nonetheless similar to them. After lord *uzun* Hasan had received these balas rubies, he sent for me and ordered me to examine them and estimate their worth. However, before I came before the said lord, the envoys of Bagrat and Giurgura who had brought the balas rubies implored me to estimate their worth generously, seeing as they too were Christians. When I had reached the ruler, he ordered the balas rubies to be given to me, and while I examined one of them closely, I was asked by lord *uzun* Hasan how much it might be worth. I replied: 'Lord, it is worth 4000 *ducati*!', whereupon he started to laugh and exclaimed: 'Now, they're quite dear in your country; I do not want balas rubies, I want money!'⁶⁷⁸

678 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 160, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 566. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo

Ultimately, this performative and multilateral ‘display’ of riches is grounded in a shared appreciation of paradigmatic indices of wealth and courtly affluence in the post-ancient Greater Mediterranean.⁶⁷⁹ Within this shared space structured by the appropriation and negotiation of heritages of pre-Islamic civilizations, the topographic markers of eminent *topoi* of riches are remarkably congruent and stable. This is exemplarily suggested by the resonance of Barbaro’s comparison between the balas rubies sent from Georgia and those set into the altar of San Marco in Venice with the preservation until contemporary times of a turquoise bowl encrusted with jewels in the treasury of San Marco. This bowl is believed to have been produced in Iraq or Iran some time in the 9th- or 10th-centuries CE, before it was subsequently sent to Venice as part of an embassy of *uzun* Ḥasan.⁶⁸⁰ The geographical extent of the interpersonal networks maintained by means of this display and exchange of (post-ancient) ‘riches’ is also demonstrated by the striking early 15th-century CE drawing produced in the workshop of the Timurid court in Herāt of the so-called Tazza Farnese. This drawing indicates that the cameo must have formed part of the performatively deployed wealth of the Timurid court, before being attested in Italy in the second half of the 15th-century CE.⁶⁸¹ The trajectory of the Tazza Farnese from Herāt to Italy very much resonates with the identification of the subject matter of another ancient cameo depicting the bust of a woman as belonging to non-Christian iconographies of Classical Antiquity by Barbaro due to his grounding in the cultural discourses of the Italian renaissance.

One final note should be dedicated to the elaborately decorated round tent (or yurt?) that formed the setting for one of the audiences with *uzun* Ḥasan described by Barbaro.⁶⁸² The clear-cut dichotomy between ‘mobile’ tents and ‘immobile masonry’ intuitively assumed from a classical Western

in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese’s edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

679 See for the concept of a shared ‘post-ancient Mediterranean’ Wallis, Wisnovsky 2016, 1–2.

680 See Bonfil 2009, 212, but cf. the critical assessment of Rogers 1994, 138.

681 See Roxburgh 2005, 1–3. The ‘second cameo’ discussed by Roxburgh as supposedly described in Barbaro’s account translated above is the result of a mistranslation of Barbaro’s inclusion of ‘do teste de ocelli morti in camain’ (Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 123) among the presents sent to *uzun* Ḥasan by ‘an Indian lord’, for which I follow the reading of M. Milanese as ‘due teste d’uccelli morti in camino’ (Barbaro *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 535), while Roxburgh quotes the (incorrect) standard English translation of Barbaro’s report made by Thomas, which was published together with further translations by Roy and Grey as Hakluyt 1873.

682 Cf. the detailed description of a tent formerly belonging to *uzun* Ḥasan, which was eventually presented to the Mamlūk sultān in 917, Ibn Iyās *Badāʾiʿ*, 4, 252. I owe this reference to Behrens-Abouseif 2014, 31.

scholarly perspective frequently has to be abandoned in pre-modern Islamicate contexts.⁶⁸³ It is, however, occasionally deployed in Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses grounded in urban configurations to refer to rural populations, such as in the designation of inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula as ‘the tented tribes of the beduins and those dwelling in tents’ (*aḥyā-yi ‘arab wa-aḥshām az ahl-i bawādī wa-khayyām*) in Jahānshāh’s missive appointing a leader of the convoy of the pilgrims to the *hajj* translated above.⁶⁸⁴ A considerable degree of permeability between ‘mobile’ and ‘immobile’ architecture nonetheless emerges from the following arguments:

1. The erection of ‘hybrid palace-scapes’ combining ‘tents’ and ‘buildings’ in a single architectural configuration, such as during *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s ideal *yay-lāq* at Ūjān or *uzun* Ḥasan’s reception of Barbaro in his palace-tent-garden of Ṣāḥibābād in the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz.
2. The use of the same terminology for ‘mobile’ and ‘immobile’ architecture not only in Persian and Arabic, but also in Barbaro’s Italian description (*pavilion, cuba*).
3. The custom of draping masonry with textiles during important occasions, which blurs the dichotomy between ‘immobile’ and ‘mobile’ components of architecture.
4. The motivic permeability between different mediums employed in architectural decoration, exemplified in the famous designation of both elaborately woven bands and their replicas in stucco as *ṭirāz*.
5. The derivation of iconic architectural elements executed in stone from wooden elements that possibly formed part of mobile tents, exemplified in the genealogy of the peculiar ‘flattened arches’ between the main cupolas in the axis of the *miḥrāb* of the so-called early Ottoman ‘T-plan’ mosques from wooden arches, such as those preserved in the Şems-i Tebrizi Camii in Konya.

While I do not intend to further pursue this remark in the present study, this permeability between ‘mobile’ and ‘immobile’ architecture deployed as a setting for performative acts of the court must be kept in mind during the following investigation of the role of iconographical repertoires affiliated to the dimensions of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘religious affiliation’ in the performative representation of the ‘Turkmen’ courts.

683 See Redford 2012.

684 Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1352 / 1973a, 51.

The Dimensions of Ethnicity and Religious Affiliation in the Representational Culture of the ‘Turkmen’ Courts

The preceding chapter suggested an inductive reconstruction of the multiple and relational configurations of the ‘Turkmen’ courts of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu. On this basis, it is now time for a critical investigation of two intersecting dimensions encompassing various thematic fields within the iconographical repertoires of ‘Turkmen’ representational courtly culture. Each of the two dimensions of ethnicity and religious affiliation departs from a heuristic definition to survey the pertinent iconographically charged elements. Where this appears plausible, I attempt a synthetic evaluation of the dispersion of the individual elements.

4.1 The Iconography of ‘Ethnicity’ and ‘Ethnic’ Affiliation

As practised throughout this study, the significance of ‘ethnicity’ and ‘ethnic’ affiliation within the repertoires performatively deployed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts is discussed exclusively within an iconographical framing that asks how elements are deployed. Any substantializing questions concerned with ‘being’ accordingly fall outside the scope of the present study. At the same time, recurring and characteristic features of the representational iconography deployed for the depiction of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts can be described as something of an ‘iconographic core’ that differentiates the depiction of Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts and individuals from other contexts.

Before embarking upon a systematic perusal of different fields that could arguably pertain to an ‘ethnic’ dimension of the performative repertoires of the ‘Turkmen’ courts, we need a heuristic understanding of ‘ethnicity’ that can in turn be used to systematically engage with the performative culture of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. Of course, modernist framings of ‘ethnicity’ and those of Arabic-Islamic or for that matter other scholarly discourses of the ancient and post-ancient Greater Mediterranean can by no means be seamlessly merged and uncritically combined. Therefore, I propose a heuristic framing that uses ‘ethnicity’ as a container that brings together transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorizations that operate within concepts of

language or customs. For both language and customs, a brief evaluation of the dispersion of pertinent 'ethnically' charged elements is given before suggesting how this dispersion could be explained. This is then followed by something of an excursus, where I attempt a synthetic analysis of the 'iconographical core' of the depiction of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu.

4.1.1 *Field 1: Language*

The neatness of philological systematization suggests a clean-cut distinction between separate languages. Nonetheless, we have already come across frequent permeabilities not only between different linguistic matrices, such as between the linguistic matrices of Arabic and Persian in the 'Turkmen' epigraphy extant in and around Işfahān, but also in the very common deployment of terms grounded in different languages side by side in rhetorical devices such as the *hen dia dyoin*. This practice of glossing *termini technici* in 'another language' is explicitly motivated in the introductory methodological reflection of Faḍlallāh's court history dedicated to the Aqquyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya'qūb:

The fourth particularity [of the historiographical ideal postulated by Faḍlallāh]: All events are narrated in a form that makes the understanding of their significance (*fahm-i maqāṣid*) as easy as possible. Accordingly, strange things (*umūr-i ajnabī*) are not included in any form that could disrupt the logical sequence of the narrative. This defect is obvious in the *History of a World-Conquerer*.¹ Accordingly, whenever an expression of strange significance (*lafẓ gharīb al-ma'nā*) has been included, it has succinctly been glossed either with one of the Arabic proverbs or by a reference to a story during which it has been explained. Wherever internal cross references are used, these have been pointed out by being written in red to be visible to any reader.²

The reference to Juwaynī's historiographical work describing the history of the Mongol conquest of Iran indicates that 'strange' things could include Central Asian terms and customs. Nonetheless, Faḍlallāh's positionality within Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses is clearly demonstrated by the suggestion, formulated in his elaborate and cultured Persian prose, to explain by means of references to an Arabic proverb or expression. Could this opposition of cultured Arabic-Persianate learning with 'strange' things pertaining to Central Asian and other linguistic and cultural backgrounds accordingly be understood

¹ The famous Persian history of the Mongol conquests, see Juwaynī *Tārīkh*.

² Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 94, ed. 'Ashīq, 90.

along the lines of ethnicity as a transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorization?

Crucially, I do not believe that Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses can be understood as a transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorization. Instead, the social permeability of Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses conducted in the artificial language (*Kunstsprache*) of elaborate Arabic prose (*fuṣḥā*) forms one of the salient characteristics of Arabic-Islamic intellectual history.³ Faḍlallāh's own approach of glossing and explaining anything alien to the medium of Arabic-Islamic learning arguably follows the model of early and classical Arabic-Islamic historiography in engaging with Persian and Aramaic phrases, which are similarly quoted *verbatim* and then glossed by historians such as al-Ṭabarī.⁴ This permeability of linguistic borders within Arabic-Islamic scholarly traditions for expressions and phrases arguably mirrors the social permeability of Arabic-Islamic scholarly establishments for individuals from a wide variety of social and linguistic backgrounds.

A modern observer might be tempted to subscribe to an 'ethnic' interpretation of the varying personal backgrounds of individuals involved in Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses. Nonetheless, the permeability of the social configuration of Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses to individuals from a variety of backgrounds contradicts the transgenerational stability postulated as one of the elements of our heuristic definition of ethnicity for the scholarly languages of cultured Arabic and Persian. This does not exclude the possibility of arguing for some sort of a transgenerational transmission of favorable starting positions. At the same time, the accessibility of the linguistic discourses conducted in the artificial languages of cultured Arabic and Persian to individuals from diverse linguistic backgrounds precludes the ready identification of other languages as transgenerationally stable markers of group-related binary categorizations. This problem is aggravated by the almost complete lack of documentation of non-scholarly languages within the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

If, however, language does not appear to constitute a field that substantiates transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorizations of 'ethnic' affiliation within the performative repertoires of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, we still need to understand the rationales governing the deployment

3 See Fück 1950. For the proposal of a class-based understanding of linguistic affiliation and specialization, see Markiewicz 2019, 35–36.

4 E.g. al-Ṭabarī *Ta'rikh*, 1, 359 (Aramaic *bashtā bə-saqā* glossed by Arabic *fī l-jawāliq shirrun*), 472 (Persian *shāh bi-shikast* glossed by Arabic *al-maliku nkasara*), or 485 (Persian *mard wa-mard* glossed by people within the story as Arabic *al-birāzu rajulun wa-rajulun*).

of linguistic matrices and elements in a particular situation. In my view, the paramount concept governing the mobilization of language is encapsulated in the pervasively quoted assertion of using language *munāsib-i ḥāl* / *munāsib al-ḥāl*, which could be glossed as ‘commensurate to the situation’. An exemplary illustration of a pragmatic deployment of language(s) according to the requirements of the situation is given in the eerie story of *pīr* Būdāq’s public revilement in nightly Baghdād.

When *pīr* Būdāq came to Baghdād from Shīrāz and while Jahānshāh *mīrzā* was still far from Baghdād, every two or three nights somebody came to the riverside of the Tigris opposite the residence of *pīr* Būdāq *mīrzā* and reviled *pīr* Būdāq with a loud voice, sometimes in Turkic, sometimes in Persian or Arabic, saying: ‘Repent, you unfortunate one, for if you do not repent, someone will come and kill you and the entirety of your following, taking your wives and children prisoners! (*ay bad-bakht tawba kun wa-illā khwāhad āmadan wa-tu-rā wa-ttibā‘i tu-rā majmū‘ khwāhad kasht wa-zan wa-bacha asīr khwāhad kard*)’⁵

This public revilement of *pīr* Būdāq in nightly Baghdād apparently called for the sequential deployment of Arabic, Persian, and Turkic linguistic matrices to adequately convey the universality of this pronouncement of impending doom. A similar sentiment of using any language necessary for efficient communication is suggested by the advice ascribed to Ibrāhīm-i Gulshānī of providing translators into Turkic for any administrative transactions that might be facilitated by them.⁶ This suggestion of deploying languages as needed should, however, not be seen to negate the existence of hierarchies of prestige between different linguistic repertoires, as is argued below.

At the same time, it is important to keep in mind the extent of the linguistic space shared by ‘distinct’ written and spoken languages. This ‘shared linguistic space’ once again calls for caution lest we overstate the rigidity of boundaries

5 Tīhrānī *Dīyārbakriyya*, 373. See the parallel account in Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 68.

6 See Gulshānī *Manāqib*, 66–67, cf. Dunietz 2015, 121. Although this anecdote presents *qāḍī* ‘Isā as the one who is unable to communicate with non-Persian-speaking individuals in Turkic, other passages in the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshānī* arguably attribute Turkic phrases to *qāḍī* ‘Isā. An understanding of these phrases as verbatim quotations, rather than as Ottoman Turkic paraphrases of *qāḍī* ‘Isā’s Persian utterances, is suggested by the regionalizing and un-Ottoman flavor of utterances that are attributed to *qāḍī* ‘Isā, such as *sen shaykhluḡhu yakhsu biliṛsin, qāḍılıḡu ānlar bilṛ* (Gulshānī *Manāqib*, 146). Within the Ottoman Turkic scriptural practices that structure the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshānī*, this register must have been intended to convey a specific ‘Azeri’-Turkic flavour of the Aqquyunlu court.

delimiting both written and spoken varieties of Islamicate languages such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkic, but arguably also Kurdish, Syriac, Armenian, and (Pontic) Greek. Such a permeability of linguistic matrices is very apparent even from Ṭihrānī's suggestion translated above of how the Persian wording of a public revilement of *pīr* Būdāq could have sounded. In his wording, the words *tawba*, *ittibāʿ*, *majmūʿ*, and *asīr* are readily identifiable as Arabic loanwords in Persian. The appellative *ay*, as well as the conjunctions *wa*- and *illā* pertain to a common Semitic repertoire of syntactic conjunctions that are current in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages among others. While this facilitates a hypothetical reconstruction of how *pīr* Būdāq's revilement may have been phrased in Arabic and Turkic, this shared linguistic space arguably lessens the stability of the boundaries separating these and other Islamicate languages.

Within the medium of epigraphy, Arabic emerges as the dominant linguistic matrix for main foundation inscriptions. Persian could be used in additional inscriptions, occasionally also in form of a secondary foundation inscription or decrees commemorating exemptions from dues. A good example of this use of Arabic and Persian side by side to something of a composite effect is extant in the small mosque of Bāyandur *bīk* in Ahlat. The inscriptions are displayed on both sides of the vault of the porch in front of the prayer hall, where the Arabic text of the foundation inscription proper, inscription 882 Ahlat a, is inscribed to the right of the entrance in four lines in a cream-colored tablet of stone framed by an elaborate geometric border:

The blessed, honored, and exalted mosque was founded and the building of this venerated and splendid prayer-site (*muṣallā*) was roofed in lead (*ruṣṣiṣa*) by the order of the lord of the sword and the pen (*ṣāhib al-sayf wa-l-qalam*) who devotes his entire talents and actions to God (*muḥarrir majmūʿ al-makārim wa-l-shiyam*), Mubārīz al-Dīn Bāyandur b. Rustam, may God receive his offering with the best acceptance. The construction was finished according to the plan of God (*waḍʿa llāhi*) in the month *Rajab al-Aṣamm* of the year 882 (October – November 1477 CE).⁷

7 *Qad ussisa l-masjidu l-mubāraku l-mukarramu l-muʿallā wa-ruṣṣiṣa bunyānu hādhā l-muṣallā l-muʿaẓẓami l-mujallā bi-ishārati man huwa ṣāhibu l-sayfi wa-l-qalami muḥarriru majmūʿi l-makārimi wa-l-shiyami mubārizu l-dīni bāyanduru bnu rustama taqabbala llāhu qurbānahū bi-aḥsani qabūlin wa-ttamma waḍʿa llāhi fī shahri rajabini l-aṣammī sanati ithnā wa-thamānīna wa-thamānīmīʾatin.*

I translate on the basis of photographs taken in Ahlat in October 2018 CE, cf. Şerif 1932, 78, Sauvaget in Gabriel 1940, 1, 348, and Xaçʿatryan 1987, 133.

Parts of the Persian foundation inscription, inscription 882 Ahlat b, are extant on two cream-colored stones to the left of the porch. A fifth line may have been written below a carved roundel on a third stone below. Compared to inscription 882 Ahlat a, the ductus differs markedly and the treatment of the stone is much less elaborate. This inscription is only partially readable:

[Unreadable, likely 'This is written'] because [unreadable title] Bāyandur b. Rustam with auspicious grace (*ba-dhn-i humāyūn*) has given [the rent] of the entire Awlād-i Chilibī (?) as an endowment to his convent (*ba-zāwiya-yi khud waqf kard*) so that any proceeds that should arise from it as poll-tax or in other ways (*az jizya wa-ghayrihī*) shall be used for the expenses of the mosque (*bar masjid šarf namāyand*) and nobody shall dispute or oppose this. [... They shall also not ...]. If anybody changes this, may the wrath of God and the prophet be upon her, as well as the curse of the Pharaoh and Hāmān! [...?]⁸

In the medium of chancellery, a similar parallel deployment of Arabic and Persian texts has already been discussed above in Jahānshāh's *fīrmān* appointing a leader of the convoy of the pilgrims to the *hajj*. At the same time, a considerable number of decrees by Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers composed in elaborate and cultured Persian have been preserved in the so-called Matenadaran due to their being addressed to Armenian monasteries and individuals. This suggests that the choice of a language according to the requirements of the situation by the court was not exclusively determined by the wish to be most easily understood.⁹ Instead, the existence of deeds of purchase composed within the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms in Arabic and Persian that were preserved due to the Armenian affiliation of at least one of the parties involved demonstrates that the linguistic matrix appropriate for a given situation and medium could also be influenced by notions of prestige. This prestige signalled by a specific linguistic matrix and register presumably made it desirable for prominent Armenian Christians to record deeds of purchase according to the

8 [Sabab-i taḥrīr?]r ān-ast [ki ḥujjatu l-islāmi?] bāyanduru bnu rustama ba-dhn-i humāyūn [ta'?]jīr-i ajma'-i awlād-i chilibī ba-zāwiya-yi khud waqf kard ki tā har maḥṣūl [ki mī-da?]hand az jizya wa-ghayrihī bar masjid šarf namāyand wa-hīch āfrīda muzāḥim wa-muta'arriḍ [na-bāshad?] wa-lā [... wND] wa-taghayyur ki dar sukhūṭ-i khudā wa-rasūl bāshad wa-la'nat-i fir'awn wa-hāmān. [...?].

I translate on the basis of photographs taken in Ahlat in October 2018 CE, cf. Şerif 1932, 78, and Xač'atryan 1987, 134.

9 See Papazân 1956.

normative standards of Arabic-Persian Islamicate chancellery.¹⁰ Although it is difficult to make any conclusive statements concerning the choice of Arabic or Persian as the dominant linguistic matrix of documents written at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, it therefore appears that choosing one of both languages was seen to bestow a measure of prestige and normative bindingness upon documents. These documents were in turn appropriated and deployed by Muslim and Christian individuals turning to the ‘Turkmen’ courts to receive prestigious decrees.

Due to the close interlacement of Islamicate scholarly languages on a lexicographical and conceptional level, the medium of poetry can be interpreted as a discourse that comprehends multiple languages. The poetry composed in Arabic and Persian at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts is firmly embedded in the overarching traditions of Islamicate and Persianate poetry.¹¹ In addition, both Minorsky and Erkinov have suggested that individuals affiliated to the ‘Turkmen’ courts may have consciously experimented with poetry in a Turkic language distinct both from contemporary Ottoman and *turkī* / Chaghatāy varieties.¹² As Erkinov demonstrates, an early version of Nawā’ī’s *Dīwān*, originally composed in the *turkī* / Chaghatāy of the Timurid court, was consciously and consistently transposed into a different Turkic idiom that according to his argument reflects the linguistic variety paramount at the Aqqyunlu court of Shīrāz. As I am not aware of similarly consistent linguistic interventions directed at poetry in Persian and Arabic within ‘Turkmen’ courtly culture, I believe this transposition likely reflects the comparative linguistic flexibility of the emerging poetical tradition establishing Turkic as a literary language.¹³ In any case, the mention of a certain Maḥmūd *oghlu* (son of Maḥmūd) as the personal panegyrist (*maddāḥ*) within the retinue of *uzun* Ḥasan’s general Sulaymān *bik* b. Bīzhan during the Aqqyunlu siege of Bitlis and the reference to a Turkic verse composed by him during this occasion demonstrate the firm embeddedness of Turkic poetry even among subordinate courtiers affiliated to the ‘Turkmen’ courts.¹⁴

10 See Papazān 1968.

11 See the inclusion of Aqqyunlu poets in the biographical dictionary of poets of Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, as well as in the original Turkic and the two Persian translations of Nawā’ī *Majālis*. The brevity of my treatment of the intertextual dimension of poetry as one of the paramount mediums of courtly representation does ill justice to the work of Beeston 1950, Losensky 1998, Losensky 2006, Lingwood 2014, and Orsatti 1996: I hope to be able to make amends at a suitable time.

12 Minorsky 1954, 283–284, and Erkinov’s introduction to Nawā’ī *Dīwān*.

13 See the forthcoming monographs of my colleague Ferencz Csirkés, Istanbul.

14 Bidlīsī *Sharafnāma*, 1, 389.

The medium of numismatic legends on coins minted under Qara- and Aqquyulu rule generally adheres to the linguistic matrix of Arabic. Apart from personal titles and names embedded within this linguistic matrix, the only attestation of Persian within the original legend is in the likely reading of *ḍRB* referring to the mint where the coin was struck as Persian *ḍarb-i* instead of Arabic *ḍuriba*.¹⁵ As already mentioned, countermarks declaring the admission of 'external' coins at a particular locale frequently read Persian *biḥ būd*, it was good.¹⁶ The only attestation of Turkic as a linguistic matrix on coinage comes from the enigmatic 'Erzincan hoard' of coins struck during a time of civil strife preceding the rise of *uzun* Ḥasan. These coins feature short Turkic slogans and poems but (with the one exception of Ja'far's coin minted in Kemah) do not appear to refer to any 'Turkmen' ruler according to the established protocoll.¹⁷ Accordingly, it appears that the legends on coins minted at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts are governed by a remarkably stable linguistic matrix of Arabic. In contrast, the one example of coinage experimenting with legends in Turkic comes from a context characterized by an exceptional weakness of courtly authority and should accordingly be treated apart from the representational culture of the 'Turkmen' courts.

The final medium where the linguistic matrices at the 'Turkmen' courts become visible are verbatim quotations of sayings of the ruler himself. As attested by the speech of *uzun* Ḥasan, however, the phonological exactitude of this type of transcription of utterances is governed by the normative framing of the medium and discourse where it occurs. Accordingly, the views of the ruler on particular episodes of Ṭihrānī's court history dedicated to *uzun* Ḥasan are introduced in elegant Arabic or Persian as *wa-min naṣā'ihihī, khallada sulṭānahū*,¹⁸ 'and among his advices, may [God] make his reign eternal!, belongs', *wa-min naṣā'ihihī, khallada khilāfatahū*,¹⁹ 'and among his advices, may [God] make his califate eternal!, belongs', *az tajrībāt wa-naṣā'ih-i ṣāhib-qirānast*,²⁰ 'to the experiences and advices of the lord of the auspicious conjunction belongs', or

15 See Plant 1980, 23. A Persian reading as *ḍarb-i* is suggested by the omission of the Arabic preposition *bi-* preceding the following toponym, which would be expected in the Arabic phrase *ḍuriba bi-*, minted in.

16 As suggested by Album 2011, 263, the assertion of Bābur *Bāburnāma*, 270, that *biḥ būd* was the personal name of one of the courtiers of the Timurid ruler Ḥusayn should be interpreted as a humorous tale.

17 Binbaş 2015. The coin naming Ja'far is edited on page 168.

18 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, e.g. 114. I thank professor Subtelny, Toronto, for her kind advice and insight regarding the interpretation of this type of formula (Email September 2019 CE).

19 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, e.g. 145.

20 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, e.g. 201.

wa-min laṭāʾifihi, khallada sulṭānahū,²¹ 'and among his insights, may [God] make his reign eternal, belongs'. This elegant introduction is then followed by the advice and insights ascribed to *uzun Ḥasan*, which comment on the events narrated by Ṭihrānī and are consistently formulated in cultured Persian prose.

This highly cultured framing of *uzun Ḥasan* as a ruler able and qualified not only to critically evaluate and comment upon the historiographic work of Ṭihrānī, but also to do so in a linguistic form that would have met any contemporary scholarly standard, is somewhat qualified by the 'verbatim' quotations of sayings attributed to him in reports written outside his realms. We have already come across his comment 'by that, you've destroyed the whorehouse!' (*akhrabta bayta l-qahba zān*)²² composed in some sort of mixture of Arabic and Persian, by means of which he expresses his admiration for the stylistical prowess of the Mamlūk *amīr* Yashbak in Ibn Ajā's report.²³ His comment *prancataini cataini*, quoted by Barbaro and explained by the parallel case of the Chinese envoy living in Kaffa,²⁴ cannot as far as I see be confidently explained as pertaining to any particular linguistic matrix beyond the likely reference of 'cataini' to China / Khitāy. In any case, it is similarly devoid of the cultured sophistication ascribed to *uzun Ḥasan* by his court historiographer Ṭihrānī. Another 'verbatim' quotation of the speech of *uzun Ḥasan* quoted in a narrative outside his realm is contained in Angiolello's *Life and Deeds of Lord uzun Ḥasan*, presumably on the basis of Zeno's travelogue, and was supposedly spoken by the Aqquyunlu ruler when he saw the extent of the Ottoman encampment near the Euphrates River. His words are transcribed by Zeno as *hai cabesenne dentider* and Angiolello as *baycabexen, nederiadir*, helpfully glossed by both Zeno and Angiolello as 'son of a..., what an ocean' (*o figliuol*

21 Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, e.g. 144 twice.

22 The first part of this phrase, *akhrabta bayta l-qahba* or 'you've destroyed the whorehouse', is clear enough (if low-register) Arabic. Arguably, the reconstruction of its unwritten short vowels should allow for a certain measure of dialectal or sub-standard interference as opposed to the classicizing reading transcribed in the text. By contrast, the final letters ZAN could be reconstructed according to a Persian linguistic matrix as *z-ān*, translated above as 'by that'. Considering the contemporary pronunciation of the letter *jīm* as 'dz', which I noticed in Tabriz and Ardabil, as well as other modern Azeri Turkic modes of speech in Iran, this concluding interjection could also be interpreted as Persian or Turkic *jān*, the soul, here to be translated as 'my dear' or 'by my soul'. I am, however, not aware of any further information on the pronunciation of the letter *jīm* at the 'Turkmen' courts, which could corroborate this hypothesis.

23 Ibn Ajā *Ta'rikh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 84, ed. Tulaymāt, 118.

24 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 125, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 537. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

di putana, che mare).²⁵ As suggested by Milanesi, *uzun* Ḥasan's words can be reconstructed as *way qahboghlu, ne derya dir*,²⁶ which is clear enough Turkic.

Something of an intermediary framing of *uzun* Ḥasan is presented in his verbatim quotation preserved in the early Ṣafawid chronicle of Būdāq Munshī Qazwīnī. Here, he is said to have been fond of saying in Turkic (*ba zabān-i turkī mīgufta*) 'God said thus, the prophet ordered thus, the poor / mystics say thus' (*tangrī böyle dedi, payghambar böyle buyurdu, miskīnler böyle derler*). To this, one of his boon companions is claimed to have replied 'the poor / mystics know nothing' (*miskīnler bokh bilir*).²⁷ While the courtier's objection to citing the sayings of poor / mystics as equally prestigious as those of God and Muḥammad is clear enough and is discussed below, the linguistic idiom appears to be a non-Ottoman and non-Chaghatāy *turkī* that is sufficiently cultured to express the piety of the Aqquyunlu ruler.

While this basis of alleged and verbatim quotations of *uzun* Ḥasan preserved in emic and etic sources may be somewhat limited, it accordingly appears that the preeminent position of the ruler within the configuration of his court assured that his words would be taken as 'commensurate to the situation'. Accordingly, individuals dependent on their standing at his court such as Ṭīhrānī were encouraged to frame the sayings of the ruler in the most cultured way. In contrast, witty envoys such as Ibn Ajā readily took the opportunity of quoting *uzun* Ḥasan verbatim to raise their prestige at the expense of the Aqquyunlu ruler after they had returned safely from his lands.

To sum up this brief review of the deployment of linguistic matrices in various mediums employed in the performative representation of the 'Turkmen' courts, the choice of language is not presented as rooted in a transgenerationally stable 'ethnic' affiliation of the speaker(s) or, for that matter, their audience. Instead, speaking 'commensurate to the situation' emerges as the ideal according to which the courtly framing of performative deployment of language by the court or even the rulers' own speech was molded. As shown by the example of chancellery, in some cases the linguistic matrix of a particular text or genre can be shown to have been imbued with a certain prestige, which

25 Zeno *Viaggi*, 158, and Angiolello *Vita*, 380.

26 Zeno *Viaggi*, 159, and Angiolello *Vita*, 380. Arguably, the phonological transcription of *cabesenne* / *cabexen* lends itself to a reading of *qahbasın*, you are a..., rather than the *qahboghlu* suggested by Milanesi. Her suggestion does, however, resonate somewhat better with Angiolello's and Zeno's Italian glosse of the phrase cited above. Hinz 1936, 66, reads *qahbazāda* (*qahbe-zāde*).

27 Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 74. I thank Ferenc Csirkes, Istanbul, for his expert opinion on the correct reading of this passage.

could be deployed by individuals to appropriate the normative power residing in this linguistic matrix for their personal goals.

4.1.2 *Field II: Customs*

As in the preceding investigation of language as a field where 'ethnicity' may be presumed to have operated within the performative culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, the following evaluation of the field I describe under the heading of 'customs' is not concerned with substance or 'being'. Instead, I review the representation of recurring courtly performative activities and structural features that could be explained as conditioned by transgenerationally stable 'ethnicity'. Contrary to modern interpretations that see the performative pastimes²⁸ of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu court (partially) grounded in ethnicity as a transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorization, the depiction of customs frequently held to be emblematic for the Central Asian 'ethnic' affiliation of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers is commonly represented in the sources without any indication of tensions between these traditions and those of Islamicate and Persianate cultural history.

In this way, the seasonal alternation of the *yaylāq* and the *qishlāq* is notwithstanding the Turkic etymology of both terms²⁹ not represented as in any way related to a stable 'ethnicity' of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers. Instead, it is turned into an occasion for the performative appropriation of the permeable iconographic repertoires of Islamicate, Persianate, and Central Asianate as well as other representative traditions of rightful authority. I suggest describing this performative appropriation of multiple traditions by means of the joint redeployment of iconographically charged elements pertaining to these traditions in terms of a 'synchronization' of traditions. In this way, the synchronization of multiple traditions is made possible by the permeability of the iconographical repertoires through which these traditions are represented. This permeability enables an entangled deployment of multiple iconographical traditions linked to the representation of rightful authority that frames the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts as the culmination of universal history.

This synchronization of traditions is also occasionally deployed in the depiction of the seasonal migrations between *yaylāq* and *qishlāq* itself. The translation of *yaylāq* as *campagna* by Barbaro³⁰ and as *maşîf* by Ibn Ajā³¹ suggests

28 For the concept of princely pastimes and the importance of iconographically charged elements linked to the so-called 'princely circle' in Islamicate court cultures, see Hillenbrand 1982, as well as Grabar 1987.

29 Nişanyan 2009, 325 and 674.

30 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 130, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 541.

31 Ibn Ajā *Ta'rikh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 65, ed. Tulaymāt, 104.

that this performative custom of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts could in fact be seen as a concept seamlessly translatable into the iconographic and linguistic repertoires of Venice and the Mamlūks. Accordingly, it was not necessarily seen as linked to the transgenerationally stable ‘ethnicity’ of the ‘Turkmen’ courts. A conscious synchronization of Arabic-Islamic and other traditions of seasonal performative courtly travels is even more evident in Ṭīhrānī’s reference to the town of al-Raqqā as ‘the town that was the *yaylāq* of [the ‘Abbāsīd caliph] Hārūn al-Rashīd’.³² The same argumentation also underlies Faḍlallāh’s quotation of Qur’ān 106, 2, ‘the journey of summer and winter’ in the introduction of his chapter describing the journey of the Aqqyunlu court of *sultān* Ya‘qūb to the *qishlāq* of Qarābāgh.³³ This verse refers to the seasonal journeys of the pre-Islamic Arabs of Quraysh in its original Qur’ānic context. Therefore, Faḍlallāh deploys this Qur’ānic verse to synchronize the customs of the tribe of Muḥammad before the early Islamic conquests and the tradition of seasonal movement from *yaylāq* to *qishlāq* by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court.³⁴

As already discussed for *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s journey to his ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān above, the ruler’s performative journey to the *yaylāq* is depicted in a pervasive imagery of beneficent seasonal change. This synchronization of traditions by means of a joint deployment of iconographically charged elements pertaining to distinct but permeable repertoires also takes place in the depiction of the performative courtly hunt. This courtly hunt had been deployed as an emblematic feature of Central Asianate ‘otherness’ as embodied in the *yāsā* or so-called law of Chingīz *khān* in Juwaynī’s historiographical work:

[The stipulations of Chingīz *khān* for the Mongols.] Engaging in hunting should be one of the most serious things, as he [Chingīz *khān*] said that the hunt of wild animals is appropriate for the leader of armies. Thus, it is mandatory to instruct and train those wielding weapons and those who fight in it.³⁵

Subsequently, Juwaynī describes a colossal battue, during which members of the Mongol army spent multiple months slowly and systematically herding the animals of entire regions into a small circle where the courtly hunt takes place. This exemplifies the almost superhuman discipline and perfect organization

32 Ṭīhrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 164. The spelling as *rāqqa* in the printed text is a misprint, as demonstrated by the correct spelling and reference retained in the index.

33 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 419, ed. ‘Ashīq, 397. Cf. for this synchronisation of traditions also Woods 1999, 7–10.

34 See Woods 1999, 17.

35 Juwaynī *Tārīkh*, 130.

which he presents as constituting the core of the 'otherness' and cause of the singular military success of the Mongols. In contrast, the numerous instances where Tīhrānī refers to hunts in his historiographical work dedicated to *uzun* Ḥasan are of almost laconic matter-of-factness. Faḍlallāh's comparison between *sultān* Ya'qūb and the paradigmatic pre-Islamic hunter and Sasanian king Bahrām Gūr during his description of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān has already been translated and discussed above. By means of this and similar comparisons, Faḍlallāh successfully synchronizes distinct traditions of rightful rule by pointing out the common iconographically charged elements within the performative pastimes of the court, in which multiple traditions intersect.

A final recurring feature of Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly culture that has been interpreted as reflecting their 'ethnicity' is the great importance of female members of the ruling family both in shaping internal policy and undertaking diplomatic missions. Significantly, however, the important role of female members of the ruling families is not connected to 'ethnically' charged iconographical repertoires in emic sources produced at the 'Turkmen' courts.³⁶ Instead, a conscious synchronization of multiple traditions of rightful rulership represented by women by means of the parallel deployment of iconographically charged elements is exemplarily evident from Faḍlallāh's obituary of Saljūqshāh *bīgum*, the widow of *uzun* Ḥasan and mother of *sultān* Ya'qūb:

The ruler's mother and refuge of virtue queen Saljūqshāh *bīgum* was a queen within the womens'-quarters of whose virtue (*ḥarīm-i 'iffat-i ū*) a hundred like Bilqīs [the Queen of Sheba] would have fallen short. Qaydāfa [the proverbial queen and female antagonist of Iskandar / Alexander the Great in the *Shāhnāma*] would not have been worthy to drape the saddlecloth of the litter of her chastity (*'imārī-yi 'iṣmatash-rā qaydāfa shāyasta-yi ghāshīya-kashī nabūdī*). Turkān *khātūn* [the queen of Khwārizm and mother of the Khwārizm-*shāh* Muḥammad] would not have been worthy to serve this *khātūn* of the Turks, and a thousand of

36 But see the disparaging description of the milk-sister (*hamshīra*) of Iskandar Qaraqyunlu and wife of *amīr* Shams al-Dīn, the ruler of the Kurdish principality of Bitlis, whose fondness for riding, polo, and archery is motivated by her 'Turkmen' nature (*chūn ū dukhtar-i tarākima būd ṭabī'atash ba-asb tākhtan wa-chūkan bākhtan wa-tīr andākhtan iltidhādh-i tamām dāшта*) by Bidlisi *Sharafnāma*, 1, 380–381, cf. the discussion by Alsancakli 2017, 236–237. As the *Sharafnāma* was written at the end of the 16th-century CE, however, this passage represents an example of (anti-'Turkmen') 'ethnically' charged gendered discourses that are, as stated above, notably absent from the emic sources produced at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts.

the like of Gardūchīn [a well-known Chūpānid queen] would have been needed to gather the harvest of her beneficence.³⁷

In his hyperbolic comparison of Saljūqshāh *bīgum* with four of the paradigmatic queens who represent *topoi* of an active engagement in the performative representation of their respective courts, Faḍlallāh synchronizes the three main traditions whose appropriation and redeployment can be discerned in Qara- and Aqquyunlu court culture. The mythical Queen of Sheba is held in Islamic tradition to be mentioned in Qurʾān 27, 22–44, where her name is commonly given as Bilqīs in the commentary on this passage.³⁸ The permeability of this Arabic-Islamic example of political importance residing in a female actor with pre-Islamic Persianate tradition of rightful authority is then demonstrated by Faḍlallāh in his comparison of Saljūqshāh *bīgum* with Qaydāfa. She is introduced in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī as a wise and noble queen with an innumerable army, who rules in al-Andalus.³⁹ In this way, Arabic-Islamic and pre-Islamic Persianate traditions of the rightful representation of authority are claimed by Faḍlallāh to culminate jointly in the extraordinary virtue and excellency of Saljūqshāh *bīgum*.

This synchronization is then extended by Faḍlallāh's comparisons of Saljūqshāh *bīgum* with the Khwārizmian queen Turkān *khātūn*⁴⁰ and the Chūpānid queen Gardūchīn.⁴¹ While Saljūqshāh *bīgum* is presented as similarly superior to both important political figures remembered as belonging to dynasties of Central Asianate origins within the *Persophonie*, Faḍlallāh varies his pattern by playing on the literal (Persian) meaning of their names. Accordingly, Turkān *khātūn* is unworthy to serve Saljūqshāh *bīgum*, who is represented as the *khātūn* of the Turks (*khātūn-i turkān*) in a neat reversal of the name of Turkān *khātūn*. In a similar manner, Gardūchīn, whose name can be translated as 'gatherer of the heavens' is unworthy to serve as a simple harvest-hand (*khūsha-chīn*) during the harvest of Saljūqshāh *bīgum*'s beneficence. Both onomastic wordplays of Faḍlallāh operate on a purely Persian background. The synchronization of Arabic-Islamic, pre-Islamic Persianate, and Central Asianate traditions of the representation of rightful authority accordingly operates through the appropriation of individual iconographically charged elements (here: The names of famous queens) rooted in these

37 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 427, ed. 'Ashiq, 405.

38 E.g. al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 497.

39 Firdawsī *Shāhnāma*, 6, 51.

40 See Juwaynī *Tārīkh*, 417–418.

41 See the entry in Dihkhudā *Lughatnāma*, accessed via <https://vajje.com/en/search?query=%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%88%DA%86%D9%8A%D9%86> (May 2020 CE).

traditions. These are then redeployed in a purely Persianate linguistic matrix to demonstrate the culmination of history in the Aqquyunlu court. Accordingly, the limit of appropriation within the performative representation of the 'Turkmen' courts effectively lies not in a transgenerationally stable 'ethnicity' of the ruler and his retinue, but in hypothetical counterclaims contesting the appropriation of a particular element that could be voiced in the contested courtly sphere.

A very similar synchronization of tradition characterizes the representation of those ancestors of *uzun* Ḥasan in Ṭīhrānī's historiography who ruled either outside of the Islamic realms or before the prophecy of Muḥammad. In marked opposition to the Arabic-Islamic scholarly *cliché* of depicting Central Asianate non-Islamic courts as paradigmatic and somewhat topical contexts of 'otherness',⁴² Ṭīhrānī portrays the ancestors of the Aqquyunlu rulers as Muslim monotheists upholding Islamic tenets *avant l'islam*:

Seventeen: Āltān *khān*. He was a great king [...] and made many conquests, as he constantly fought against and opposed the polytheists of the east (*kuffār-i sharq*). [...] During his time, [the 'Abbāsīd] al-Mahdī b. Maṣṣūr was caliph. [...]

Twenty-three: Sunghur *bīk*. He lived during the time of the seal of the prophets and lord of the prophets Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdalmuṭṭalib, God bless him and his family!, and followed the religion of monotheism (*dīn-i tawḥīd*), although the call of Islām had not reached him. He was constantly engaged in war and fighting with the polytheists. [...] During one of these wars, he was hit by an arrow and answered the call of God (*da'wat-i ḥaqq-rā ijābat namūd*).

Twenty-four: Birdī *bīk*. He was a king in Qarākhītāy and Māchīn and waged *jihād* (!) on the polytheists. During the time of [the Sasanian king and paragon of justice] Anūshīrwān, he sat on the throne of justice. [...]

Twenty-five: Idrīs *bīk*: He was a wise man and well-versed in alchemy (*mardī-yi 'ālim wa-kīmīyā-dān*), a fighter for monotheism (*muwaḥḥid*) and lover of God (*khudā-khwān*).⁴³

As exemplified in this selection of passages devoted to ancestors of *uzun* Ḥasan and the other Aqquyunlu rulers living before and after Muḥammad, the extra-Islamic Central Asianate genealogical lineage of the 'Turkmen' rulers is

42 Within the *longue durée* of othering and exoticising representation of non-Islamic Central Asianate rulers and courts see exemplarily Ibn Faḍlān *Risāla* and Juwaynī *Tārīkh*.

43 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 17–19.

presented as seamlessly synchronized with Islamic values. This is particularly visible in ʿIṣṣrānī's use of key terms of the iconography of Islamic normativity and rulership. These include the claim of having been a fighter for (Islamic) monotheism (*muwaḥḥid*) and having waged war justified by Islamic normativity (*jihād*) against unbelievers (*kuffār*) for ancestors of *uzun* Ḥasan living before Muḥammad. Arguably, ʿIṣṣrānī goes even further in his short biographical note on Idrīs *bīk*, whom he represents with an iconography resonating with that commonly used for his namesake, the Islamic prophet Idrīs, as a paragon of sedentary culture and wisdom, as well as an expert in alchemy. As before, the limit of appropriation within the performative representation of the 'Turkmen' courts effectively lies not in a transgenerationally stable 'ethnicity' of the ruler and his retinue, but in hypothetical counterclaims contesting the appropriation of a particular element voiced in the contested courtly sphere.

4.1.3 *Excursus: The 'Iconographical Core' of Qara- and Aqqyunlu Representation*

As has been argued in the preceding passages, the deployment of languages and the representation of performative pastimes and structures of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts cannot be shown to be governed by 'ethnicity' as a transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorization. Instead, the deployment of multiple linguistic matrices is represented as governed by the requirements of the specific situation. These could include a measure of prestige that appears to have resided in the use of a particular language and register in certain mediums and occasions. At the same time, the salient customs and structures that have been interpreted as characteristic of the 'ethnic' identity of the 'Turkmen' courts are represented in a fashion that consistently strives to synchronize and interlace multiple traditions of paradigmatic representation of rightful authority. Thereby, the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court is presented as the culmination of history as residing in multiple iconographical traditions.⁴⁴

Accordingly, when we ask what defines the 'Turkmen' dynasties of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, we cannot describe them as transgenerationally stable group-related binary categorizations formulated in a terminology of 'ethnic' affiliation. Instead, we should understand the Qara- and Aqqyunlu as dynasties in the sense of a transgenerationally stable (but certainly not uncontested)

44 See Leube 2021 for a close reading of the intertextuality of Timurid and Aqqyunlu epigraphy at Takht-i Jamshīd that demonstrates the conscious strategizing to represent the courtly sessions of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh and Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan respectively as the culmination of traditions of the representation of rightful authority at the *lieu de mémoire* of the ruins of the Achaemenid palaces at Takht-i Jamshīd.

succession of individuals linked by a common lineage formulated in the terminology of descent. These individuals can in turn be understood as nodes in interpersonal networks of mobilization and patronage, by means of which the iconographical core of the Qara- or Aqquyunlu is deployed together with iconographically charged elements rooted in different traditions.

Each of these nodes or notable pretenders to leadership within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is embedded within the lineage of descent of the Qara- or Aqquyunlu. Therefore, we must distinguish between 'Turkmen' in a wider sense of social bodies characterized by an intersection of linguistic, cultural, and social affiliations, and 'Turkmen' as a general heading to conveniently refer to the succession of Qara- and Aqquyunlu leaders as 'Turkmen' dynasties.

At the same time, the collective designations of Qara- and Aqquyunlu can also refer to the following of individual and named multipliers embedded within the lineage of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu, regardless of whether these followers were themselves embedded in the lineages of the Qara- or Aqquyunlu. As pointed out by Woods, Qara- and Aqquyunlu as collective designations for individuals mobilized by means of interpersonal networks focused on individuals embedded in the narrower Qara- or Aqquyunlu lineages of descent was sufficiently permeable to include social groups that were not commonly represented as 'Turkmen' in the wider sense, such as Kurds or Arabs.⁴⁵ Accordingly, we must also distinguish between the use of the names of Qara- and Aqquyunlu in a narrower sense for individuals embedded within the particular lineage of descent of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu dynasties and the use of both terms to denote the following of anybody claiming leadership within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in the narrower sense. This is exemplified in the first introduction of the Aqquyunlu in the chapter describing the Qaraqayunlu in the non-courtly history of al-Ghiyāth:

Then he [the Qaraqayunlu ruler Aspān] wanted to turn against the Aqquyunlu, whose *sultān* at that time was Ḥamza [an uncle of *uzun* Ḥasan]. [...] Among the Aqquyunlu, there was a group (*jamā'a*) called Dubānlū, who were resting around some springs, herding their cattle. Before they noticed, they [Aspān's troops] surrounded them in the middle of the night and killed every single one of them, plundering their

45 Woods 1999, 10–17. See the report of Tīhrānī *Diwārbakriyya*, 363, describing how Jahānshāh distributed money among his generals (*umarā'*), which they might distribute among their followers (*nawkarān-i khud*) according to their status and paygrade, during Jahānshāh's campaign against his son *pīr* Būdāq in Shīrāz.

possessions, women, and offspring. Then, they returned to Baghdād via Irbil.⁴⁶

As no individual affiliated to the genealogical lineage of descent of the Aqquyunlu is mentioned to have been killed in this raid, this passage exemplifies how the rulers of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu led diverse groupings. These were also designated as Qara- or Aqquyunlu due to their acceptance of the leadership of individuals embedded within the lineages of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in the narrower sense. The following discussion focuses on the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in the narrower sense and the construction of a dynastic concatenation of leaders embedded within these lineages.

Within this description of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu (in the narrower sense) as dynasties, several points must be kept in mind. The first concerns the framing and interpretation of succession. As convincingly demonstrated by Woods⁴⁷ and not uncommon within networks formulated in a terminology of shared descent,⁴⁸ the horizon of relevancy in shared descent is not scalar or absolute within an unchanging set of coordinates. Instead, it shifts in relation to temporal and local context. The relevant degree of affiliation to the lineage of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers as formulated in a terminology of descent therefore does not operate within a stable totality of genealogy. Instead, it operates relatively to 'genealogical anchors' stabilizing what Woods has aptly described as discrete 'dispensations'. Within the Qaraqyunlu, the most prominent genealogical anchors on which discrete dispensations are centered are arguably *qara* Yūsuf and his son Jahānshāh. The individuals most commonly referenced as genealogical anchors within the Aqquyunlu are *qara* 'Uthmān and *uzun* Ḥasan.⁴⁹

It is frequently difficult to describe a stable pattern of succession linking these discrete dispensations in terms of primogeniture or other policies of succession. Fletcher in a very influential article has suggested using what he describes as 'the principle of tanistry', namely 'that the tribe should be led by the best qualified member of the chiefly house', as a pivotal concept governing succession within Central Asianate dynasties.⁵⁰ However, as this principle has been severely criticized even within its original context of Irish medieval

46 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 16–17.

47 Woods 1999, 20–23.

48 See Leube 2017, 37–50.

49 The dispensation of *tūr* 'Alī added within the Aqquyunlu by Woods 1999, 23, precedes the timeframe of the present study.

50 Fletcher 1986, 17, see also Fletcher 1979–1980.

history⁵¹ and arguably brings very little additional value to the analysis of the dynastic succession of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, I do not use it here. Instead, I argue that the history of the rise of *uzun* Ḥasan as described by Ṭīhrānī constitutes an ideal demonstration of the fluidity of narrative storytelling *ex post*. Accordingly, Ṭīhrānī's account presents the 'imperial' court of *uzun* Ḥasan as the necessary and justified outcome of a coherent sequence of events that determined the succession to his grandfather *qara* 'Uthmān.

Due to the limited genealogical horizon of each of these dispensations inside which the factual succession is negotiated, the establishment of genealogies spanning more than five or six generations is best interpreted as an appropriation of traditions and heritages that could also be contested by other individuals. A good example is the contested appropriation of the heritages of Central Asianate traditions embodied in figures such as Bāyandur *bīk* or Oghuz *khān* in the medium of genealogy. This demonstrates that descent from these figures should be seen as a flexible collective identity that could be appropriated and elaborated by competing courtly actors embedded within various dynastic dispensations of lesser historical depth.⁵²

The contested negotiations governing the permeability between dynastic dispensations that are clearly focussed on eponymous figures living in the near past and distant heritages that allow multiple and conflicting appropriations are ideally represented for the Aqqyunlu in the figure of the 14th-century CE Aqqyunlu leader *tūr* 'Alī and his marriage to a daughter of the Trapezuntine emperor.⁵³ A series of raids (*koursa*)⁵⁴ of the 'Amitiotai' or 'people of Diyarbakır' that are finally discontinued due to a marriage between Qutlu *bīk* b. *tūr* 'Alī *bīk* (*choutloupekēs tou touralē*) and a Trapezuntine princess is comparatively unproblematically reported among the 'foreign relations' of the great Komnenes in the Greek history of Michael Panaretos.⁵⁵ In addition, both Qutlu and *tūr* 'Alī are included among the eminent Aqqyunlu ancestors of *uzun* Ḥasan in Ṭīhrānī's historiographical work.⁵⁶ They are also mentioned on the Ottoman foundation inscription of the mosque of Sünür / Çayırıolu

51 See McGowan 2003, cf. Duindam 2015, 138–139. I thank Professor Duindam for our engaging discussion of this matter in Oxford in 2016 CE.

52 See the groundbreaking article of Flemming 1988, as well as Woods 1999, 173–182, and Binbaş 2010.

53 Among the wealth of literature on the relations between the early Aqqyunlu and the great Komnenes of Trapezunt, see Bryer 1975, Zachariadou 1979, Bryer 1987, Shukurov 1994, Shukurov 1999, Bilgin 2000, Bilgin, Yildirim 2000, 103–124, and particularly Brendemoen 2002.

54 Michael Panaretos *Historia*, 65.

55 Michael Panaretos *Historia*, 65–70.

56 Ṭīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 12–15.

and a tombstone situated in the adjacent mausoleum.⁵⁷ It may, however, well be possible that this localization dates to the activities of individuals affiliating themselves to the Aqqyunlu dynasty who acted as Ottoman provincial dignitaries in this region after the end of the period under study in the present analysis.⁵⁸

At the same time, the permeability of the genealogical and narrative affiliation of *ṭūr* 'Alī and his quest for a bride in Trapezunt to the Aqqyunlu dynasty is demonstrated by the inclusion of a recognizable if narratively elaborated version of this motif in the 'mythical *longue durée*' of stories ascribing themselves to the legendary Central Asianate councillor and wise man *dede* Korkut. Here, its hero is identified as 'Kān Turalı' without any reference to the Aqqyunlu dispensations of *qara* 'Uthmān or *uzun* Ḥasan.⁵⁹ As convincingly argued by Boeschoeten, this appropriation of the historical figure of *ṭūr* 'Alī within the mythical (and historically distinctly unspecific) *longue durée* of the stories of *dede* Korkut in its current form dates to around 1500 CE.⁶⁰ This shows that the mechanisms of contested narrative appropriation of prestigious traditions were not limited to courtly actors alone and could operate in the comparatively recent past of some 150 years.

A second point to be kept in mind concerns what Woods has described as a system of 'appanages' granted to influential members of the ruling house.⁶¹ In my view, it is important to underline that this system is not restricted to individuals rooted in the dynastic lineage of descent of the Qara- or Aqqyunlu. This is expressly indicated by Woods during his discussion of the 'tribal fiefs' of provincial government granted to collective groupings such as the Purnāk or the Mawşıllu networks.⁶² Woods suggests a chronological development from appanages granted to non-ruling members of the dynastic lineages to hereditary semi-independent 'tribal' enclaves. In contrast, I instead see the recognition and establishment of various types of regional (and transregional) authority granted by the court as a continuing and flexible mode of accommodating power brokers within the galactic courtly model of the 'Turkmen' polities. In this way, I believe that the installation of influential courtly figures

57 See inscription 791? Sünür / Çayır yolu, edited by Kemali 1932, 245, and Beygu 1936, 255–256.

58 See the epigraphic record at the foundation complex of Ferahşat Bey in nearby Pulur / Gökçedere, particularly the fragmentary inscription 923 Pulur / Gökçedere, edited by Kemali 1932, 243, cf. the editions by Beygu 1936, 252, and Xaç'atryan 1987, 101.

59 Dede Korkut *Oğuznameleri*, 124–138.

60 See Boeschoeten 2008.

61 Woods 1999, 12–14 and 19–20.

62 Woods 1999, 132–134.

as provincial and regional governors should be seen as the counterpart of the performative establishment and maintenance of ties of loyalty and patronage with influential regional multipliers, who are included in the performative representation at the court. Echoing the conceptual terminology of Paul⁶³ and Franz,⁶⁴ I interpret these intermediaries and multipliers between the performative representation of the court and non-courtly contexts as occupying different positions in the overarching configuration of the 'galactic' courtly sphere. These figures therefore negotiated their social and economic status by means of dynamic trade-offs between 'central' and 'regional' support, as well as further types of capital at their disposal.

Finally, we should be wary of excluding out of hand permeabilities between different lineages formulated in the terminology of descent. This study does follow the dominant historiographical framing of patrilineal descent in describing the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers as two distinct 'dynasties'. Nonetheless, matrilineal descent emerges as a pivotal concept during the transmission from 'the' Aqquyunlu to 'the' Şafawids at the end of the period discussed in this study due to the formulation of strong links of loyalty and patronage cemented by marriages between the Şafawī *shaykhs* of Ardabīl and Aqquyunlu 'princesses'. Within the representational iconography of Aqquyunlu historiography, the propagandistic potential of matrilineal descent becomes particularly visible during Faḍlallāh's narrative of the birth of Bāysunghur. His mother was a daughter of the Shirwānshāhs, who claimed descent from the pre-Islamic Sasanian kings. The synchronization of Persianate and Central Asianate tradition due to the paternal and maternal descent of Bāysunghur is aptly represented in two of the verses of a poem composed by Faḍlallāh to celebrate the birth of the prince:

The firmament smiled on Ūghūz' child / The tree of Nūshirwān's garden
bore fruit,
A king emerged from Turks and Persians / Who will be the refuge of both.⁶⁵

The rather astonishing permeability of the iconographical repertoires in the representation of Central Asianate and Persianate traditions of rightful rulership as embodied by Ūghūz and Nūshirwān respectively did not, however, necessarily preclude attempts aimed at the establishment of boundaries in other situations. Two iconic cases of such an attempted delimitation of

63 Paul 1996, 1–12.

64 Franz 2007.

65 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 215, ed. 'Ashīq, 207.

boundaries of who might be eligible to whom in marriage concern the prohibition of *sultān* Ya'qūb against the love affair allegedly existing between *qāḍī* 'Īsā Sāwajī and a sister of *sultān* Ya'qūb⁶⁶ and the alleged prohibition of the remarriage of a widow of *sultān* Khalīl to Ḥusayn *chelebi*⁶⁷ brought about by the political influence of Ya'qūb's mother Saljūqshāh *bīgum*.⁶⁸ However, both cases are only mentioned in the accounts of Qazwīnī and Gulshanī that significantly postdate the period under discussion and do not resonate well with the extant documentation of the representational culture of the 'Turkmen' courts. Accordingly, it would probably be wise not to put too much weight on the iconographical depiction of these episodes. At the same time, the recurring stories of the future king Ismā'īl Ṣafawī growing up while hiding among the Armenian Christian clergy on the island of Ahtamar⁶⁹ demonstrate how the iconography of personal ties deployed in the frequently polemical milieu of the contested courtly sphere was not limited to paternal and maternal lineages formulated in a terminology of descent alone. This is discussed in more detail below.

The following discussion of iconographically charged elements that appear to be characteristic for the performative courtly representation of individuals affiliated by descent to the Qara- and Aqquyunlu dynasties begins with structural symmetries between both. Subsequently, those elements characteristic for one of the two dynasties are discussed that do not appear to have a structurally equivalent counterpart within the iconographical repertoires commonly used to represent the other dynasty.

4.1.3.1 Symmetries within the Iconographic Core of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu

The first structural symmetry shared by rulers affiliated to the Qara- and Aqquyunlu dynasties lies in their designation as 'Turkmen' rulers. Arguably, this symmetry is ideally represented in Ṭīhrānī's account of how the Qaraqyunlu ruler *qara* Yūsuf and the Aqquyunlu leader *qara* 'Uthmān agreed to end their fighting:

[During a battle between their armies,] *amīr* [*qara*] Yūsuf sent to *amīr* [*qara*] 'Uthmān the following message: We both are Turkmen men (*mā har dū mardum-i turkmānīm*). Let us not attack each other after this and

66 See the Persian translation of Nawā'ī *Majālis*, Qazwīnī *Hasht Bihisht*, 294, as well as the discussion by Lingwood 2014, 120–127.

67 He is introduced as a brother of the patron of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, *qāḍī* Ḥasan, and a senior student of *dede* 'Umar Rawshanī (*dede ḥaḍratlarī khulafāsındandır*), Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 93.

68 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 93, see Woods 1999, 16.

69 See e.g. Anonymus *Viaggio*, 460.

desist from fighting each other, so that each of us can concentrate on our respective enemies of the Rûm or the Chaghatây.⁷⁰

The division of global zones of interest in this story appears somewhat far-fetched and the whole story may well be apocryphal. Nonetheless, Țihirânî's narrative demonstrates that an understanding of both the Qara- and Aqquyunlu dynasties as 'Turkmen' in the narrower sense of being structurally similar to each other due to the shared 'Turkmen-ness' of their dynastic affiliation formulated in the idiom of descent could indeed plausibly be put forward within the configuration of the court of *uzun* Ḥasan. The structural similarity between Qara- and Aqquyunlu due to their shared 'Turkmen-ness' is also well represented in external sources, both contemporary and later. This motivates the use of the term 'Turkmen' as a general term encompassing the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in this study.

The second major structural symmetry between the iconographic core of the dynastic lineages of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu lies in their names. Both dynastic names are Turkic and can be translated as *those of / with the black* or *white sheep* respectively. Notwithstanding this comparatively straightforward intelligibility of both dynastic names, however, their interpretation is far from simple. Although both terms are frequently attested in the Islamicate historiographic writing and chancellery composed within the 'Turkmen' realms, neither figures in epigraphy or coinage produced at the 'Turkmen' courts. The contemporary external dispersion of these terms is somewhat uneven.⁷¹ Nonetheless, the almost total absence of references to the literal intelligibility or even any recognizable wordplay directed at the names of Qara- and Aqquyunlu is very surprising in light of the fondness of 15th-century CE Islamicate narrativity for etymological plays on words.⁷²

⁷⁰ Țihirânî *Diwārbakriyya*, 58.

⁷¹ As far as I can see, neither term is used in Mamlūk historiography, which describes both dynasties by means of the eponymous founder(s) of the respective dispensation instead. Both terms are used in Timurid and other Persian historiographical traditions, as well as in Ottoman historiographical writing. The *turkī* equivalents used in the Bāburnāma are *qarāqūyliq* and *āqqūyliq* without any visible change in meaning (Bābur *Bāburnāma*, 41). Within the Armenian colophons translated by Sanjian 1969, Qaraqayunlu (*Lara-Loyunlu*) is mentioned in one and Aqquyunlu (*Aṭ-Lōlu* and variants) in two colophons, while the Syrian Christian tradition, both in Syriac and in Arabic, does not use either of these terms.

⁷² One of the few very loose potential allusions to the literal significance of Aqquyunlu within narrative texts produced for the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts may be the reference to the *ḥumāt-i millat-i bayḍā* or 'guardians of the white community' in Dawwānī *Akhlaq*, 48. However, this turns exclusively on the color white and quite possibly does not constitute an allusion to the literal significance of Aqquyunlu at all, as it represents a recurring designation for the Muslim community, for instance Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 93.

Indeed, the only two contemporary sources that do translate both names are the report of the Venetian envoy Barbaro and the Byzantine historiographic work of Chalkokondyles dedicated to the Ottoman *sultān* Muḥammad Fātiḥ. Barbaro translates the names somewhat misleadingly as ‘black’ or ‘white rams’ (*castroni negri* / *bianchi*, which would rather be equivalent to **qara* / *aq qoch*). He explicitly points to the structural symmetry and opposition of both in his comparison of the ‘Turkmen’ to the famous European factions of the White and Red Rose in England, the Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy, or the Friulian factions of the Zamberlani and Strumieri.⁷³

Within the historiographic work of Chalkokondyles, the names of Qara- and Aqquyunlu are translated according to two different patterns.⁷⁴ The first translates them into Greek as ‘white’ or ‘black sheep’, suggesting an equivalent Turkic form such as **Qara*- and **Aqqoyun*.⁷⁵ The form ‘white sheep’ appears to be linked to genealogical descent from the eponymous founder of one of the Aqquyunlu dispensations, *qara* ‘Uthmān,⁷⁶ as suggested by the curious phrase ‘the white sheep, the children of *qara* ‘Uthmān’.⁷⁷ The second pattern in the translations of Qara- and Aqquyunlu into Greek quoted by Chalkokondyles curiously combines the color of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu with the color of sheep herded by them.⁷⁸ Although the translation of Greek *probatantēs* (from *probaton*, sheep, small cattle) as herders of sheep is tentative, this type of Chalkokondyles’ Greek rendering of their names suggests a causal relationship between the color of (the wool of) the sheep and the name of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu.⁷⁹

73 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 153, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 560.

74 I have reviewed Chalkokondyles’ translations of the names of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu in Leube 2015b. By contrast, his contemporary and chronicler Kritobulos exclusively refers to *uzun* Ḥasan in classicising terms as king of the Tigranokertians, Armenians, or Medes, see Kritobulos *Historiae*, 153 and 157. The translations given by Leunclavius *Historiae*, 647 and 648, depend on Chalkokondyles, not his Ottoman source, the so-called Anonymus Hanivaldanus.

75 *Karailoukēs ho Leukamnēs*, *qara* ‘Uthmān the white lamb (Chalkokondyles *Histories*, 1, 102) and *hoi Leukarnes*, the white sheep (Chalkokondyles *Histories*, 1, 272 and 406).

76 He is referred to by Chalkokondyles under his *laqab qara yüyük*, glossed by al-Ghiyāth as ‘the dark-skinned smooth-shaven one’ (*yalaqqabu qarā ilūk li-annahū kāna asmara l-lawni wa-kāna fī ḥālī l-shabābi yaḥliqū miḥāsinaḥū fa-luqqiba bi-dhālika*), see al-Ghiyāth *Ta’rīkh*, 49, cf. Woods 1999, 39.

77 *Leukarnes Karailoukeō paides* (Chalkokondyles *Histories*, 1, 404).

78 *Hoi melanes Mauroprobatantes* (Chalkokondyles *Histories*, 2, 164) and *hoi leukoi Asproprobatantes* (Chalkokondyles *Histories*, 2, 304).

79 This explanation is also referenced without further elaboration in the survey over the uses and colors of felt in pre-modern Central Asia by Eberhard 1949, 159. It is also suggested as likely by Minorsky 1933, 4; Sümer 1967, 13, and Roemer 1976, 267.

Although this suggestion by Chalkokondyles that the naming of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu could be due to the (predominant?) color of their sheep may historically be quite implausible, it is significant insofar as it constitutes the only contemporary suggestion of a causal background to these names. Apart from Chalkokondyles' suggestion, the only thing that can be maintained with reasonable certainty regarding the names of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is the Turkic etymology behind them. Further theories that explain these names as referring to 'totemic' and vaguely Central Asianate animals of the 'clans' or 'tribes',⁸⁰ toponyms or hydronyms,⁸¹ or even the black or white color of the stone from which the tombstones in the shape of rams that continue to be extant throughout the formerly Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms,⁸² are not as far as I can see based on any evidence contemporary to the Qara- and Aqquyunlu.

In conclusion, the symmetrical and polarized⁸³ names of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu represent the puzzling case of two intelligible collective designations that were in all likelihood deliberately not translated or 'understood' within the iconographic repertoires deployed in the representation of both dynasties both inside and outside the 'Turkmen' realms. Accordingly, I retain them in this study as collective designations, even though I cannot present a convincing explanation for either of these names.

4.1.3.2 Asymmetries within the Iconographic Core of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu

As argued above, the collective designations of 'Qaraqayunlu' and 'Aqquyunlu' are etymologically symmetrical if enigmatic. The alternative collective designations used for the dynastic concatenations of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers do not appear to be etymologically parallel. Nonetheless, their function as collective designations alternating with Qara- and Aqquyunlu or more restricted terminology derived from the eponymous founders of particular dispensations is clear enough. These alternative designations are attested in historiography produced inside and outside the 'Turkmen' realms, as well as in the case of the Aqquyunlu in a limited number of diplomatic and epigraphic contexts. By contrast, they are not attested in coinage.

80 Suggested as a possibility e.g. by Tapper 1966, 63; Sümer 1967, 13, and Roemer 1976, 267.

81 This possibility was suggested to me by Dr. Lutz Ilisch of the Forschungsstelle Islamische Numismatik Tübingen in 2016 CE.

82 This was suggested to me by one of the custodians of the *Mūza-yi Īlkhāniyān* in Marāgha in 2014 CE.

83 See Roemer 1976, 267.

The predominant alternative collective designation of the Qaraqyunulu is *Barānī* or *Barānlū*.⁸⁴ While linguistically its two forms represent an Arabic *nisba* from *Barān* and its Turkic equivalent, the identification of this *Barān* is not entirely clear. Following the authoritative survey and discussion of Sümer, this term may represent a personal name, a toponym, or the word for ‘ram’ in the Turkic dialect of Mardin.⁸⁵

In contrast, the collective designation of the Aqqyunlu as *Bāyandurī* in the form of an Arabic *nisba* is not attested in the Turkic equivalent **Bāyandurlū* and clearly refers to the personal name *Bāyandur*. This personal name is claimed by *Ṭihrānī* to have been borne by an ancestor of the Aqqyunlu dynasty.⁸⁶ It is attested as a genealogical attribute for the Aqqyunlu rulers starting with *uzun* Ḥasan in inscriptions, historiography, poetry, and chancellery. It is also attested in Armenian colophons⁸⁷ and in the epigraphic record commissioned by the branch of the dynasty who ruled in Kiğı and Muş.⁸⁸ A subsequent spreading of this personal name beyond the genealogically linked concatenation of the Aqqyunlu dynasty is suggested by the mention of a Kurdish ruler of Palu named *Bāyandūr bīk*.⁸⁹ As he must have received his name around the end of the 16th-century CE, well after the Aqqyunlu constituted a significant political factor, this probably reflects the continued prestige of the Aqqyunlu rulers even after the end of their rule.

84 See the survey of Islamicate sources in Sümer 1967, 16–19. As far as I see, this term is mentioned neither in the continuations of the Syriac history of Bar Hebraeus / Barebraeus, nor in the Arabic breviarium of Nūḥ, nor in any of the Armenian colophons translated by Sanjian. I have not been able to find references for the collective designation of the Qaraqyunulu as *Bahārlu* suggested by Minorsky 1953, 391.

The *nisba* of al-Lārī given to Jahānshāh in the heading of a letter congratulating him upon his conquest of Bandar ‘Abbās / Jarūn in Maḥmūd Gāwān *Riyāq*, 205, likely is a printing error for al-Bārānī.

85 Sümer 1967, 16–18. See also his discussion of *Bārān* as the name of a mint, Sümer 1967, 18–19, cf. the example published by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 3, where the name of the mint is, however, not clearly readable on the printed photography of the coin and should probably be emended to [Urdū] Bāzār. This mint-name is discussed in detail by Smith 1970, 173–176.

86 Ṭihrānī *Diṯyārbakrīyya*, 24–25, cf. Woods 1999, 173–182.

87 Sanjian 1969, 319 and 325. The reference to Jahānshāh as belonging ‘to the Payəntur (Bayandur) tribe’ in an Armenian colophon written 1453 CE in Harput (Sanjian 1969, 225) is somewhat puzzling and is discussed below.

88 See inscription 887 Muş, edited by Konyar 1936, 2, 129, and Yiğitbaş 1969, 95, and inscription 815 Kiğı a, edited by Kemali 1932, 246–247. Cf. the three variant readings collected by Yiğitbaş 1969, 94, and the suggestions of Xaç’atryan 1987, 112 and 190–191.

89 Bidlisi *Sharafnāma*, 1, 190.

While, however, the possible derivation of the alternative collective designation of the Qaraqyunlu from the personal name Barān may ultimately restore a symmetry between both alternative collective designations, no Qaraqyunlu counterpart to the so-called *tamgha* of the Aqqyunlu can be identified.⁹⁰ Accordingly, this iconic element of the performative representation of the iconographical core of the Aqqyunlu dynasty, which is attested in multiple mediums, apparently does not have a counterpart within the iconographically charged elements employed in the courtly representation of the Qaraqyunlu. This makes its function and significance rather enigmatic. I now briefly review the dispersion of this element before discussing its possible functions.

This element, which for the sake of simplicity I simply call the *tamgha* of the Aqqyunlu,⁹¹ has a distinctly recognizable shape that does not occur in contexts not related to Aqqyunlu rulers or provincial governors genealogically related to the Aqqyunlu rulers. In the medium of architecture, it occurs in Urfa, Mardin, and possibly also in Diyarbakır. One of the most accessible attestations is in the renovation inscription of 867 / 1462–1463 CE in the eastern wall of the castle of Urfa in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan, where the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is clearly visible inside a medaillon above the center of the inscription.⁹² In Mardin, it continues to be prominently visible over an arch to the left of the entrance of the (by now much restored) Cihangir Bey Zaviyesi. In addition, it was described and photographed by Gabriel in 1940 CE as extant over the

90 The suggestion by Minorsky 1953, 394, of identifying a knot-shaped element on some Qaraqyunlu coins published by Rabino 1950 with the *tamgha* of the Qaraqyunlu was disproven by the observation of the same element on Aqqyunlu coins by Sümer 1967, 15–16. The same element also appears on Ottoman coins (e.g. An 2011, 174–177, 190, and the comprehensive discussion 202–205). The element also appears in epigraphy and masonry of the Qaraqyunlu (e.g. the so-called Kadem Paşa Hatun Türbesi near Erciş), but also of the Seljuqs and Ottomans (see e.g. the examples currently displayed in the Taş va Ahşap Eserleri Müzesi in the İnce Minareli Medrese in Konya).

The alternative element whose identification as the *tamgha* of the Qaraqyunlu was suggested by Sümer 1967, 15–16, does not occur on Qaraqyunlu coins. See also the remark of Uzunçarşılı 1970, 278, to identify yet another element with a Qaraqyunlu *tamgha*, which, however, also does not appear in Qaraqyunlu coinage or epigraphy.

91 But cf. the more cautious designation of this element as a *bezeme* or ornament by Sözen 1981, 189. It should be noted that the term *tamgha* or *tamghā* is exclusively used to designate specific types of taxes in the emic sources produced at the ‘Turkmen’ courts. The suggestion of Bulliet 1974 that similar non-scriptural elements on Saljūq coinage be interpreted as addressing a different audience than that able to read the numismatic legends in Arabic letters represents an interesting hypothesis. As far as I can see, however, it finds no support among the material pertaining to the ‘Turkmen’ dynasties surveyed for this study.

92 Photographed on site in 2018 CE. This inscription is translated by Sözen 1981, 191, without any reference to the *tamgha*.

lintel of a window of one of the towers of the castle of Mardin, as well as on the remains of the foot of a minaret belonging to one of the mosques within the castle.⁹³ Interestingly, one of the two *tamghas* over the window of the tower ‘faces’ to the right rather than to the left. This deviation from the conventional orientation of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* may indicate some extent of experimentation with the architectural deployment of this element. By contrast, the two Aqquyunlu *tamghas* visible on Gabriel’s photograph of the foot of the minaret both face to the left.

As the castle of Mardin continues to be an active military base, I have not been able to verify the continued existence of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* at either of the locales within the castle where it was described by Gabriel. Due to the kindness of director Nihat Erdoğan and Devrim Özcan Menteşe of the Mardin Müzesi, I have seen some photographs of the restored mosque, which is currently known as Hızır Camii after having been described as the ‘Mosquée des Ak-Koyunlu’ by Gabriel.⁹⁴ Although it is undated, the restoration inscription above one of its entrances is clearly Ottoman.⁹⁵ While a shape on the foot of the restored minaret is visible on the photographs that could correspond to the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* visible on the photograph published by Gabriel, the angle from which the photographs were taken unfortunately prevents the definite confirmation of the continued existence of this *tamgha*. Dr. Lutz Ilisch suggested that he had seen another Aqquyunlu *tamgha* on the walls of Diyarbakır,⁹⁶ however I have not been able to verify this during my visits to Diyarbakır in 2012 CE, 2014 CE, and 2018 CE.

The Aqquyunlu *tamgha* is furthermore very clearly visible on the banner (*bayrak*) of *uzun* Hasan that likely fell into Ottoman hands during the battle of Otlukbeli and is currently stored in the Topkapı Sarayı.⁹⁷ This banner

93 Gabriel 1940, 1, 13 and 17. The *tamgha* is clearly visible on the photograph of this mosque in Gabriel 1940, 2, plate vii, 2. This mosque may be the same mentioned as having collapsed in 1452 CE in an Armenian colophon written in Mardin during the same year, see the translation by Sanjian 1969, 222.

Cf. for the *tamgha* on the lintel of the window of the tower Sözen 1981, 189.

94 Gabriel 1940, 1, 17.

95 See the introductory formula *qad ‘umirat*, it has rebuilt, commonly used in inscriptions commemorating repairs and restorations (cf. Blair 1992, 5), as well as the name *al-Ṭūpchī* that is clearly readable at the beginning of line 3.

96 Verbal communication, Tübingen 2016 CE.

97 Unfortunately, and notwithstanding the best efforts of the custodians of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi and the administrative personnel of the responsible authorities in İstiklal Caddesi, I was not able to see the actual banner during my visit in March 2016 CE. Accordingly, I describe it exclusively based on the photograph published by Uzunçarşılı 1984, plate 49.

is triangular and made from white cloth⁹⁸ that is embroidered with inscriptions and the Aqquyunlu *tamgha*. Embroidered inscriptions of the so-called ‘throne verse’ (Qur’ān 2, 255), another Qur’ānic verse promising divine support (Qur’ān 3, 181), and the famous verse declaring ‘we have granted you an evident conquest’ (Qur’ān 48, 1–2) run along the three sides of the banner, framing a smaller triangular field in its middle. On this field, the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* is embroidered as a frame around the ‘extended name’ of *uzun Ḥasan* (*sultān ḥasan bahādur*) and below a tear-shaped medaillon bearing the words ‘victory from God, imminent conquest, and good tidings to the believers / oh Muḥammad / oh ‘Alī’ (*naṣr min allāh wa-faṭḥ mubīn wa-bushr al-mu’minīn / yā muḥammad / yā ‘alī*, cf. for the first part Qur’ān 61, 13).

By contrast, the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* does not appear among the decoration of the metal *signum* (*sancak alemi*) ascribed to *uzun Ḥasan*, which is also stored in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi.⁹⁹ Instead, this *signum* includes three small cases that originally likely contained Qur’ānic manuscripts.¹⁰⁰ The leaf-shaped plaque at the top of the *signum* is inscribed on both sides with the Islamic *shahāda* in the form *lā ilāha illā llāh / muḥammaduni rasūlu llāh*.¹⁰¹

The Aqquyunlu *tamgha* is also displayed regularly on Aqquyunlu chancellery. According to Keçik and Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī, the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* is commonly deployed at the very beginning of documents as a frame surrounding the words *al-ḥukm*, the verdict, *al-ḥukmu li-llāh*, the verdict belongs to God, or *al-mulku li-llāh*, rule belongs to God.¹⁰² Within Islamic cultural history, the first phrase resonates with the early Islamic *khārījī* slogan *lā ḥukma illā li-llāh*,¹⁰³ no verdict but the verdict of God. A Pahlawī translation of the second slogan appears on early Islamic coinage minted in the name of insurgents against the Umayyads.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, Fekete is likely correct in his suggestion to connect the occurrence of both slogans within Aqquyunlu chancellery

98 Uzunçarşılı 1984, 198.

99 Unfortunately, I have if at all only briefly seen this *signum* during my visits to Istanbul in 2011 CE and 2012 CE. The description given above is based on the information and photograph contained in Tezcan, Tezcan 1992.

100 I thank my colleague and friend Dr. Cornelius Berthold for this interpretation of the cases.

101 See Tezcan, Tezcan 1992, 87–88, and *resim* 33.

102 Keçik 1976, 19–20, and Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 21–25. See Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1379 / 2000, illustrations 31 and 32, for the use of both slogans in the calligraphic decoration of the mosque of the Muẓaffariyya complex in Tabrīz, as well as Album 2011, 269, for the use of both slogans in coinage of Iskandar Qaraqyunlu, and Album 1976, 139, for the occurrence of both slogans on a coin of the Qaraqyunlu ruler Aspān. Both numismatic references precede the resumption of independent coinage by Jahānshāh in 853 / 1449 CE.

103 E.g. al-Ṭabarī *Ta’rīkh*, 3, 122, cf. Gaube 1973, 27 and 35.

104 Gaube 1973, 78–79.

to the post-Mongol Persianate use of the introductory *turkī* phrase *sözümüz*, our word is.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, al-Qalqashandī records that *al-mulku li-llāh* had formed part of the device on the seal of the caliph ‘Alī.¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, the deployment of these phrases in Aqquyunlu chancellery and in the iconography of early Islamic *khārījī* discontent constitute two distinct and unrelated appropriations of the same imagery that is ultimately based in the Qur’ān.

Finally, the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* occurs frequently on the reverse of silver and copper coins minted by Aqquyunlu rulers, as well as on countermarks. Using the coins and countermarks published by Erel, Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī, Arı, Rācābli, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī together with those on zeno.ru as a preliminary corpus,¹⁰⁷ the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* can be discerned on roughly 13 percent of the around 1,200 published Aqquyunlu coins. In all these coins and countermarks, the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* is positioned in the middle of the die and commonly surrounded by the extended name of the ruler. The *tamgha* commonly faces left, even if a few cases where it faces to the right have also been published.

Within this preliminary corpus, the regional dispersion of coins and countermarks bearing the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* does not indicate any regional patterns that could be significant to the deployment of this paratextual sign of dynastic affiliation. Thus, the mints of Abarqūh / Abarkūh, Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır, Baghdād, Bitlis, Damāwand, Dārājird?, Erzincan, Hamadān, Hasankeyf, al-Ḥilla, Jahrum, Kāshān, Kāzirūn, *Kināra, Kirmān, Lāhijān, Mardin, Qumm, Shīrāz, Siirt, Tabrīz, Tīmajān / Tamijān, Urdū, Waṣṭān / Gevaş, and Yazd can be read on coins bearing the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* with reasonable certainty. The temporal dispersion of coins bearing the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* in this corpus includes coins minted in the names of the Aqquyunlu rulers ‘Alī b. *qara* ‘Uthmān, Ḥamza, Jahāngīr, *uzun* Ḥasan, *sultān* Ya’qūb, Bāysunghur, Nūr‘alī, *sultān* Rustam, Muḥammad, Alwand, Qāsim, and Zaynal, spanning the years of 839–914 / 1435 CE–1507 CE.¹⁰⁸

Building on this dispersion of the extant instances where the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* was deployed, several patterns can be discerned. The first concerns the spatial deployment of the *tamgha* itself. In all cases where mediums

105 Fekete 1957, 13–16.

106 al-Qalqashandī *Ṣubḥ*, 6, 340. According to al-Qalqashandī, the entire device read *al-mulku li-llāhi l-wāḥidi l-qahhār*.

107 Erel 1963; Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a; Arı 2011; Rācābli 2019, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019. In all instances, I have checked and frequently modified the readings suggested by the editors against the published images.

108 As only a few of the ‘Turkmen’ coins (with or without the Aqquyunlu *tamgha*) bear dates, this temporal span has been given according to the regnal years of the rulers as listed by Album 2011, 270–273.

displaying the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* have been preserved, the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is deployed in highly visible locations dominating its surroundings. Except for one architectural example in Mardin and some coins, the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is always deployed 'facing' to the left. As far as I know, it never occurs facing up or down, and although it is embellished by writing in chancellery and on the banner of *uzun* Hasan held in the Topkapı Sarayı, as well as by dots and circles on some coins, it is never joined to geometrical or other patterns. Apart from the two examples in the castle of Mardin published by Gabriel, it also does not occur more than once on a single object.

Except for the extant architectural examples in Mardin,¹⁰⁹ the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is always deployed in the immediate vicinity of the 'extended name' of the ruler. However, none of the architectural monuments displaying the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* in Mardin currently displays any textual epigraphy referring to Aqqyunlu architectural patronage. Accordingly, this use of the *tamgha* in isolation from textual epigraphy should probably be interpreted as a local phenomenon. This could possibly be linked to the semi-autonomous status of the Aqqyunlu rulers or governors of Mardin in regard to other claimants for leadership within the Aqqyunlu.

In the mediums of chancellery, the preserved banner of *uzun* Hasan, and coins, the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* always surrounds the 'extended name' of the ruler. By contrast, no occurrence of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* surrounding the 'extended name' of the ruler appears to be preserved in the medium of monumental epigraphy. Instead, the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is deployed above the name of the ruler on the citadel of Urfa.

To interpret these patterns, I believe two trends can be suggested. The first concerns the deployment of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* as a paratextual element that is deployed in the vicinity of the 'extended name' of the ruler.¹¹⁰ This deployment in the vicinity of written text may explain the comparative stability of its orientation, usually 'facing' to the left. Considering the consistent attestation of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* in the vicinity of the name of Aqqyunlu rulers and its attestation across the Aqqyunlu realms, it represents a non-scriptural meaningful element that must have been so prominently deployed due to

109 As stated above, I have not yet been able to verify the occurrence of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* on the ramparts of Diyarbakır. Accordingly, I do not at the present have any information regarding its deployment together or without textual epigraphy.

110 This paratextual deployment of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* in the vicinity of the extended name of the ruler in the representational culture of the Aqqyunlu court does not necessarily contradict the suggestion of Hinz that it had originally been used as a branding iron for flocks in non-courtly contexts (Hinz 1936, 106). But note that no evidence of this non-courtly deployment of the shape of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* is attested.

its close association with the concatenation of rulers within the Aqquyunlu dynasty. In this sense of an iconographically charged element proclaiming sovereign rulership as affiliated to the succession of rightful rulers concatenated in the Aqquyunlu dynasty, it may possibly be identified with 'the royal sign of the Aqquyunlu' (*nishān-i pādishāhī-yi āq-qūyunlū*) mentioned by Ṭīhrānī in the context of Jahānshāh's support for *uzun* Ḥasan's brother Jahāngīr.¹¹¹ This interpretation of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* as a non-textual iconographically charged element denoting genealogic affiliation to the Aqquyunlu dynasty could also explain its occurrence isolated from any text on architecture in Mardin. Here, the local Aqquyunlu governors could have used this element to represent their affiliation to the Aqquyunlu dynasty without declaring unambiguous acceptance or rejection of other potential claimants to leadership within the Aqquyunlu.

The second trend concerns the functions in which this element is deployed. While the Turkic term *tamgha* is used to describe lineage-based non-scriptural elements in Central Asianate contexts, the straightforward identification of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* with the *tamgha* of the Bāyandurī lineage as depicted by different Islamicate authors due to apparent similarities of shape does not appear entirely compelling to me.¹¹² In my view, the structural similarity of this equation with Minorsky's argument for his postulation of a Qaraquyunlu *tamgha* based on structural similarities between his postulated *tamgha* (which, as noted above, also occurs in Seljuq, Aqquyunlu, and Ottoman contexts) and depictions of the Central Asianate *tamgha* of the lineage of Ivā¹¹³ calls for skepsis regarding this type of reasoning. Even if a meaningful connection between the shapes of the Bāyandurī *tamgha* and that deployed by the Aqquyunlu rulers were to be accepted, we still would be well advised to frame this apparent continuity in a terminology of appropriation and possible contestation. This is particularly relevant due to the non-Aqquyunlu narrative deployment of Bāyandurī tradition in the so-called *Oghuznāma* of *dede* Korkut, even if no evidence of a contestation of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha* has been preserved.

In any case, comparison with the Timurid *tamgha* depicting the three heavenly bodies of the astrological conjunction allegedly governing Timur's astonishing career,¹¹⁴ the Mamlūk blazons representing courtly 'offices', or arguably

111 Ṭīhrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 256.

112 This identification was suggested by Minorsky 1939a, 942–943; see the beautiful depiction of different renderings of this Bāyandurī *tamgha* in Woods 1999, 26.

113 See Minorsky 1953, 394.

114 See Bernardini 2008, 56–57. As suggested by Bernardini, the *tamgha* of Timur was deployed as a non-scriptural equivalent of his title *ṣāhibqirān*, which is discussed in

the absence of any discernible non-scriptural element representing dynastic affiliation in the performative representation of the Qaraqyunlu court should encourage a very careful and nuanced approach to the Aqqyunlu *tamgha*. A structural asymmetry resembling that between the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* and the absence of any Qaraqyunlu counterpart can arguably be discerned between the Ottoman *tuğhrā* and the absence of a similar non-scriptural element deployed by the Şafawids. Nonetheless, I believe we should for now describe the Aqqyunlu *tamgha* as a non-scriptural element within a category of its own. This avoids the risk of substantializing a general category of iconographically charged elements and thereby obscuring the embeddedness of every single iconographically charged element within the configurations where it is deployed.

4.1.3.3 Permeabilities between the Qara- and Aqqyunlu

To conclude this overview of the 'iconographic core' in the representational culture of the 'Turkmen' dynasties, I now very briefly discuss permeabilities between both lineages. The remarkable ease with which interpersonal networks formerly affiliated to the Qaraqyunlu rulers were refocussed on the Aqqyunlu (and subsequently toward the Şafawids) has been pointed out by Paul.¹¹⁵ Most of these instances of a shift of allegiance concern individuals and interpersonal networks of patronage and mobilization that should be described as Qara- or Aqqyunlu in the 'wider sense'. Accordingly, their affiliation to the Qara- or Aqqyunlu does not appear to have been formulated in a terminology of shared descent.¹¹⁶ This ready shift of allegiance does not constitute a phenomenon restricted to interpersonal networks formulated in a terminology of 'tribal' affiliation. Instead, it should be understood in the context of the integration of large parts of the Qaraqyunlu courtly and administrative elites into the court(s) of *uzun* Ḥasan and his sons.

At the same time, we also occasionally read of Aqqyunlu individuals integrated in the interpersonal networks of the Qaraqyunlu court and *vice versa*.¹¹⁷ These individuals are clearly integrated in the interpersonal networks

greater detail below. See also the contemporary description of the Timurid *tamgha* as a sign of official acknowledgement in scriptural contexts, de Clavijo *Viaje*, 301. According to de Clavijo *Viaje*, 252, the three circles of the Timurid *tamgha* signal lordship over the three parts of the world (*que era señor de las tres partes del mundo*).

115 Paul 2004, 1084–1085.

116 See above.

117 E.g. Tihirānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 441–442, Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 128, ed. 'Ashīq, 122, cf. the account of the political and military activities of a Qaraqyunlu pretender named Ḥusayn Bārānī during the contested final years of Aqqyunlu rule in Iran, Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4,

of mobilization and patronage of the 'other' Turkmen dynasty. Accordingly, their personal identification as Aq- or Qaraqyunlu suggests that they were Aq- or Qaraqyunlu in the 'narrower' sense postulated above due to their personal genealogical affiliation to the Aq- or Qaraqyunlu dynasty. The permeability between the Qara- and Aqqyunlu is in these cases limited to the inclusion of individuals affiliated to the Aqqyunlu dynasty in the narrower sense of genealogical affiliation among the Qaraqyunlu in the wider sense of being included in the interpersonal networks of mobilization and patronage focussed on Qaraqyunlu rulers (or *vice versa*).

By contrast, a very limited body of evidence suggests permeabilities between the Qara- and Aqqyunlu in the narrower sense of genealogical affiliation. However, a puzzling passage in Tīhrānī's historiographical work can be convincingly resolved by the hypothesis of the existence of two namesakes, one affiliated by descent to the Qaraqyunlu and the other Aqqyunlu in the 'narrower' sense.¹¹⁸ The remaining cases should probably be explained as mere misunderstandings.¹¹⁹

4.1.4 Conclusion

As suggested by this critical survey of the iconographical elements deployed along the dimension of 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic affiliation' in the courtly representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, 'ethnically' charged elements and structures should be seen as freely appropriated and negotiated according to the requirements of the situation. This performative appropriation of elements and structures from multiple traditions and linguistic registers demonstrates that the 'Turkmen-ness' of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu cannot be understood in the modern sense of ethnicity as a transgenerationally stable group-related

449–451, and the brief account of the revolt of another Qaraqyunlu pretender named *mürzā* *Baraq during the same period as given by Aubin 1988, 71, based on the Armenian chronicle of Arčiseç'i. The 'black dog named *qara* Qürd [black wolf?], son of Qarāmān of the Qaraqyunlu' (*qara qūyunlūdan qarāmān oghlū qara qürd nām bir qara kūpek*) who is mentioned among the (Şafawid in the 'wider' sense?) persecutors of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī after the Şafawid takeover of Tabrīz, Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 258, should also be interpreted as an individual who is genealogically affiliated to the Qaraqyunlu that must have been affiliated to the interpersonal networks of the Aqqyunlu court in some way before the Şafawid takeover.

118 Tīhrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 116–117, where Qilich Aşlān of the Qaraqyunlu must be differentiated from another Qilich Aşlān who is a nephew of *qara* 'Uthmān Aqqyunlu. See the differentiation in the register to the edition of Lugal and Sümer.

119 See the Armenian colophon written in Harput in 1453 CE, which describes the Qaraqyunlu ruler Jahānshāh as belonging 'to the Payəntur (Bayandur) tribe', Sanjian 1969, 225.

binary categorization. Instead, the Qara- and Aqqyunlu should be interpreted in a narrower sense as a dynastic concatenation of individual rulers that is formulated in a terminology of descent. Additionally, the interpersonal networks of mobilization and patronage focussed on individual rulers affiliated by descent to the dynastic lineage of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu should be described as Qara- or Aqqyunlu in a wider sense, as no immediate suggestion of shared descent appears to underlie the ties of loyalty and leadership binding them to the Qara- or Aqqyunlu rulers.¹²⁰

The dynastic concatenation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu in the narrower sense is represented by a stable iconographic core. This iconographic core in the representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu appears to be restrictively deployed only by mobilizers affiliated to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu in the narrower sense by descent. Apart from the enigmatic case of the Aqqyunlu *tamgha*, which does not have a Qara- counterpart, this iconographic core deployed to represent the dynastic concatenations displays a marked symmetry between both 'Turkmen' dynasties. Within the performative courtly representation of individual rulers, this iconographic core forms part of the iconographically charged elements grounded in multiple traditions and repertoires, which are jointly deployed to establish and maintain interpersonal networks of patronage and mobilization focused on the respective ruler.

4.2 The Iconography of Religious Affiliation

4.2.1 *Introduction: Two Numismatic Examples*

The fluidity and ease with which iconographically charged elements pertaining to different 'religious' repertoires are combined in Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture is impressive. If we depart from a heuristic understanding of 'religiously charged' as related either to a coherent transcendence or to a group that relates to a coherent transcendence, two excellent examples illustrating this permeability exist in the medium of Qara- and Aqqyunlu coinage. As both examples are best described as deviations from the standard form of the obverse of 'Turkmen' coins, a brief sketch of the typology of numismatic legends deployed in the name of 'Turkmen' rulers should be given. According to the established terminology of Islamic numismatics, the reverse of a coin is defined as the side on which the name and title of the ruler are given.¹²¹ By contrast, the obverse of 'Turkmen' coins commonly features the *shahāda*

120 See the magisterial study of Sneath 2007 on this phenomenon.

121 See Plant 1980.

or Islamic creed in the form of *lā ilāha illā llāhi muḥammaduni rasūlu llāhi*, there is no god but God and Muḥammad is His prophet. This is usually framed by the names of the first four successors of Muḥammad, namely Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī, who are sometimes referred to in an augmented form that includes their honorific names of al-Ṣiddīq, al-Fārūq, Dhū l-Nūrayn, and al-Murtaḍā. This pervasive structure of the obverse resonates with other contemporary numismatic legends, particularly those of coins minted in the name of rulers affiliated to the Timurid dynasty.

The first consistent variation from this pattern concerns the inclusion of slogans that resonate with a prominent commemoration of ‘Alī and his descendants.¹²² The most commonly found intervention along these lines during the period under study is represented by the inscription of the *shahāda* in its augmented form that adds *‘aliyyuni waliyu llāhi*, ‘Alī is the chosen friend of God.¹²³ This augmented *shahāda* has been propagated by Muslim dynasties before and after the ‘Turkmens’ as a performative gesture embracing *shī‘ī* schools of Islamic law and is accordingly known as the *‘shī‘ī kalima’* or *shī‘ī* creed. It is attested on coins minted by the Qaraqayunlu ruler Jahānshāh,¹²⁴ as well as on coins bearing the names of the Aqquyunlu rulers *uzun Ḥasan*,¹²⁵ *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb,¹²⁶ possibly Bāysunghur,¹²⁷ *sulṭān* Rustam,¹²⁸ Aḥmad *bīk*,¹²⁹

122 See Binbaş 2019, 227–229, for a brief review of *‘shī‘ī* slogans on coins minted mainly under or in the name of earlier Qaraqayunlu rulers, particularly the legend *‘aliyyuni waliyu llāhi* / *al-ḥasanu* [wa-] *l-ḥusaynu sibtāni rasūli llāhi*, which appears on anonymous coins minted in Baghdād and al-Ḥilla during the rule of Aspān and his son Fulād *sulṭān* (Album 2011, 269, Album-numbers 2486, 2486A, and Y2488).

123 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 105 and 110, suggests a reading of *‘aliyyuni waṣīyu llāhi*, ‘Alī is the trustee of God. While I hesitate to accept his reading, this does not amount to a significant shift of the function of the slogan within the ruler’s representation on coins minted in his name.

124 Album 2011, 269, Album-number 2493A, cf. ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 38, and zeno.ru #68237.

125 Album 2011, 271, Album-numbers 2515 and 2515A; cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 44, 47, 48, and 169; Rəcəbli 2019, 34, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 91, 105, and 110.

126 Album 2011, 271, Album-number G2522, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 75, 76, and possibly 92.

127 Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 92. The presence of a countermark read by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī as *‘adl sulṭān ya‘qūb tabriz* on this coin casts some doubt on its attribution to Bāysunghur. The photograph is inconclusive, I have not been able to check the original.

128 Album 2011, 272, Album-number 2534.2, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 112, 116, and 118; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 223, 237, and 257, and zeno.ru #33575, #53043, #54162, #89031, #89077, #89119, #89120, #96801, #110652, #142660, and #192686.

129 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 267, and zeno.ru #92758, #92759, and #121447.

Muḥammad,¹³⁰ Alwand,¹³¹ and Murād.¹³² Nonetheless, the inclusion of the *shīʿī kalima* cannot be understood in terms of a ‘confessional’ affiliation of the ruler to *shīʿī* currents of Islam, as the majority of the coins minted by each of these rulers adhere to the prevalent pattern that includes the shorter, ‘non-*shīʿī*’ version of the *shahāda*. That this increased prominence of ‘Alī on the obverse of the coins did not have to be understood as a slighting of the other caliphs is demonstrated by the continued inclusion of all four successors of Muḥammad on the margin of these coins, surrounding the extended creed in the middle of the coin.

The second intervention resonating with this prominent commemoration of ‘Alī and his descendants on coins is represented by the names of ‘Alī and eleven of his descendants, which are written on the obverse of coins. In these cases, the *shahāda* is sometimes relegated to the reverse, where it frames the name and titles of the ruler. This type of coins was minted in the name of the Qaraqyunlu rulers Jahānshāh¹³³ and Ḥasan‘alī,¹³⁴ as well as for the Aqquyunlu rulers *uzun* Ḥasan,¹³⁵ Nūr‘alī,¹³⁶ *sultān* Rustam,¹³⁷ Muḥammad,¹³⁸ and Alwand.¹³⁹ As stated above, this prominent commemoration of the

130 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 157, 161, and 162, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 274 and 276.

131 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 150 and 151; Rəcəbli 2019, 56; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 283–284 and 286, as well as zeno.ru #89033, #89149, #89150, #92746, #92747, #92748, #92749, #92750, #92751, #115283, and #160117.

132 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 144 and 145; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 293, 295 and 297, and zeno.ru #89032, #98352, #111205, and #157922.

133 Album 2011, 269, Album-number 2493A, cf. zeno.ru #68237.

134 Album 2011, 270, Album-number 2497, cf. Rabino 1950, 117; Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 18; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 64, and zeno.ru #43345.

135 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2515A, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 47, 48, and 169, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 91. Arguably, one should also include the coin dated to 873 / 1468 CE to 1469 CE in Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 44, in this group. Due to the readability of the letter *ṭā* in the name that precedes Ḥusayn in the outer frame of the partially minted coin, Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī suggested a reading of this name as Fāṭima instead, however this remains doubtful until a better-preserved specimen appears. In any case, a group of names including the name of the daughter of Muḥammad and wife of ‘Alī should also be understood as resonating closely with the inclusion of the names of the 12 *imāms* of the obverse of coins.

136 Album 2011, 272, Album-number 2530; cf. Erel 1963, 1, 11/12 (misread as Tūr ‘Alī); ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 205, and FINT HF 10 D4.

137 Album 2011, 272, Album-numbers 2533.2, 2534.1 and 2534.2, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 121 and 127; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 258, and zeno.ru #72433, #72434, and #72436.

138 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 159.

139 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 150, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 286.

A similar legend framing the ‘non-*shīʿī*’ *kalima* that is preserved only partially appears to read *‘alīyyuni waliyu llāhi / al-ḥasan / al-ḥusayn / zayn al-‘ābidīn*. Examples

relatives of Muḥammad venerated as ‘the’ 12 *imāms* by the so-called *imāmī shī’a* subsequently embraced by the Ṣafawids cannot indicate a ‘confessional’ affiliation of the rulers. In contrast, all of these rulers minted a majority of coins bearing the names of the first four caliphs, the first three of whom are occasionally reviled by individuals affiliated to the *imāmī shī’a*.¹⁴⁰ This permeability between the iconographic repertoires used to express affiliation to either *sunni* or *shī’i* Islam is ideally illustrated on coins minted in the name of *uzun Ḥasan*, which bear the names of the first four caliphs on the inner frame and the names of the 12 *imāms* on an outer frame.¹⁴¹ This astonishing permeability is also attested on coins minted in the name of Timurid rulers such as Abū l-Qāsim Bābur,¹⁴² where it is explicitly motivated as a concession to regional sentiments in contemporary historiographical sources.

Although he [Abū l-Qāsim Bābur] received the pleasing discourses of the poor / mystics (*darwīshān*) with soul and heart, he did not in any way depart from rational beliefs, natural manners, or the religious tradition (*madhhab*) of his great fathers and honorable ancestors. One day, the author of these lines himself was present when, may God suffice as a witness!, he [Abū l-Qāsim Bābur] sat with his court (*khawāṣṣ wa-muqarrabān*), holding a silver coin (*tanga*) in his sea-giving hand. When he read its legend, he found that it bore the name of the 12 *imāms*. One of those present asked during which time it might have been minted. The prince (*mīrzā*) replied that it was in his own name. The courtier said: ‘Every place believes you to hold another type of belief!’ The rightly believing king replied: ‘Let everybody continue in their custom! I myself am firm on the path of the consensus and the *sunna* (*man bar ṭarīq-i sunnat*

of this legend are preserved on coins minted in the name of *sultān* Ya’qūb in Bābul / Bārfurūshdih and Sārī, see ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 151 and 168, and on coins featuring the *shī’i kalima* [!] minted in the name of *sultān* Rustam in Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır and Rūyān, see ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 223 and 257, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 237, respectively. Another coin with this legend around the *shī’i kalima* was minted for Murād in Sārī, see ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 293.

For the toponym of Bārfurūshdih as an alternative to the earlier Mamṭīr (and the contemporary Bābul), see Krawulsky 1978, 342.

140 See for the performative vilification of the first four caliphs in early Ṣafawid representational culture Stanfield-Johnson 2004 and the literature quoted there.

141 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2515A, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 2535 / 1977a, 47 and 48, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 91.

142 Album 2011, 262, Album-number 2422, cf. the brief remark by Woods 1999, 4. For similar coins minted by the Qaraqayunlu ruler Iskandar before the period of sustained study in this monograph, see Binbaş 2018, 193–194.

wa-jamā'at thābitam), adhering to the religious tradition (*madhhab*) of the greatest *imām* Abū Ḥanifa, may God have mercy on him!' As careless as prince Abū l-Qāsim Bābur may have appeared to have been in matters of state and finance (*dar kār-i mulk wa-māl*), he always paid close attention to the consequences of important matters and never neglected any small detail concerning the well-being of his subjects (*ri'āyat-i ra'yyat*) and the foundations of rulership (*qawā'id-i salṭanat*).¹⁴³

As this anecdote demonstrates, the variation to the obverse of coins constituted a very prominent and visible performative gesture. The explicit reference to numismatic legends in this anecdote represents one of only a handful of historiographical engagements with the actual legends of coins in the context under study and should be understood as a particularly impressive attestation of the performative weight changes to the established structure of the obverse could have.

Nonetheless, an interpretation of the inclusion of slogans resonating with '*shī'ī*' currents of Islam as a concession granted by the ruler to the personal religious affiliation of the inhabitants of particular regions cannot account for the regional dispersion of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu coins, whose eponymous rulers were listed above. Thus, coins bearing both the *shī'ī kalima* and the names of the 12 *imāms* were minted for Jahānshāh at Damāwand and Fīrūzkūh,¹⁴⁴ while other coins minted in his name in Damāwand only feature the *shī'ī kalima* framed by the names of the first four caliphs.¹⁴⁵ The coins of his son Ḥasan'ālī bearing the names of the 12 *imāms* do not indicate the name of the mint they were struck at. The coins bearing the *shī'ī kalima* that were struck in the name of the Aqqyunlu ruler *uzun* Ḥasan indicated above come from the mints of Abarqūh / Abarkūh,¹⁴⁶ Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,¹⁴⁷ Işfahān,¹⁴⁸

143 Samarqandī *Maṭla'*, 2, 787. I owe this reference to an indication by Stephen Album, lemma 'Coins and Coinage' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, accessed online under <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/coins-and-coinage> in August 2020 CE. This numismatic anecdote should perhaps be discussed in greater detail for the equally Timurid context of the allegation of Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 148, cf. Rizvi 2018, 237, describing attempts of replacing the names of the four caliphs by those of the 12 *imāms* during the Friday sermon.

144 See Album 2011, 269, cf. zeno.ru #68237.

145 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 38.

146 Rəcəbli 2019, 34, minted in 871 / 1466 CE to 1467 CE.

147 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2515, reads Āmul, cf. Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 47, who reads Āmid. The photograph reproduced by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī is inconclusive with a slight tendency towards Āmid. Cf. 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 105, who reads *balda-yi āmul*.

148 Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 47.

Rūyān,¹⁴⁹ and Sārī.¹⁵⁰ With the exception of those struck at Abarqūh / Abarkūh and Sārī, all these coins also feature the names of the 12 *imāms*. The inclusion of the names of the first four caliphs and the 12 *imāms* together with the *shīʿī kalima* on the same coin minted in the name of *uzun Ḥasan* is attested for the mints of Iṣfahān,¹⁵¹ Kāshān,¹⁵² and Rūyān.¹⁵³ The latter two examples are dated to 873 / 1468–1469 CE. Coins bearing the *shīʿī kalima* were struck for *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb at the mint of Sārī¹⁵⁴ and for *sulṭān* Rustam at the mints of Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,¹⁵⁵ Bābul / Bārfurūshdih,¹⁵⁶ Iṣfahān,¹⁵⁷ Rūyān,¹⁵⁸ Sārī,¹⁵⁹ and Tabrīz.¹⁶⁰ *Sulṭān* Rustam also had coins bearing the names of the 12 *imāms* struck in his name at the mints of Yazd,¹⁶¹ as well as in unspecified mints in Gilān and Māzandarān¹⁶² and in the Southeastern Anatolian region of Mardin and al-Ḥiṣn / Hasankeyf.¹⁶³ Coins bearing the *shīʿī kalima* were minted for the Aqquyunlu ruler Aḥmad *bīk* in Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır¹⁶⁴ and in Yazd¹⁶⁵

149 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2515A. For this town in Māzandarān see Krawulsky 1978, 340.

150 Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 48.

151 Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 47. Due to the comparably clear readability of the mint-name of Iṣfahān on the not too detailed photographs included in Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, it is tempting to revisit the reading of Rūyān proposed by Album (or, instead, consult the original coins photographed by Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī).

152 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 91.

153 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2515A.

154 Album 2011, 271, Album-number G2522. Cf. the coins featuring ‘*aliyyuni waliyu llāhi / al-ḥasan / al-ḥusayn / zayn al-‘ābidīn*’ in the frame around the ‘non-*shīʿī kalima*’ that were minted in the name of *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb in Bābul / Bārfurūshdih, ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 151, and Sārī, ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 168.

155 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 223 and 257, and zeno.ru #33575, #53043, #54162, #89031, #89077, and #89119. The coins ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 223 and 257, and zeno.ru #89031 and #89119 also feature the legend ‘*aliyyuni waliyu llāhi / al-ḥasan / al-ḥusayn / zayn al-‘ābidīn*’ in a frame around the *shīʿī kalima*.

156 Zeno.ru #96801.

157 Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 112.

158 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 237.

159 Zeno.ru #89120, #110652, #142660, and #192686.

160 Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 116.

161 Turābi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 121.

162 Album 2011, 272, Album-number 2534.1.

163 Zeno.ru #72433. I owe this reference to a comment by Stephen Album in the discussion of this coin on zeno.ru.

164 Zeno.ru #92758, #92759, and #121447.

165 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 267.

and for Muḥammad in Kandimān¹⁶⁶ and Yazd,¹⁶⁷ with the mint of Yazd also minting coins in the name of Muḥammad bearing the names of the 12 *imāms* but not the *shīʿī kalima*.¹⁶⁸ Finally, coins bearing the *shīʿī kalima* were minted in the name of Alwand in Āmul or Āmir / Diyarbakır,¹⁶⁹ Sārī¹⁷⁰ and Yazd,¹⁷¹ while Murād had coins bearing the *shīʿī kalima* minted with the mint-name of Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,¹⁷² Sārī,¹⁷³ and Yazd.¹⁷⁴

As not all of the coins that include one or both variations to the established structure of the obverse described above bear the name of the mint they were struck at, further mints may have produced extant Qara- and Aqquyunlu coins bearing the *shīʿī kalima* or the names of the 12 *imāms* on the obverse. Nonetheless, even the list given above based on those mints that are explicitly indicated on Qara- and Aqquyunlu coins as having produced coins bearing either the *shīʿī kalima* or the names of the 12 *imāms* demonstrates that the phenomenon of a variation of the established structure of the legends minted on the obverse of coins that resonates with *shīʿī* currents of Islam pervades the entire realm of established ‘Turkmen’ administration.¹⁷⁵ Thus, we are confronted with the somewhat perplexing dispersion of coins minted in the name of Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers that deviate from the established structure of the obverse in two recurring regards that cannot be described as due to either

166 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 157. For the existence of a mint at this place, glossed as *dar bakhtiyārī* or in the province of [Chahār Maḥall and] Bakhtiyārī, see Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 36.

167 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 161, and 162, and ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 274 and 276.

168 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 159.

169 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 283.

170 Rəcəbli 2019, 56; ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 284, and zeno.ru #89149, #89150, #92746, #92747, #92748, #92749, #92750, #92751, #115283, and #160117.

171 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 150.

172 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 144 and 145, as well as zeno.ru #89032, #98352, #111205, and #157922.

173 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 293. This coin also features the legend *‘alīyyuni waliyu llāhi / al-ḥasan / al-ḥusayn / zayn al-‘ābidīn* in a frame around the *shīʿī kalima*.

174 ‘Alā’ al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 295.

175 Arguably, the mints of the Northwest of the ‘Turkmen’ realms (Erzincan, Erzurum, as well as the area around Lake Van), of the *‘irāqī sawād* (Baghdād), and of Kirmān could be pointed out as demarking areas that do not appear to have minted coins bearing either the *shīʿī kalima* or the names of the 12 *imāms* under the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers enumerated above (but cf. the legends resonating with *shīʿī* currents of Islam on coins minted under the Qaraqyunlu ruler Aspān in Baghdād and al-Ḥilla before the beginning of the period under analysis in this study, see Album 2011, 269). Nonetheless, this absence is probably better described as due to the chance survival or disappearance of coins, than by the supposition of an otherwise unattested regional antipathy to this type of variation to the structure of the obverse.

the personal religious affiliation of the ruler, the regional preference of the mints, or the dynastic affiliation of the ruler commissioning the dies. An interpretation that links this dispersion of coins to the intended main locales of their circulation could arguably be considered due to our almost entire ignorance of the established patterns governing the circulation and use of coins. Nonetheless, this is not corroborated by any recurring countermarks on the coins or by hints in any non-numismatic sources. Accordingly, it is probably best to treat this dispersion as a regionally and chronologically pervasive deviation from established structures, which represents a persistent (or at least recurring) subordinate theme within the iconography of religious affiliation as deployed in the medium of coinage in the name of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers.

While this variation on the pattern of a performative representation of religious affiliation in the medium of coinage denotes some sort of permeability between the iconographic repertoires of currents within Islam such as *sunna* and *shīʿa*, the second recurring variation on the established structure of the obverse denotes a sphere of resonance that arguably transcends Islam. This variation includes the Qurʾānic quotation *fa-man yaʿmalu mith-qāla dharratin khayran yarahū*, and whoever does the weight of a mote of good will see it (Qurʾān 99, 7), on the obverse of coins. This consistent variation to the established structure of the obverse appears to be attested exclusively (!) on coins minted for a succession of Aqqyunlu rulers beginning with *sultān* Yaʿqūb without, however, replacing the established structure of the obverse described above.¹⁷⁶ It is first attested on a dated coin minted in the name of *sultān* Yaʿqūb in Tabrīz in 890 / 1485 CE.¹⁷⁷ Subsequent extant examples were produced for *sultān* Yaʿqūb in the mints of Abarqūh / Abarkūh,¹⁷⁸ Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,¹⁷⁹ Baghdād,¹⁸⁰ Bābul / Bārfurūshdih,¹⁸¹ Bitlis,¹⁸²

176 I do not follow the suggestion of 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 80, to assign a coin with this obverse to *uzun* Ḥasan's uncle Muḥammad b. *qara* 'Uthmān. Nonetheless, I cannot for now suggest a more convincing interpretation of the legend on the reverse of this coin: Arguably, it may also be a mule that combines an obverse and reverse that were not be intended to be minted on the same coin.

177 Album 2011, 271, Album-number 2522, see Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 70.

178 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 145.

179 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 142, and zeno.ru #38834, #72429, and #137391.

180 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 124. This coin is dated to 89x.

181 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 152.

182 Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 69; Album 2001, #323; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 153, as well as zeno.ru #187659 and #207197.

Damāwand,¹⁸³ Erzincan,¹⁸⁴ Erzurum,¹⁸⁵ Fīrūzkūh,¹⁸⁶ Hamadān,¹⁸⁷ al-Ḥilla,¹⁸⁸ al-Ḥiṣn / Hasankeyf,¹⁸⁹ Iṣfahān,¹⁹⁰ Kāshān,¹⁹¹ Kirmān,¹⁹² Lāhijān,¹⁹³ Mardin,¹⁹⁴ Qumm,¹⁹⁵ Rasht,¹⁹⁶ Sārī,¹⁹⁷ Shīrāz,¹⁹⁸ Simnān,¹⁹⁹ Tabrīz,²⁰⁰ Tīmajān,²⁰¹ Urmīyya,²⁰² Waṣṭān / Gevaş,²⁰³ and Yazd,²⁰⁴ while further specimens do not bear a legible mint name.²⁰⁵ This variation to the obverse of coins is further attested for *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's son Bāysunghur²⁰⁶ from the mints of Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,²⁰⁷ Bitlis,²⁰⁸ al-Ḥiṣn / Hasankeyf,²⁰⁹ Lāhijān,²¹⁰ Mardin,²¹¹

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- 183 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 125. This coin is dated to 891.
 184 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 147. This coin is dated to 89x.
 185 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 68. The date on this coin should be read as 892 instead of the 872 suggested by Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī.
 186 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 176.
 187 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 187.
 188 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 160.
 189 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 134 and 140. These coins are dated to 892 and 895 respectively.
 190 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 148.
 191 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 128 and 180. This coin is dated to 89x.
 192 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 129, and zeno.ru #137403. The coin published by 'Alā' al-Dīnī is dated to 891.
 193 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 183.
 194 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 185, and zeno.ru #251884.
 195 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 127. This coin is dated to 891.
 196 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 70; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 165, as well as zeno.ru #195517.
 197 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 169, and zeno.ru #30775.
 198 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 136. This coin is dated to 892.
 199 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 141, and zeno.ru #38277. These coins are dated to 895 and 891 respectively.
 200 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 70 and 87; Rācābli 2019, 41–43; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 154–155, as well as zeno.ru #22200, #33771, #47296, #78221, and #174370.
 201 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 159.
 202 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 69.
 203 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 131. This coin is dated to 891.
 204 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 133. This coin is dated to 891.
 205 Album 2001, #1770; cf. Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 72, 73, 74, 77, 90, 91, 96, 105, and 108; Rācābli 2019, 46, as well as zeno.ru #34855, #72428, and #122587 [a mule bearing two different dates].
 206 See Album 2011, Album-type 2526.
 207 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 80 and 81; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 198, and zeno.ru #93761.
 208 Zeno.ru #96327 and #170040.
 209 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 199, and FINT GH 10 A1. I owe great thanks to Dr. Sebastian Hanstein, FINT, for sending me a photograph of the latter coin in 2018 CE.
 210 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 196.
 211 Turābi Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 83.

Sulṭāniyya,²¹² and Tabrīz,²¹³ as well as in coins bearing no discernible mint name.²¹⁴ Subsequently, this variation appears on coins minted in the name of *sulṭān* Rustam in the mints of Āmul or Āmid / Diyarbakır,²¹⁵ Bitlis,²¹⁶ Erzincan,²¹⁷ al-Ḥiṣn / Hasankeyf,²¹⁸ Kāshān,²¹⁹ and on coins bearing no discernible mint name.²²⁰ An extraordinary coin featuring Qurʾān 99, 7 inside a frame with the names of the 12 *imāms* was minted in the name of Nūrʿalī.²²¹ Finally, this variation to the obverse also appears on coins of Murād²²² and Aḥmad,²²³ which bear no discernible mint name, as well as on undated countermarks that are tentatively attributed to Aqquyunlu rulers after *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb by Album and Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī.²²⁴ In total, the dispersion of this recurring variation to the established structure of the obverse suggests an interpretation as an innovation introduced across the Aqquyunlu realms by *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb, which was subsequently continued as a subordinate theme by some of his successors. Within this succession, the shift from Bāysunghur to *sulṭān* Rustam should be seen as particularly significant, as the deployment of this Qurʾānic verse on the obverse of coins by both rulers demonstrates that the precedent set by *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb could be successfully continued by Aqquyunlu rulers such as *sulṭān* Rustam who were not directly linked to *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb by descentance.²²⁵

212 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 202.

213 Zeno.ru #218749.

214 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 17, 80, 83, 84, 92, 99, and 102. On the coin published by Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977, 17, only the *rasm* of the letter *Ḥā'* or *Khā'* is clearly discernible on the photograph. His attribution to the Timurid ruler [Shāhru]kh should be emended to [Abū l-Fat]ḥ [Bāysunghur]. See also Rəcəbli 2019, 44, and zeno.ru #55751.

215 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 110.

216 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 231.

217 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 111; 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 226, and zeno.ru #59236.

218 Zeno.ru #96445.

219 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 118–119.

220 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 127, as well as zeno.ru #72430, #72431, #72434, #72435, #167700, #210078, #214891, and #242833.

221 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 205.

222 Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 140. I do not follow the suggestion of Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī to read the words below the name of Murād as the toponym of Balkh. Further examples without a discernible mint name are published by Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 141 and 142, and Rəcəbli 2019, 58. The specimen published by 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 294, bears the mint name *shaykh murshid* / Kāzirūn.

223 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 271.

224 Album 2011, 273, Album-number 2564.8, see Turābī Ṭabāṭabāʾī 2535 / 1977a, 163, as well as zeno.ru #99063.

225 Cf. the singulary alternative versions of numismatic legends featured on the obverse of coins minted in the name of *sulṭān* Rustam published by 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 207 and 219.

By contrast, this variation to the structure of the obverse was not taken up by rulers linked to other dynasties and has left no discernible trace in contemporary historiographical sources. As far as I can see, this Qur'ānic verse was not included in any of the other genres deployed within the representational culture of the Aqqyunlu court during this timeframe. The apparent lack of precedent for a deployment of this verse that could be linked to any 'political' message in the widest sense is well represented in the monumental epistolary encyclopedia of the Mamlūk secretary al-Qalqashandī. In the entire 14 volumes of the text in a modern edition, the verse is only quoted once, where it is very prosaically framed as an illustration of how a well-schooled secretary might describe motes of dust that dance in the light.²²⁶ The 15th-century CE Qur'ānic commentary known after its two authors as the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* also does not indicate any political significance that could be attached to the verse, limiting its comments to a glosse of *dharra*, mote, as *the weight of a small ant*, and explaining *yarahū*, will see it, as *will see its reward*.²²⁷

Due to the absence of external evidence that could contribute to a reconstruction of the significance of this second recurring variation to the obverse of Aqqyunlu coins, the interpretation of this feature must depart from the literal meaning of the verse. While this feature was, as has been sketched above, continued by several subsequent Aqqyunlu rulers, its first attested occurrence on a coin of *sultān* Ya'qūb in 890 / 1485 CE suggests an interpretation within the context of his performative courtly representation. Due to a *lacuna* in the court historiography of *sultān* Ya'qūb composed by Faḍlallāh and the silence of external sources, the year 890 / 1485 CE cannot be shown to resonate with any particularly significant performative act of *sultān* Ya'qūb that could explain this momentous change to the obverse of some of the coins minted in his name. Nonetheless, notions of 'reform' and 'repentance' form recurring themes linked to the rule of *sultān* Ya'qūb in contemporary historiography.²²⁸ As suggested by Lingwood, this performative repentance may even have been the governing motive behind the dedication of the epic poem entitled *Salāmān wa-Absāl* to *sultān* Ya'qūb by the famous poet, mystic, and (Timurid) courtier Jāmī.²²⁹ Accordingly, I suggest that the variation to the standard structure of the obverse of coins minted in the name of *sultān* Ya'qūb should tentatively be

226 Al-Qalqashandī *Ṣubḥ*, 2, 195.

227 Al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 818.

228 See the performative ban on the sale and consumption of wine by *sultān* Ya'qūb in 893 / 1488 CE and the famous account of the attempts of his chief magistrate *qāḍī* 'Isā at a general reform of taxation in Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 317–328 and 350–376, ed. 'Ashīq, 308–316 and 335–358, as well as the discussions by Minorsky 1955a and Woods 1999, 140–141.

229 See the detailed study by Lingwood 2014.

interpreted as evidence of another instance of performative reform or repentance by (or in the name of) *sultān* Ya'qūb, deployed in 890 / 1485 CE or before. This innovation was then continued as a subordinate theme in Aqquyunlu numismatic legends by *sultān* Ya'qūb's son Bāysunghur and his successors Nūr'alī, *sultān* Rustam, Murād, and Aḥmad. The interpretation of the use of the Qur'ānic verse 99, 7 as a performative and highly public declaration of reform also accords well with its deployment on countermarks, which symbolically and economically signalled the official sanction of the ruler, allowing the circulation of external coins within his realms.

Nonetheless, this interpretation of the chronological and regional dispersion of the numismatic deployment of Qur'ān 99, 7 as a representation of performative reform upheld by the ruler himself cannot explain the choice of this particular verse. As stated above, no external evidence appears to exist that could explain this choice. Considering the importance of *abjadī* interpretations of the Qur'ānic (or other) text according to the numerical value of its letters during the 15th-century CE,²³⁰ it is tempting to attribute the choice of this verse to the numerical value of its letters. Nonetheless, no immediate link between the numerical value of the letters of this verse, individual words within it, or even the first and last letters of the words and the years 890 / 1485 CE or earlier appears to exist.

Thus, the choice of this particular verse appears to be due to its literal significance alone, namely a transcendent promise of just reward for even the smallest of good deeds. Accordingly, I suggest locating the significance of this variation to the established structure of the legends on the obverse of Aqquyunlu coins within two separate but consonant fields. The first field lies in the performative significance of appropriating this particular Qur'ānic verse in the contested and frequently polemical milieu of Islamic scholars during the 15th-century CE. By this variation to the numismatic legends, *sultān* Ya'qūb and successive Aqquyunlu rulers framed themselves as the guarantors of transcendent justice within the realms subscribing to their rule by the daily circulation and acceptance of coins bearing their names. Thus, the comparable un-claimedness of this verse within the established discourses of Islamic factionalism may have enabled its deployment as a sign of super-factional and impartial Islam and justice by the Aqquyunlu rulers. This endorsement of divine justice as manifest in Islam may additionally have resonated particularly well with the medium of coinage due to the customary valuation of coins

230 See Ritter 1954, as well as the studies by Bashir 2003, Bashir 2005, Melvin-Koushki 2014, Melvin-Koushki 2016, Mir-Kasimov 2014b, and Mir-Kasimov 2015.

according to their weight,²³¹ which practically necessitated the use of precise scales wherever coins were exchanged. Accordingly, the word *mithqāl*, weight, should be seen as the emblematic nexus of this resonance, as it also denotes one of the most currently used units of weight in the pre-modern Islamicate world.²³²

As, however, the word *mithqāl* appears some eight times in the Qurʾān, this resonance of *mithqāl* with the procedures and ethics regulating the circulation of minted coins within the ‘Turkmen’ realms cannot sufficiently explain the choice of this particular verse. Thus, I tentatively suggest an additional resonance beyond the discursive traditions of Islam of the concept of transcendently guaranteed rewards for just deeds, which is emblematically suggested in this verse. Thereby, I suggest an interpretation of the adoption of this Qurʾānic verse on the obverse of Aqquyunlu coins in the context of the super-Islamic concept of the ruler as the earthly guarantor of justice. As is argued below, this concept constitutes an abiding theme in ‘Turkmen’ courtly culture. Thus, the justice promised by the ruler by means of his deployment of this particular verse emerges as the key element establishing transreligious consonances in the iconography of Qara- and Aqquyunlu performative representation. Beyond the networks subscribing to a particular veneration of Qurʾānic text as the divine word of Islam, this concept may have resonated also with coherent transcendences formulated along the (permeable) interpersonal networks of Christians, astrologers, or theoreticians of historical cycles of reform and renewal.

Before embarking upon a systematic survey of these permeable and overlapping concepts, I briefly review major trends in recent scholarship on ‘religious’ affiliation in the Islamicate Near and Middle East during the saddle period of the 14th- to 16th-centuries CE.

4.2.2 *Conceptualizing Religious Affiliation during the 14th- to 16th-Centuries CE*

Recent years have seen a resurgence of nuanced and revisionist scholarship that explores permeabilities and transreligious trends in the Islamicate Near and Middle East during the 14th- to 16th-centuries CE. In the following brief overview, I suggest that this scholarly activity can be interpreted as revolving around three distinct (if overlapping) conceptual frameworks.

231 See the detailed evaluation of the metrology of Qaraqayunlu coins offered by Album 1976, but cf. the indication of several different numismatic denominations in the report of van Ghistele discussed above.

232 See Hinz 1970, 1–8.

4.2.2.1 Operative Concepts in Recent Scholarship

The first of the innovative concepts that have been introduced to the study of the Islamicate Near and Middle East during the 14th- to 16th-centuries CE engages with the operating normativities governing the interaction of administrative apparatus with the multiple milieus of Islamic and Islamicate communities. Pushing back on the increasingly influential strategies of contemporary states and regimes aimed at the propagation of 'national' history as rooted in an ahistorical configuration that entwines 'nation' with a particular 'brand' of religion, the first concept concerns the abiding pervasiveness of difference. Against the contemporary view propagated through state-run systems of education and religious administration that sees difference as inherently problematic, this strand of scholarship asserts the importance of quotidian difference in pre-20th-century CE Islamicate societies.²³³ This strand of scholarship is represented for instance in the re-interpretation of the Ottoman empire as an *Empire of Difference* by Karen Barkey.²³⁴ Accordingly, the suggestion of an ahistoric homogeneity of pre-modern societies and their administrative apparatus as 'nation-states *avant la lettre*' is replaced with the concept of 'pragmatic accommodation' as the standard mode explaining the interaction of individuals with administrative apparatus.²³⁵ Building on approaches suggested by the comparative study of religion,²³⁶ this strand of scholarship historicizes communitarian and doctrinal boundaries as the result of strategies pursued by historical actors for administrative, economic, or political reasons.²³⁷

While the first conceptual revision that challenges researchers to integrate the pervasiveness of difference in their reconstruction of Islamicate cultural history appears to constitute the new paradigm, its impact on the quotidian management of religious affiliation in non-courtly settings continues to be debated. Within this debate, the concept of confessionalization, originally pertaining to the study of Catholic-Protestant relations in early modern Germany,²³⁸ has been suggested by Derin Terzioğlu as a key component to historicizing administrative interference in reconfiguring religious affiliations in the Ottoman empire during the 16th-century CE. Combining the suggestion of Cornell H. Fleischer that 'the consistency of imperial style' in the Ottoman empire after 1550 CE grew from the relinquishment of apocalyptic and global

²³³ Tezcan 2013, 159.

²³⁴ Barkey 2008.

²³⁵ See Weineck 2020.

²³⁶ E.g. Berner 2015 and Payne 2017.

²³⁷ Barkey 2008, 119–132.

²³⁸ See the history of confessionalization as a concept deployed to non-Islamicate societies given by Brady 2004.

pretensions²³⁹ and Tijana Krstić's analysis of Ottoman autobiographical conversion accounts,²⁴⁰ Terzioğlu suggested that the concept of confessionalization may be ideally suited to describe the entanglement of state and society in the formulation of boundaries during the 16th- and 17th-centuries CE both in Western Europe and in the Ottoman empire.²⁴¹ Although the applicability of the concept of confessionalization to the Ottoman empire of the 16th- and 17th-centuries CE and / or Islamicate cultural history in general continues to be very much debated, it does certainly challenge research to historicize and question the value of established and diachronically stable categorizations of Islam.

The third crucial concept that underscores the extent and importance of the intertwinedness of 'different' inner-Islamic currents in the pre-16th-century CE Persianate world has forcefully been argued for already in a magisterial article of the late Annemarie Schimmel.²⁴² While contributing to a rich and innovative close reading of the early Şafawid policies and their impact on the *shīʿī* reconfiguration of the religious landscape of Iran,²⁴³ however, the importance of inner-Islamic permeabilities was subsequently somewhat marginalized. This was at least in part influenced by the distinctly modern macro-trend encapsulated in the etatist-*shīʿī* 'Islamic' Revolution in Iran and the rise of Saudi-backed *wahhābī* mainstreaming of *sunni* Islam after the 1970s CE. This has recently changed with renewed interest in Islamic mysticism, as well as *ḥurūfī* currents in pre-16th-century CE Islam, giving rise to a wealth of well-researched studies that demonstrate the normality of inter-current permeabilities within Muslim affiliations and practices.²⁴⁴

4.2.2.2 An Iconographical Approach

In the following overview of the iconography of religious affiliation within the performative representational culture of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts between Jahānshāh's resumption of independent coinage in 853 / 1449 CE and the occupation of Tabrīz by Ismāʿīl Şafawī in 907 / 1501 CE, I suggest an iconographical approach to establish the dispersion of elements that pertain to various 'religiously charged' repertoires. Building on an interpretation of

239 Fleischer 1992, 171.

240 See Krstić 2009 and Krstić 2011.

241 Terzioğlu 2013, 305, see Terzioğlu 2013 and Krstić 2019 for further elaborations of this approach.

242 Schimmel 1974.

243 See Savory 1974, Jacobs 1999, 1–11, as well as the overview given by Abisaab 2004.

244 See e.g. Ter Haar 2002, Bashir 2003, Bashir 2005, Mir-Kasimov 2014a, Mir-Kasimov 2014b, and Binbaş 2019.

courtly culture as based on continuous and contested negotiations of claims and counterclaims, I argue that the joint deployment of iconographically charged elements pertaining to distinct repertoires should be understood as a claim of compatibility. Following a suggestion of John E. Woods,²⁴⁵ I describe this simultaneous deployment of multiple traditions as governed by claims of 'consonance'. Accordingly, the combination and intertwinement of multiple traditions at the 'Turkmen' courts should be seen as a strategic and selective appropriation and deployment of individual elements, claiming a) their mutual compatibility and b) the strategic synchronization or 'bringing into consonance' of the traditions in which they are grounded.

As exemplified by the deployment of Qur'ān 99, 7 in the legends on the obverse of coins minted in the names of Aqquyunlu rulers and its assertion of a divinely guaranteed justice in rewards and punishments, the identification of consonance as the dominating ideal governing the deployment of religiously charged iconographical elements suggests that Muslims and non-Muslims could simultaneously be addressed by means of a recourse to supra-religious concepts such as justice. At the same time, the inscription of a Qur'ānic verse on the obverse of coins must have resonated particularly well with networks and individuals subscribing to a 'Muslim' affiliation, who additionally would have been included in the performative appropriation of the 'supra-religious' concept of justice. Accordingly, iconographically charged elements may frequently resonate simultaneously with different currents and systems on multiple levels. This insight enables a more precise description of the 'religious' dimension in Qara- and Aqquyunlu representational courtly culture as one contiguous field structured by multiple intersecting traditions and their respective frequencies of resonance. The successful deployment of religiously charged iconographical elements accordingly depends on the internal resonance of both the elements and their respective traditions as far as encapsulated in these elements. By contrast, an infelicitous deployment could leave the legitimacy of the court vulnerable to counterclaims asserting the mutual incompatibility of the different elements. These (potential) counterclaims were typically formulated in terms of 'inauspiciousness', a lack of virtue and manners, or apostasy from Islam as the dominant religious tradition.

The following survey of 'religiously' charged iconography within the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts begins with the most widely resonating concept of 'justice' or 'order'. As suggested above, this concept appears to have motivated the prominent appropriation of iconographically charged elements such as the calligraphic inscription of Qur'ān 99, 7,

245 Woods 1999, 6.

drawing on the consonance of multiple religious traditions in this individual element to project an inclusive vision of rulership. Building on this most inclusive consonance, I then proceed with a survey of iconography pertaining to cyclical periodizations of time as a specific structure of transcendentally linked arguments that resonates with multiple religious traditions and world-views. Once again, this consonance arguably also resonates in Qur'ān 99, 7. This is followed by a discussion of non-Muslim elements that were included in the iconography of the 'Turkmen' courts. Finally, iconographic elements pertaining to various traditions within Islam are reviewed, starting with the deployment of comparatively uncontroversial iconographically charged elements and continuing with elements that arguably resonate particularly well with distinct currents within Islam. During the entire survey, I draw on the performative-iconographical framing of my analysis to interpret the inclusion of individual elements not as a profession of personal 'faith', but rather as the appropriation of tradition by means of courtly performance.

4.2.3 *Justice and Order as Transcendental Concepts*

As suggested by Baki Tezcan, the diversity of ethnic and religious groups was managed in the Ottoman realms of the 16th-century CE along a conceptual opposition of 'subjects' (*ra'āyā*) to the state (*dawlat*).²⁴⁶ Although this homogenization of Christian, Muslim, and other religious groups as 'taxpaying subjects' grew more tenable in subsequent Ottoman history,²⁴⁷ this conceptual opposition of (homogenized) subjects to the state explains the importance of widely-resonating concepts such as justice within the representation and performance of this relationship at the court. While the inclusion of discourses of justice in an overview of 'religiously' charged iconography deployed at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts may seem tenuous, I argue that it is necessary due to the importance of concepts of justice in undoubtedly transcendental traditions, such as Muslim or Christian beliefs or concepts of cyclical periodizations of history. Thus, both the attention to the needs of his subjects shown by the Timurid ruler Abū l-Qāsim Bābur and his tolerance of *shī'ī* slogans on coinage minted in his name²⁴⁸ and the ideal of deploying language and register according to the requirements of the situation (*munāsib al-hāl*)²⁴⁹ draw on 'justice'

²⁴⁶ Tezcan 2013, 166.

²⁴⁷ Tezcan 2013, 167.

²⁴⁸ Samarqandī *Maṭla'*, 2, 278, translated above.

²⁴⁹ See the discussion of the field of language in the representation of 'ethnic' affiliation at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts above.

as a meta-concept to motivate the choice of religious or linguistic elements within the iconography of courtly representation.

Due to the pervasiveness of rhetorics and performative acts related to justice in Qara- and Aqqyunlu court culture, it is best to start with an example, such as the clearly circumscribed political program with which the Şafawid chronicler Rūmlū in hindsight characterizes the policy of the Aqqyunlu ruler Aḥmad *bīk*:

[The year 903 / 1497 and 1498 CE, Obituaries.] Aḥmad *bīk* b. *ughurlu* Muḥammad b. *uzun* Ḥasan was very protective of his subjects (*raʿyyat-parwar*). During his rulership, the gates of exacting tribute were closed and he forbade the drinking of wine to such a degree that he even forbade it to the generals (*umarāʾ*). He also went to great lengths to honor scholars (*taʿẓīm-i ʿulamāʾ*), so scientific debate (*mubāḥatha-yi ʿilmī*) took place at his court (*majlis*), in which he himself participated. Instead of an order (*ḥukm*, a variant noted in a footnote of the edition has *parwāncha*), he sent a letter (*kitābat*) to [the famous scholars] *mawlānā* Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī and *mīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad, placing his seal (*muhr*) on the reverse of the letter.²⁵⁰ In this way, he made the law of justice (*qānūn-i ʿadālat*) supreme and deflected the hand of the Turks [the commanders of the army] from the weak and the subjects (*az sar-i ʿajaza wa-raʿyā kūtāh sāzād*). Although the Turks ostentatiously (*bar ḥashb-i ẓāhīr*) appeared to obey his command, they therefore defied him secretly (*ḍimnan*). After this had become clear to him, he killed one of them every few days. Nonetheless, his character (*mizāj*) was dominated by parsimony, so he obstructed the execution of the grants (*suyūrghālāt*), which had been given by earlier rulers. This habit did not do him well, as he was killed in the winter of the given year.²⁵¹

250 The placement of the seal on the reverse of documents is possibly attested for *uzun* Ḥasan (*arkasının sağ tarafında*, reading *arka* as *reverse* and not as *end* due to the opposition to the preceding *son*, Uzunçarşılı 1970, 276, and the suggestion of Fekete 1977, 187, that some four seals may have been stamped on the reverse of a document). But see the remark of Keçik 1976, 44, that the seal of the ruler always stands at the end of the document on the left side. Could it be that by placing his seal on the reverse of a letter, Aḥmad *bīk* disclaimed his prerogatives as a ruler and assumed the rank of an official instead? See Keçik 1976, 49–51, for a discussion of the seals of officials that were placed on the reverse of *ḥukm*-documents written in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan.

The slightly earlier Mamlūk manual for the chancellery of al-Qalqashandī *Ṣubḥ*, 6, 342–344, does not include the reverse of documents as one of the three meaningful placements of seals that are discussed.

251 Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 925, cf. the description of his reign in Bidlisī *Sharafnāma*, 2, 130–131, as well as the discussion in Minorsky 1955a, 460.

As this example shows, the dichotomy of state (*dawlat*) and subjects (*ra'īyyat*, plural *ra'āyā*) is decisively focussed on the performative acts of the ruler. He, in this case Aḥmad *bīk*, is the one credited with the deliberate protection of the subjects and the taming of potential oppressors within his realms. As in the case of the description of the Timurid ruler Abū l-Qāsim Bābur by Samarqandī that was translated in the introductory discussion of coinage, this policy is internalized within the personality and character of the ruler. The justice expected of the ruler is represented by a pervasive iconographic deployment of titles and sobriquets. These turn either on the semantic stem of justice (*'adāla*) or compare the ruler to paradigmatic epitomes of just rulership such as the Qur'ānic prophet-king Sulaymān, or the pre-Islamic Sasanian ruler Khusraw / Chosroes I Anūshirwān. This concept of suprafactional justice localized at the court resonates strongly with notions of propriety and good manners (*ādāb*), which are similarly presented as pivotal in the establishment of hierarchies within the courtly sphere.²⁵²

Ideally, this just guardianship of the subjects performed by the ruler would result in the flourishing of the realms, typically expressed in a terminology of agricultural production (*ma'mūr*, *zīrā'a*). The universal scope of this protection localized within the just ruler is illustrated in the description of the subjects as *'alamīna* or *'alamiyyān*, human and non-human inhabitants of the created world alike, which is also occasionally attested in 'Turkmen' public epigraphy.²⁵³ The recurring opposite to this notion of justice is the equally

252 See the account in Shūstari *Majālis*, 2, 221–222, of how a sharp-witted and high-ranking discussant eventually lost a courtly disputation held before the Aqqyunlu ruler *sultān* Ya'qūb against Ḥusayn Maybudī, introduced as the most low-ranking student of Dawwānī, arguably due to his use of improper language and his violation of *ādāb*. Due to his well-mannered victory over the improperly speaking opponent of his master, Maybudī was subsequently appointed as judge (*qādī*) of Yazd. Cf. the discussion of this episode in Dunietz 2015, 135–138.

253 For this significance of the form of *'alamūna* as a contemporary interpretation of the designation of God as the *rabb al-'alamīna*, Lord of the worlds of created beings, see (Qur'ān 1, 2) in al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 2, where this phrase is glossed as 'possessor of the entire creation of humans, ghosts, angels, animals etc.' (*mālik jamī'i l-khalqī min al-insi wa-l-jinni wa-l-malā'ikati wa-l-dawābbi wa-ghayrihim*), each of which classes of created beings pertains to a specific world. Within the iconographical repertoires deployed by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, this title is epigraphically attested in the foundation inscription of Jahānshāh on the *pīshṭāq* of the great mosque of Yazd (inscription 861 Yazd, edited by Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2, 126–127), the edict of the same ruler set into the great mosque of Gurgān / Astarābād (inscription 862 Gurgān / Astarābād, edited by Dhabīhī 1351 / 1972, 313–314; Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'i 1352 / 1973a, 30–33, and Ma'ṭūfi 1387 / 2008, 266), *uzun* Ḥasan's foundation inscription on the former *shāfi'i* prayer hall within the precinct of the great mosque of Diyarbakır (inscription 874 Diyarbakır, edited by Konyar 1936, 2, 145) and the plaque of the same ruler currently set in the entrance hallway of the great mosque of Yazd (inscription 875 Yazd, edited by Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2,

pervasive semantic field of oppression (*zulm*), which could be exerted on the subjects both by ‘evil’ rulers and unchecked agents of the state. This causal connection between oppression and the ruin of the realms is paradigmatically described in one of the anecdotes contained in the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*:

It has been reported that the ministers and administrators of *sultān* Ya‘qūb oppressively (*zulmlu*) exacted huge taxes from the subjects. Due to this, most of the subjects fled to the realms of other rulers (*ghayrī pādshāhlar wilāyatına firār edip*), so the realms fell to ruin (*mamlakat kharāba mutawwajih olmush*). [..., Ibrāhīm Gulshanī approaches *sultān* Ya‘qūb to address this injustice.] After his arrival, Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (*shaykh*) opened the conversation, saying: ‘Does the *sultān* know that the subjects of these realms are fleeing to other regions, leaving these lands to ruin? Or is he ignorant of this?’ *Sultān* Ya‘qūb (*sultān*) replied: ‘I’m aware of it, but what should I do?’ Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (*shaykh*) replied: ‘It’s quite easy (*āsāndır*). The *sultān* should waive one third of his own taxes for a year or two and order his ministers and other functionaries to do the same. When the subjects come together, they will maybe hear of this justice and return together with the people of other regions. Thus, [your realms] will flourish (*ra‘āyā jam‘ olurlar, balki ‘adālat istimā‘ edejek ghayrī wilāyat khalqı bile gelip ma‘mūr olur*).’ *Sultān* Ya‘qūb accepted this advice and waived one third of his own taxes, as well as one third of the taxes on the subjects which were received by his ministers and notables. Those [subjects] who had gone to other lands all returned and even some foreigners came into the lands. After three years, the land flourished to such a degree that the amount of taxes that had been paid before [the reduction of the rate] had doubled. *Sultān* Ya‘qūb exclaimed: ‘This *shaykh*

139–140), cf. the Persian form in the inscription of ‘Alī b. Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan at Takht-i Jamshīd (inscription 881 Takht-i Jamshīd a, see Leube 2018). Although it appears twice in the Persian poem of inscription 857 Işfahān d (edited by Hunarfar 1950 / 1971, 350, and Rafī‘i Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 770, cf. the translation and discussion above), the context is less direct there and arguably represents a preliminary exploration of this theme by the courtly elites of the newly established ‘Turkmen’ courts. See also the *ex libris* in the name of *pīr* Būdāq written in Mashhad in 864 / 1460 CE that introduces the ruler as *shāh wa-shāhzāda-yi ‘ālamīyyān*, edited by Roxburgh 2014, 220. For its original deployment in an Ottoman foundation inscription in Stara Zagora that represents a multi-levelled agency of patronage during a period of dynastic struggle within the Ottoman dynasty see Leube 2015d and the literature cited there.

is a blessing on our land! May God, exalted be He!, never lead him out of our dominion!’²⁵⁴

Within the political culture of pre-modern Islamicate societies and their strong emphasis on access and a hierarchy of inner and outer circles,²⁵⁵ the most powerful performance of this personal guardianship of the ruler as the guarantor of justice was in the recurring performance of general audiences (*maẓālim*, literally *grievances*, from the linguistic stem of *ẓulm*) open to anybody wishing to voice a grievance with the actions of (agents of) the state. At these audiences, the ruler himself oversaw the adjudication of cases by his agents, while performatively establishing his personal accessibility by means of his habitus and positionality. Crucially, this general (if hypothetical) access to the ruler reinforced the dichotomy of the state, overseen by the ruler, and the homogenized subjects who were (once again: performatively) admitted to individually voice grievances, instead of having to depend on intermediaries and multipliers to appeal against unfair treatment. The most prominent and emblematic description of such a courtly session of *maẓālim* within the ‘Turkmen’ courts is described for *uzun* Ḥasan in a famous passage contained in the early Şafawid chronicle of Munshī Qazwīnī:

Uzun Ḥasan was of praiseworthy manners and blessed character, a friend of his subjects (*ra’iyyat-dūst*) and a guardian of the poor / mystics (*faqīr-nawāz*), while overcoming any enemy (*dushman-gudāz*). Any general and particular affairs of the state were conducted face to face and nobody had any grievance against a minister (*wazīr*) or administrative agent (*ahl-i dīwān*). During his morning prayer, the drum of justice (*naqāra-yi ‘adl*)²⁵⁶ was beaten as a sign to question the administration (*‘alāmat-i dīwān pursīdan*). [*Uzun* Ḥasan] himself used to come, clad in the attire of a poor / mystic (*darwīsh*), wrapping a waistband of camel-wool around his middle and wearing a jacket of lamb-leather without any trimming that exhibited the skin of the lamb on its side, as they used to make these garments. Thus, he used to sit on the golden throne, with the princes and generals to his right and left. They asked any poor or mystic (*faqīr wa-darwīsh*) that came along to step forward, while

254 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 113–114.

255 See Paul 1996.

256 See Uzunçarşılı 1970 for a diachronic overview of the performative use of drums and music in pre-Ottoman Islamic performative courtly representation. The *naqāra* in the Qara- and Aqquyunlu court and military is discussed on pages 274 and 289.

a secretary mediated (*parwānjī* [...] *i'tibār dāsht*) for those who were incapable and destitute, speaking for the poor / mystics (*sukhan-i faqīrān-rā mīguft*). Important cases were settled on the spot by one word [of *uzun Ḥasan*]. Eloquent secretaries stood at attention to record the verdicts and hand them to the plaintiffs. Thus, the poor / mystic was acquitted (*khalāṣ mīshud*), while the verdict was confirmed and validated so that it could not in any way be changed or replaced.²⁵⁷

Another similar scene is described in the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*, where this type of a general justice-dispensing session is presided over by *sulṭān* Ya'qūb.²⁵⁸ As attempts at performatively implementing 'lawful' rule by means of more general reform constitute a recurring motive that extends well beyond the limits of Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture, they are discussed in the following discussion of cyclical periodizations of time. Nonetheless, the iconography of guarding the subjects (*ra'āyā*) from unlawful impositions (*ikhrājāt*) in particular pervades the historiography written at the Aqqyunlu court. Significantly, Faḍlallāh even suggests that one of the eight main uses of history enumerated in the introduction to his court historiography is precisely that history as a scholarly discipline enables agents of the state to engage in a sustainable administration of the realms:

The sixth use [of history], for the guardian of property and capital and the experienced minister (*wazīr*): [The discipline of history enables the] contemplation of earlier times and the analysis of the ordinances that, when observed, caused the land to flourish (*ri'āyat-i ān sabab-i ma'mūrī-yi bilād gashta*). Further, one can guess why the domain was ruined and follow the measures of the guardians of capital and the collectors of imposts (*jābiyān-i kharāj*) in earlier communities (*dar umam-i sālifa*) to understand which measures they took to preserve the kingship and maintain the army and the subjects (*lashkar wa-ra'īyyat ma'mūr gashtand*). Thus, one understands which mistakes caused their position to dwindle, asking how the imposts were perfect in the time of [the second caliph] 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and what caused them to grow, or which mistake took hold in the time of [the proverbial Umayyad governor] al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf that

257 Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 74, cf. the translation and brief discussion of Woods 1999, 109, as well as the brief reference to similar practices performed in Qumm in 874, Tīhrānī *Diyyārbakriyya*, 530, corresponding to Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 736, cf. the discussion by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1350 / 1971, 58–59.

258 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 111–112.

caused the utter devastation (*futūrī-yi tamām*) of the public finances. And again, why a perfect state was found again during the time of the caliphate of [the Umayyad caliph] ‘Umar b. ‘Abdal‘azīz, and so on. By analyzing these questions, one can acquire much experience that is necessary to the running of affairs.²⁵⁹

This localization of an epitome of justice in the early Islamic administration of the realms is also found in non-Muslim texts produced within the Qara- and Aqqyunlu realms, as exemplified in an Armenian colophon dated to 1476 CE, which was translated by Sanjian:

Tax-collectors everywhere / Drag us off and beat up our nation of Aram / Silver and pure gold they demand, / And copper coins from those who have them not. / A blue symbol on the Christians he [*uzun Ḥasan*] put, / To distinguish them from the infidels. / He said the dead should be carried low, / And to measure the necks of children with a cord. / He transgressed the command of their master [Muḥammad] / Whom they allege to be a prophet (*p’ētambar*, see Persian *payghambar*); They collected tributes (*xarač*, see Arabic *kharāj*) from the priests / And also from the young deacons.²⁶⁰

The normative ethics of Arabic-Islamic scholarly elites as described by Faḍlallāh and the anonymous Armenian scribe of this colophon proscribed any interference (*bid’a*) with the system of taxation that could not firmly be traced to early Islamic institutions ascribed to figures such as Muḥammad, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, or ‘Umar b. ‘Abdal‘azīz. Nonetheless, the interpersonal networks of loyalty and patronage that underpinned the transgenerational preeminence of powerful lineages of administrators and jurists depended on grants and exemptions from taxation that contradicted these ‘Islamic’ normativities. The resulting paradox of Arabic-Islamic scholarly elites finding themselves in opposition to political measures that drew on the very same normative concepts and traditions that were transmitted in the discourses of Arabic-Islamic learning has masterfully been reconstructed by Vladimir Minorsky. According to his interpretation, attempts at abolishing the decentralized and periodically renewed grants and exemptions (*suyūrghālāt*, *barāt*)²⁶¹ can be understood

259 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 85, ed. ‘Ashīq, 81–82.

260 Sanjian 1969, 316, with some minor adaptations.

261 Extant copies of such grants and exemptions from taxation constitute a crucial source for the reconstruction of social history across dynastic change in Iran in particular, where

as a policy of centralization that was repeatedly attempted by actors at the Aqqyunlu court in particular.²⁶² While I would be cautious not to overstate the continuity of ‘centralization’ invested in courtly institutions, interferences of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers threatening to abolish or reduce the scope of grants and exemptions that constituted the economic basis of the transgenerational preeminence of lineages of Arabic-Islamic scholars and administrators certainly attest to a pervasive (or at least recurring) concern of courtly administrators to spread burdens of taxation over as large a segment of population as possible.

As demonstrated by the harsh criticism against the taxation of Christian clerics in the Armenian colophon quoted above, Muslim and non-Muslim religious elites pursued similar strategies of obtaining courtly grants and exemptions from taxation, which they could in turn use to integrate individuals into their networks of loyalty and patronage. Nonetheless, the discontent performatively voiced by Muslim scholars is particularly visible in Muslim historiography, written as it was by members of the same scholarly networks of Arabic-Islamic learning that were threatened by a restriction of grants and exemptions from taxes. The underlying paradox of Arabic-Islamic scholars arguing for the continuity of institutions that were doubtlessly alien to Muslim taxational normativity is dramatized in the sequence of parables which Faḍlallāh himself claims to have presented to *sultān* Ya‘qūb’s minister *qāḍī* ʿĪsā.²⁶³ In addition, the visibility and divine support underpinning this discontent of influential members of the scholarly elites is exemplified by the conduct of Dawwānī as presented in the following anecdote:

Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Dawwānī was the paramount scholar of his age (*‘allāma-yi ‘ālam*). During his lifetime, all the scholars of his age were his pupils and the scholars of ʿIrāq, Fārs, Ādharbāyjān, and Khurāsān all regarded him as their master. The *mawlānā* taught every book and studied any beginning and end. Due to the blessing of his blessing-filled voice, everybody who studied with him was awarded the rank of a Muslim savant. The *mawlānā* was one of the friends of God (*shakhsī-yi walī būd*) and his miracles (*karāmāt*) were obvious and profuse, as demonstrated by

the original decrees have frequently been preserved within the lineages that profited from the grants and exemptions recorded in the documents. See the magisterial work of Aubin 1956a, Aubin 1956b, Aubin 1965, and the general synthesis proposed in Aubin 1988.

262 Minorsky 1955b.

263 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 392–418, ed. ʿAshīq, 371–395, see the discussion by Minorsky 1955b, 451–458.

his dealings with *khwāja* Maqṣūd.²⁶⁴ Similarly, when *sultān* Ya‘qūb *khān* turned to oppression and evilness (*ẓulm wa-ta‘addī*) at the end of his life, the *mawlānā* was saddened by him and expressed his discontent publicly by removing the white sash from his turban (*dastār-i safīd-i khud-rā taghayyir kardā*)²⁶⁵ and stating: ‘Until the disposition of the world (*waq‘-i ‘ālam*) will be removed, I will not change my own disposition (*waq‘*)!’ During the night in which the *sultān* died, the *mawlānā* changed his disposition, returning the white sash to the turban on his head. Whenever he witnessed oppression (*ẓulmī*) from a ruler, he was saddened by it and pronounced a petition for the death [of the unjust ruler] after the five prayers until this oppressor passed away.²⁶⁶

Within this anecdote that likely alludes to the ‘centralizing’ reforms of *qāḍī* ‘Īsā,²⁶⁷ divine support for the discontent of Dawwānī is not only implied by the inclusion of the anecdote among the miracles (*karāmāt*) granted to Dawwānī by God, but also demonstrated by the immediate awareness of Dawwānī that *sultān* Ya‘qūb had died, long before any message could have reached him.²⁶⁸ Similarly, *uzun* Ḥasan is quoted in the biography of Jāmī composed for the Timurid court of Herāt by Bākharzī as attributing his victory over the Timurid

264 The biography of *khwāja* Maqṣūd Kāzīrūnī is presented in Qazwīnī *Hasht Bihisht*, 309, immediately before that of Dawwānī. According to this biography, *khwāja* Maqṣūd Kāzīrūnī was highly skilled in the art of divination / the production of talismans (*jafr*) and even caused the death of a rival scholar (*khaṭīb*) by means of writing some characters on his own hand. Due to these actions, *khwāja* Maqṣūd was sentenced to death by Dawwānī in a juridical opinion (*fatwā*).

265 Cf. the donning of a black coarse rag (*qara palās*) by the judge of Tabrīz *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn as a sign of protest after he had been found by the assembled scholars of Tabrīz to have issued an unjust decree (see below), Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 26–27. This is explicitly explained as ‘the customary way of uttering complaints in these lands’ (*ol diyārīñ shakwājūleriniñ ‘ādatī öyle imish*) to the 17th-century CE Ottoman audience of the *Manāqib*.

266 Qazwīnī *Hasht Bihisht*, 309–310. See also the suggestion of Ibn Karbalā‘ī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 87, that a mystic caused the death of Jahānshāh by pronouncing the *fātiha* for Jahānshāh’s soul while the ruler was still alive.

267 See the suggestion that Dawwānī instructed the *imāms* of the mosques and sent a letter to *qāḍī* ‘Īsā in opposition of the reforms, Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 368, ed. ‘Ashīq, 351.

268 See the remark made by Ibrāhīm Gulshanī in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 34, that the journey from Tabrīz to Shīrāz took some 17 days (*on yedi gün*). As indicated by the disbelief ascribed to *sultān* Khalīl in the same episode, this was an exceptionally fast time for a journey made during the winter season (*böyle qışda*).

For the relation between Dawwānī and *sultān* Ya‘qūb also the suggestion that Dawwānī proposed that *sultān* Ya‘qūb should be seen as the rightful leader of the Islamic community (*imām*) for all who did not adhere to the *imāmī shī‘ī* belief in the hidden twelfth *imām* Muḥammad al-Mahdī, see Shūshārī *Majālis*, 2, 223.

ruler Abū Saʿīd to the latter's neglect of just rule.²⁶⁹ Arguably, the recurrent inclusion of *termini technici* and performative interdictions that resonated with specifically Muslim normativities, such as the prohibition of wine ascribed to Aḥmad *bīk* by Rūmlū, should be interpreted as a strategic appeasement of unrest among Arabic-Islamic scholarly networks that counteracted the potential loss of influence and status resulting from their inclusion within the homogenized subjects (*raʿāyā*).

Similar negotiations of the courtly representation of a guarantee for supra-factional justice also underlie the functionalization of 'Turkmen' courts as venues for disputations between scholars championing *sunnī* and *shīʿī*, *ḥanafī* or *shāfiʿī*, as well as mystical (*ṣūfī*) strands of Islam. The considerable unrest caused by *sultān* Yaʿqūb's violent protection of Christian inhabitants of Tabrīz against Muslim individuals should also be seen as resonating with this sense of supra-factional justice. All these cases are discussed in detail during the following discussion of more specific strands of resonance within the iconographical repertoires deployed in Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly representation.

4.2.4 Cyclical Periodizations of Time and Preordination

Due to the presumed transcendental support of 'justice' and 'just' rulers, unmitigated 'oppression' is commonly described *post festum* after the downfall of the responsible ruler. The resulting cyclical periodization of time, in which an unjust ruler is replaced by a just contender, was famously developed in Dawwānī's book of ethical advice *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* dedicated to *uzun* Ḥasan. Within the composition of Dawwānī's magisterial appropriation of the vast and refined tradition of pre-modern mirrors for princes and political philosophy, this circle of justice is positioned at the end of the book and presented as a *summa ratio* of good governance. Significantly, this circle of retribution and reward is explicitly rooted in several non-Islamic discourses, demonstrating that the dynamic and cyclical periodization of time should be regarded as another supra-factional concept deployed within courtly culture to synchronize various traditions and normativities:

The second azimuth: About the summary advice (*waṣāyā*) of Aristotle.

The translator of the book *Sirr al-Asrār*,²⁷⁰ who transposed this book from Greek to Arabic on the order of [the 'Abbāsīd caliph] al-Ma'mūn,

269 Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 207–208. Cf. the exemplary and colorful description of how one decree originally issued by Jahānshāh and subsequently reaffirmed in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan by the judge of Tabrīz *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn was declared void and unjust by the assembled scholars of Tabrīz led by *qāḍī* 'Alī and the 15-year-old Ibrāhīm Gulshanī in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 26–29.

270 See Darling 2013, 74–76.

states at the beginning of his translation that Aristotle, the minister (*wazīr*) and teacher (*ustād*) of Alexander, was left behind and relieved of his duties due to his age and feebleness when Alexander conquered the land of the Persians (*bilād-i 'ajam*). [When Alexander asked him to come and help him deal with the Persian nobles, Aristotle excused himself due to his age and sent a summary statement of advice (*waṣīya*, plural *waṣāyā*) instead. This read as follows:] Dear Alexander, justice (*'adl*) is one of the divine traits. Due to justice, heaven and earth are governed, due to justice, the prophets were sent. Justice is a logical concept (*ṣūrat-i 'aql*), by justice, one may become the master of the hearts and necks of the people (*mālik-i qulūb wa-riqāb*). The people of India used to say that the justice of the ruler (*sulṭān*) is better than the abundance of time, as a just ruler is more useful than copious rain. On some stones, it was written in Syriac (*ba suryānī*) that rulership (*mulk*) and justice are two brothers, neither of whom can exist without the other.

Further, he [Aristotle] used to say: I can depict the internal coherence of the different institutions that govern the world as a noble circle (*dā'ira-yi sharīfa*) to illustrate and demonstrate the links and connections between them. This circle is the *summa* of this book and the entire lesson it conveys. Had I sent you nothing but this, it would have been sufficient. The shape of this circle is as follows:

The world is a garden that is irrigated by the state (*dawlat*) / The state is a ruler (*sulṭān*) who is a guardian (*nigahdāranda*) of his kingdom (*mulk*) / Just law (*sharī'at*) is a policy (*siyāsāt*) that is the guardian of this kingdom / The kingdom is a town that is maintained by the army (*lashkar*) / The army has to be supplied with money / Money is levied from the subjects (*ra'īyyat*) / Justice makes the subjects obey / So justice is the pivot of the good governance (*iṣlāḥ*) of the world / *repetitio continua*.²⁷¹ [This is immediately followed by the conclusion written in the voice of Dawwānī.]²⁷²

According to this firm logical sequence, history and time can be interpreted as a dynamic enactment of this circle of justice. The logical coherence of this repeating sequence also enables the prediction of future events based on an analysis of information available in the presence. In this regard, an

271 As the eight parts of this circle of justice are indeed written in a circle, the reader can begin anywhere and continue the sequence *ad libitum*. This spatial arrangement is indicated with '*repetitio continua*' in the above translation.

272 Dawwānī *Akhlāq*, 296 and 301. See also the somewhat differently attuned translation and discussion of Darling 2013, 116–118.

interpretation of history as a dynamic enactment of Dawwānī's circle of justice resonates strongly with other modes of deducing future events and circumstances by means of a systematic analysis of the present.²⁷³ The following survey of iconographically charged elements in Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly representation that pertain to different registers of preordination accordingly uses the 'cyclical' periodization of time as a pragmatic frame that enables the joint discussion of this type of supra-factional strands of resonance.

During this systematical survey, it is crucial not to frame the inclusion of elements and concepts pertaining to cyclical periodizations of time along unsuitable preconceptions, such as a presumed 'occultness' of methods aimed at making preordination visible.²⁷⁴ As exemplified by Dawwānī's circle of justice, the prediction of future events as a necessary consequence of a contemporary configuration instead resonates strongly with an almost dialectical-materialist view of history as governed by a rational set of laws in Arabic-Islamic scholarly discourses. Within the framing of 'consonance' as the predominant mode in the appropriation and negotiation of iconographical elements pertaining to 'religious' traditions that is explored in this chapter, the different methods used to predict the future are entirely rational and not at all 'hidden' or 'secret', if certainly predicated upon nuanced study and sustained exercise by any individual attempting to master them. Indeed, astrological and text- or inspiration-based methods aimed at predicting the future could even be narratively contrasted and arranged within a (contested) hierarchy, as illustrated by a paradigmatic episode contained in the *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī*:

[*Sultān* Ya'qūb is threatened by the revolt of Bāyandur *bīk*.] The astrologers of the *sultān*, each of whom drew a salary of one hundred *qaraja aqcha* from the *sultān*, said to Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (*shaykha*): 'We should certainly go, why do you even search for a more auspicious moment (*siz niye ikh-tiyār ediñiz*)? The defeat of the *sultān* is certain, we have understood it

273 See Babayan 2002, particularly 3–45.

274 Although my own views on the 'occult' sciences very much resonate with the pathbreaking and long overdue theoretical work of Melvin-Koushki (see the spirited exposition in Melvin-Koushki 2019 and Melvin-Koushki 2020, as well as his forthcoming and much awaited projected monographs, cf. my own work on Arabic-Islamic alchemy, Leube 2013), the iconographical approach suggested in this monograph suggests that the 'occultness' of these pivotal traditions should not be overstated due to the very permeabilities between the 'occult' and 'non-occult' Melvin-Koushki so convincingly discusses. This is acknowledged by Melvin-Koushki himself in his explicit characterization of the descriptor 'occult' as 'the best of a bad etic lot [of container terms that can be used to bring different sciences and discourses together]', Melvin-Koushki 2019, 282–283.

from the stars due to our experience and methods!' Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (*shaykh*) replied: 'The divine astrolabe indicates (*aṣṭurlāb-i ilāhīde bōyle mushāhada olur*) that Bāyandur *khān* will be killed, while *sultān* Ya'qūb (*sultān*) will be victorious and dominant. Indeed, the *ḥadīth* 'every astrologer is a liar' (*kull munajjim kadhdhāb*) is correct!' [During the decisive battle, Bāyandur *bīk* is killed and the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb continues.]²⁷⁵

According to this framing, the performative prediction of success can arguably be understood to resonate with the eventual occurrence of success. This may well explain the prominence of auspicious signs and arguments within Qara- and Aqquyunlu courtly culture, which by a sustained deployment prepared the ground for their eventual fulfillment.

4.2.4.1 Astrology

It is difficult to overstate the pervasiveness and importance of astrology in the courtly and non-courtly worldview of the 15th-century CE Near and Middle East. Indeed, astrologers (*munajjimūn*, *munajjimları*) are mentioned repeatedly among the functional elites establishing the 'Turkmen' courts.²⁷⁶ Nonetheless, in most cases in which extant sources mention the deployment of astrological imagery within the representational culture deployed immediately at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, this deployment is strikingly elliptic and unsystematic. By contrast, the abiding influence of the astrological conjunctions that dominated at the beginning of a human life or at the time of a foundation is ideally represented by al-Ghiyāth's (non-courtly) explanation of how astrological expertise ensured that no caliph or *sultān* would ever die in Baghdād.

It is part of the properties of Baghdād that no caliph or *sultān* has ever died in it. This is due to the auspicious moment (*al-ikhtiyār*) that was chosen by the astrologers (*al-munajjimūn*) [for the foundation of the town]. Its ascendant was chosen by an astrologer named Nawbakht, who served the caliph al-Manṣūr. While extolling the excellency of the auspicious moment he proposed [for the foundation], he suggested among others: 'Caliph of the age (*khalīfat al-zamān*), [by choosing this auspicious

²⁷⁵ Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 117.

²⁷⁶ E.g. Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 117, (the astrologers of *sultān* Ya'qūb each draw a salary of 100 *qaraja aqche*, see above), or Bidlīsī *Sharafnāma*, 123–124 (*uzun* Ḥasan sends his astrologer as his ambassador to the Ottomans).

moment] you will ensure that no caliph will die in the town!' This effect (*ta'thīr*) remained until the time of [the Qaraqyunlu ruler] Aspān.²⁷⁷

The most prominent element within the iconographical repertoires deployed to describe the Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers that draws on astrology or the cyclical motion of celestial bodies is the title *ṣāhib-qirān*, lord of the auspicious conjunction. This title was very publicly assumed by *uzun* Ḥasan after his victory over the Qaraqyunlu ruler Jahānshāh and the Timurid Abū Sa'īd. Although it had been used by earlier Islamic rulers,²⁷⁸ the most visible localization of this title during the time of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu would have been its attribution to Timur, who is routinely referred to as *ṣāhib-qirān* in Aqqyunlu court historiography and may even have derived his *tamgha* from the depiction of a conjunction of three celestial bodies.²⁷⁹ In contrast to the detailed explication of which stars supposedly formed the conjunction governing the success of Timur, the assumption of this title by *uzun* Ḥasan was not apparently grounded in any sustained or systematic reference to astrological methodology or bodies of knowledge deployed by his courtly elites.

Similar to the historiographical affirmation of earlier overlordship by Timur that motivates the currency with which Timur is designated as *ṣāhib-qirān* in Aqqyunlu court historiography, the integration of the Caspian provinces of Gīlān and Daylamistān within the Aqqyunlu domains during the rule of *uzun* Ḥasan motivates his posthumous designation by the provincial historiographer Mar'ashī as *ṣāhib-qirān*.²⁸⁰ Significantly, the first instance where *uzun* Ḥasan is given this title by Mar'ashī is during the description of how Aqqyunlu overlordship over the Caspian provinces was established, thereby integrating the Caspian leaders within the galactical-fractal courtly sphere oriented toward the Aqqyunlu court. By contrast, the somewhat briefer honorific titles

277 al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, 18, see the remarks on Nawbakht and Abū Ma'shar by Babayan 2002, 11–17. The claim that no caliph will die in Baghdād due to the auspicious moment of its foundation is also narrated in al-Bakrī *al-Masālik*, 2, 14. The importance of this astrological *mundus significans* for the material culture of the 13th-century CE Middle East is convincingly argued for by Berlekamp 2016.

278 See the overview by Chann 2009, as well as Markiewicz 2019, 166–168 and 176–183, Aigle 2003, Amitai 2006, and Broadbridge 2008, 199. See also the important conceptual remarks of Babayan 2002, particularly 3–45.

279 See Bernardini 2008, Balabanlılar 2007, Moin 2012, but cf. the title of *qutb-i falak-i bakh-tiyārī*, pole of the firmament of auspiciousness, attributed to Jahānshāh for instance in a decree issued by his son Yūsuf, Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1353 / 1974, 250.

280 Mar'ashī *Tārikh*, 342. Cf. the occasional designation of *uzun* Ḥasan as *ṣāhib-qirān* under the Ṣafawids, e.g. Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 471. For the political relations between the Aqqyunlu and the Caspian provinces, see Woods 1999, 136.

awarded to *uzun* Ḥasan's successor *sultān* Ya'qūb implicitly convey the comparatively greater autonomy and distance from the Aqqyunlu court enjoyed by the princely patrons of Mar'ashī in the Caspian provinces during his reign. Notwithstanding this semi-external acceptance of *uzun* Ḥasan's claim to being the lord of the auspicious conjunction, it does not appear to be represented in extant epigraphy or coinage produced under Aqqyunlu patronage with the single exception of inscription 878 Ardabil.²⁸¹

Although *uzun* Ḥasan is sometimes described as the greatest *ṣāhib-qirān* in texts produced for his court,²⁸² the epistemological and ideological implications of this title are once again elaborated in greatest detail in the distinctly non-courtly chronicle of al-Ghiyāth. In his account of the reign of *uzun* Ḥasan, he explicitly takes care to demonstrate that the astrological display of preordination did not necessarily contradict Muslim dogma regarding the omnipotence of God:

Uzun Ḥasan (*ḥasan bīk*): When *uzun* Ḥasan rose to independent rule in Southeast Anatolia (*diyār bakr*), he annexed Hasankeyf (*al-ḥiṣn*), Cizre (*al-jazīra*), and Urfa, as well as numerous other places that had not until then been ruled by the Aqqyunlu. He was lord of the auspicious conjunction in the sign of Pisces (*ṣāhib qirān al-ḥūt*). Its [the conjunction's] effects (*aḥkāmuhū*) predicted that the ruler of 'Irāq would perish by his hands and that the ruler of Southeastern Anatolia (*irmīniya l-ṣughhrā*) would be driven from his land. He [the lord of this conjunction] would rule many lands for a short time. When God, exalted be He!, wanted to make him [*uzun* Ḥasan] rule, see how He accomplished it: And God fulfills his aim. (Qur'ān 65, 3).

This conjunction indicated that its effect would take place in the year 876 / 1471–1472 CE, as eight signs of the zodiac (*burūj*) lay between this year and the ascendant of the year of the conjunction. Nonetheless, its effect became manifest in the year 872 / 1467–1468 CE, which is explained by several reasons. The first is that the Hyleg (*haylāj*, a certain type of astrologically significant planet) and the Promissor (*qāṭi*)²⁸³ are held by the experts of astrology (*ahl al-aḥkām*) to exert their effect four years in advance. This is why they say: 'May the humans engage in petitionary

281 See Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977b, 281–283; Šafarī 1370–1371 / 1991–1992, 2, 181–182, and Sa'ādātī, Sa'ādātī 1394 / 2015, 7.

282 Dawwānī *Akhḫāq*, 48.

283 For an interpretation of both technical terms, see the comments in the translation by Schmidt-Dumont, al-Ghiyāth *Ta'rikh*, on page 210 of the translation.

prayer and alms-giving whenever the Promissor draws near, so that God, exalted be He!, may spare them!' The second reason is that when the deeds of a person become bad, the negative effects [of the astrological constellation] come swiftly, as this person falls from the grace of God. The third reason is that when the Mudabbar (?) and the Hyleg have spent their force and only a little of them remains, little power is left to avert the evil. [Thus, God sent *uzun* Ḥasan to punish Jahānshāh for his evil deeds.]²⁸⁴

Significantly, al-Ghiyāth does not see *uzun* Ḥasan as the only contemporary ruler who is affected by the celestial configurations. Instead, he suggests an overlapping sequence of the Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd, Jahānshāh Qaraqayunlu, and *uzun* Ḥasan, who according to his argument were all lords of specific conjunctions. According to his argument, the designation of *ṣāhib-qirān* is demoted from an auspicious title denoting a singular measure of transcendently sanctioned success to a sequential *terminus technicus* that indicates the predetermination of notable human biographies by the astrological conjunction dominant at the time of birth or at individual stages of their career:

[The conclusion of the description of the reign of Jahānshāh.] Between the first and the second time that he conquered Baghdād were 20 [lunar] years, seven months, and 16 days, which is equivalent to twenty solar years.²⁸⁵ The first date coincided with the third year of the second conjunction in the sign of Cancer (*al-sana al-thālitha mina l-qirān al-thānī fī l-sirtān*) and the second date coincided with the third year of the third conjunction in the sign of Pisces (*al-sana al-thālitha mina l-qirān al-thālith fī l-ḥūt*).²⁸⁶ The effect (*taʿthūr*) of both conjunctions was the death of the ruler of ʿIrāq and an assault of the people of the mountains (*ahl al-jibāl*)²⁸⁷ on the inhabitants of ʿIrāq. This is because the dominant

284 al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 51–52.

285 This calculation is remarkably correct, see the dates of 14. Rabīʿ I 850 / 9. of June 1446 CE for the first and 1. Dhū l-Qaʿda 870 / 15th June 1466 CE for the second conquest (al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 21 and 42).

286 See the astronomical remarks by Meeus 1980 and Etz 2000.

287 The geographical term *al-jibāl* in an ʿirāqī context regularly denotes the area beginning with the mountain range of the Zagros that borders Iraq to the north and east, cf. Yāqūb Muʿjam, 3 / 4, 26, more commonly designated as part of 'the ʿirāq of the Persians' (ʿirāq al-ʿajam) in the usage of the 'Turkmen' courts. Nonetheless, al-Ghiyāth appears to use the term in its literal sense to include *uzun* Ḥasan, who arguably ruled the mountains of the Taurus in Southeastern Anatolia, but not the ʿirāq al-ʿajam during his victory over Jahānshāh.

ascendant of ʿIrāq (*ṣāhib ṭālīʿ al-ʿirāq*) is Jupiter, whose pinnacle (*sharafuhū*) is the sign of Cancer and whose house (*baytuhū*) is the sign of Pisces. Thus, the first conjunction indicated the death of Aspān, who was the ruler of ʿIrāq [and who was deposed] by Jahānshāh who belonged to the people of the mountains and who was the lord of the conjunction of Cancer (*ṣāhib qirān al-sirṭān*). In this year the conjunction of Saturn and Mars (*qirān al-naḥsayni*) also coincided (*ittafaqa*) with the sign of Cancer. The second conjunction indicated the death of *pīr* Būdāq and Jahānshāh, because both were rulers of ʿIrāq, while *uzun* Ḥasan (*ḥasan bīk*) belonged to the people of the mountains and was the lord of the conjunction in the sign of Pisces (*ṣāhib qirān al-ḥūt*).²⁸⁸

[The victory of *uzun* Ḥasan over the Timurid ruler Abū Saʿīd.] Abū Saʿīd was like Jahānshāh lord of the conjunction of the sign of Cancer (*ṣāhib qirān al-sirṭān*), so when the lord of the conjunction of the sign of Pisces (*ṣāhib qirān al-ḥūt*) arose, both perished by his hand, as the sign of Pisces devoured them both (*iltaqamahumā l-ḥūt*).²⁸⁹

While the systematization of a succession of lords of individual conjunctions that is explicitly formulated by al-Ghiyāth is usually only alluded to in the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, the cyclical sequence of the celestial bodies also resonates within the specifically Islamic concept of a *mujaddid* or renewer who should be expected every century. Nonetheless, as courtly deployments of this concept should not arguably be expected to have resonated outside Muslim traditions, this motive is discussed as part of the deployment of iconographically charged elements embedded within an integrative Muslim repertoire below.

4.2.4.2 Text-Based Methods of Predicting the Future

Parallel to the mode in which al-Ghiyāth suggested that the future could be deduced from a systematic forward projection of the motion of the celestial bodies, techniques of textual interpretation and other significant engagement with text also resonate with a cyclical periodization of time that allows a pre-cognizance of future events based on contemporary information.²⁹⁰ Although these techniques aimed at predicting the future by means of an engagement

²⁸⁸ al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 42–43.

²⁸⁹ al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 54. Cf. the systematization of a sequence of *ṣāhib-qirāns* in Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 480–481.

²⁹⁰ See the programmatic suggestion of Melvin-Koushki 2019, 283, that ‘an occult science, pursued esoterically or not, is simply a discipline in which one extrapolates from visible to invisible data’.

with authoritative texts were predominantly deployed toward the Qur'ān as a specifically Muslim scripture, other texts and scriptural traditions could also be approached through the same techniques:

[*Uzun Ḥasan* readies himself to fight against the approaching army of *Jahānshāh*. *Uzun Ḥasan's* courtly mystic *bābā* 'Abdalrahmān engages in favorable predictions.] Among his strange graces was also the following story that when he asked for an omen (*tafa'ul*) from the noble and heavenly book [the Qur'ān], the noble verse 'Go forth against Pharaoh, for he is an oppressor!' (Qur'ān 20, 24) stood at the beginning of the right-hand page. He also asked the books of the *Mathnawī* [containing Persian poetry by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī] and the Turkic book of 'Āshiq Pāshā²⁹¹ for an omen. In both cases, references to Mūsā and Pharaoh came forth.²⁹²

Indeed, the exclusive deployment of prognostical engagement to the collected works of the famous Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ in the following passage of Ṭihirānī suggests that the interpretatory techniques themselves pertained to a supra-factional realm of concepts that was not necessarily seen as limited to resonances of other texts written by Muslim authors with the Qur'ān:

How *Jahānshāh mīrzā* went out with an army to Shīrāz to chastise his son *pīr Būdāq*

[*Jahānshāh* comes from the *qishlāq* of Iṣfahān to march against his son *pīr Būdāq*, who has blocked the roads to Shīrāz with a huge wall.] At this time [when *Jahānshāh* mobilized a huge army and logistic network], I (*īn shikasta*) was among the companions of Sulaymān, who was the minister (*wazīr*) of Muḥammadī *mīrzā* [a brother of *pīr Būdāq*, whom *Jahānshāh* intended to appoint as governor of Shīrāz instead of his brother.] The collected works (*dīwān*) of Ḥāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī, may he be forgiven!, whom the cultured poor / mystics call the voice of the hidden (*lisān-i ghayb*) was brought forward and I (*īn faqīr*), standing together with the mentioned minister, proclaimed: 'Let us discover the future of *pīr Būdāq* from this book (*az īn kitāb istikshāf-i ḥāl-i pīr būdāq kunīm*)!' When we opened the book for an omen (*tafa'ul*), this verse stood at the beginning of the right-hand page:

291 According to a note to this passage by Sümer, this text was entitled *Gharīb-nāma*. See for 'Āshiq Pāshā as one of the founding figures of Turkic Islamic poetry also the notes in Ruben 2003, 62–63.

292 Ṭihirānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 416.

Take heart like the flame of Shīrāz' fire-temple / Gaze like the Tigris in Baghdād!

To be absolutely certain, we then searched for the future of Jahānshāh *mīrā* (*istikhbār-i ḥāl-i jahānshāh mīrā kardīm*) in the same book and found the following verse:

When strife (*fitna*) flares in Anatolia (*rūm*) / And I crave to take vengeance,

Have patience, for the juggler / May well make a thousand plays from this.

Some days later, I happened to be in the presence of this companion, where we wondered about the prediction (*ishārat*) of the mentioned book. Once again, those present called for an omen concerning the fate of Shīrāz (*aḥwāl-i shīrāz*). When someone opened the book with this intention, the following verse turned up:

How beautiful is Shīrāz and its unmatched disposition / God guards it from ruin!

When the meaning of this omen (*ṣūrat-i in ḥāl*) was discussed in the session of the generals (*majlis-i umarā*), I commented: 'The [divine prevention of the] *ruin of Shīrāz* indicates the postponement of its conquest [by Jahānshāh]!' Muḥammadī *mīrā* (*amīr-i abū l-fatḥ*) replied: 'Do not make a mistake: Shīrāz will be ruined if the conquest is delayed! Indeed, according to the blessing of the petitionary prayer of Ḥāfiẓ (*barakat-i du'ā-yi ḥāfiẓ*), [Shīrāz] will be conquered during these two days!' And indeed, it came as he said.²⁹³

Notwithstanding the functionalization of the collected works of Ḥāfiẓ as the 'voice of the hidden' in this passage, however, the great majority of cases within the iconographical repertoires deployed at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts describe how textual techniques of predicting the future or representing current events as divinely preordained were applied to the Qur'ān. As during the discussion of the deployment of astrological arguments for divine favor, the most visible and least elliptic instance where different textual techniques engaging with the Qur'ānic text were deployed to explain political events is during an explanation of *uzun* Ḥasan's astonishing victories over Jahānshāh and Abū Sa'īd. Significantly, these *post factum* interpretations of Qur'ānic text are not only attested in the non-courtly historiographical work of al-Ghiyāth, but also alluded to in the official Aqquyunlu court historiography of Ṭihrānī and Faḍlallāh, in Dawwānī's dedicatory preface of his *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* to *uzun*

293 Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakriyya*, 362–364.

Hasan, and even in the official courtly correspondence dispatched from the court of *uzun* Hasan.²⁹⁴

As reconstructed by Woods, many of the techniques deployed to retrospectively demonstrate that the astonishing political and military success of *uzun* Hasan was divinely preordained in the Qur'an turn on the isopsephy of the numeric value of specific Qur'anic words with ciphers, names, and titles held to refer to *uzun* Hasan. Thus, the numeric value 872, the *hijrī* year in which *uzun* Hasan defeated Jahānshāh, of the words *biḍa' sinīn* in the *sūrat al-rūm* or Anatolia / the Romans (Qur'an 30, 4) is isopsephic to the (slightly shortened) third verse of the *sūrat al-fath* or the Victory, [*wa-]yanṣuraka llāhu naṣran 'azīzan*, and God will give you a great victory (Qur'an 48, 3).²⁹⁵ Accordingly, the victory of *uzun* Hasan is presented as divinely preordained due to the resonance of the year during which it was won with the numeric value of two Qur'anic verses emblematic for military success. As pointed out by Woods, this numeric value is further linked to the numeric value of a prophecy of 'Abd al-raḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī by al-Ghiyāth.²⁹⁶ This shows the potential equivalence of Qur'anic text and the text of a vision, both of which could be interpreted by means of the same techniques of isopsephic calculation as predicting the success of *uzun* Hasan.

A second strand of parallel arguments is attached to the isopsephic value of the name of *uzun* Hasan in the form of *ḥasan bīk*, whose numeric value of 150 according to Faḍlallāh equals that of the word *minkum*, those of you, in a verse of the *sūrat al-nūr* (Qur'an 24, 55). This verse promises that God will establish *those of you* who believe and engage in righteous deeds as his deputies on earth (*la-yastakhlifannahum fī l-arḍ*).²⁹⁷ According to this isopsephy of his name in the form of *ḥasan bīk* with *those who represent God on earth*, *uzun* Hasan is arguable presented as the caliph (*khalīfa*), literally the deputy of God or Muḥammad who leads the Muslim community.²⁹⁸ This same numeric value

294 See the discussion by Woods 1999, 102–104.

295 Woods 1999, 102. Qur'an 48, 1–3, also appears twice among the epigraphy inside the *madrasa* of Qā'itbāy, completed in 877, in the Northern cemetery of Cairo, see Grabar 1974, 467. As far as I see, no isopsephic significance of Qur'an 48, 3, appears to have been suggested in this instance.

296 Woods 1999, 102–103.

297 Woods 1999, 103, and Lingwood 2014, 84–85. The additional resonance of this word with Qur'an 4, 59, and its famous reference to 'those with authority among you' (*ūlū l-amr min-kum*) suggested by Woods is not explicitly adduced by Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 31–32, ed. 'Ashīq, 32–33. The form *minkum* occurs a total of 25 times in the Qur'an.

298 See the argument of Dawwānī *Akhlāq*, 56–60. As noted by Woods 1999, 103, this argument amounted to a declaration of independence by *uzun* Hasan from his former Mamlūk overlords and the Cairene 'Abbāsīd caliphs they formally derived their authority from.

of 150 is demonstrated by Dawwānī to also correspond to the *abjadī* numeric value of the words *sultān*, ruler, and *qayyim*, guardian, respectively.²⁹⁹ As both of these words are well-attested in the Qurʾān, but also constitute current elements of the titular repertoire deployed by Islamic rulers, this isopsephic argument once again shows the consonance of specifically Muslim actualizations of Islamic scripture with the supra-factional resonance of technical terms that were current also in Islamicate cultures.

Al-Ghiyāth describes the origin of these techniques of isopsephic calculation as firmly rooted in an interpersonal network of Arabic-Islamic scholars transmitting these techniques in written texts together with other modes of predicting and influencing the future.³⁰⁰ As in the cyclical periodization of history in the cycle of justice, which Dawwānī attributes to Aristotle in the anecdote discussed above, this technique of isopsephic engagement with texts is rooted within the advice of Aristotle for Alexander (*wa-huwa ʿilmuni stakhrajahū l-ḥakīmu Aristāṭālīs li-l-Iskandar*).³⁰¹ In addition, it is also connected to two of the most famous ancient Greek mathematicians by al-Ghiyāth's assertion that Aristotle's *Book of Politics* (*kitābu l-siyāsa*) containing this technique³⁰² transmitted it from (*manqūl ʿan*) Archimedes, 'one of the experts on numbers (*khawāṣṣ al-aʿdād*) who are described by Pythagoras'.³⁰³ Within this tradition, the consonance of the terminology used to describe the transmission of a supra-factional technique of textual interpretation with the established terminology used to describe the elaborate processes of transmission of specifically Muslim *ḥadīth* is particularly noteworthy.³⁰⁴

Once again, however, these isopsephic arguments are seamlessly embedded within the elaborate rhetorics deployed in texts produced at the 'Turkmen' courts to praise the respective ruler. This permeability between literal and isopsephic significance is exemplified in the virtuoso praise bestowed upon the (already deceased) *uzun* Ḥasan in the preface to Faḍlallāh's history.³⁰⁵ Here, Faḍlallāh opens with the quotation and extensive literal interpretation of Qurʾān 24, 55, before introducing the isopsephic equivalence as a 'strange grace

See Crone, Hinds 1986, for the general ideological background of the title, as well as the specific discussion of Dawwānī's exposition in Woods 1999, 105.

299 Dawwānī *Akhlāq*, 51, see Woods 1999, 103–104.

300 al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 30, see the remarks on the social and cultural context by Schmidt-Dumont in her translation, 149–153.

301 al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 31.

302 As far as I am aware, no reference to isopsephy is contained in the standard text of the *Politica* of Aristotle.

303 al-Ghiyāth *Taʾrīkh*, 31.

304 See the authoritative exposition in the handbook of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ *Muqaddima*.

305 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 30–31, ed. ʿAshīq, 31–32.

[...] and intricate proof of divine providence' of the Qur'ān (*az gharā'ib-i laṭā'if [...] wa-'ajā'ib-i zarā'if*). Thus, the manifest political success of *uzun* Ḥasan is introduced as a proof of the divine origin of the Qur'ān rather than *vice versa*, reversing the 'normal' order of argument and proof.

As indicated by this example, the pervasive deployment of auspicious Qur'ānic verses in the representational iconography of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts arguably resonates with a sense of preemptive declaration of success and affluence that could be caused (!) by this deployment. As the effectiveness of such preemptive declarations of success once again depends on a cyclical periodization of time, albeit reversing the sequence of proof and argument analyzed so far, this aspect of the iconography that arguably resonated with both Muslim and supra-factional discourses should also be included in this brief survey of text-based methods of predicting (and thereby influencing) the future. Due to the pervasiveness of Qur'ānic quotations and allusions in Islamic (and Islamicate?) rhetoric, I do not at this time attempt a systematic dispersion. Instead, I conclude this discussion with an analysis of the inscriptions on the triangular banner of *uzun* Ḥasan that has been preserved in the Ottoman treasury, possibly due to its capture in battle or as part of the regalia in exile of *ughurlu* Muḥammad or his son Aḥmad *bīk*:³⁰⁶

A [in the field in the middle, written within the shape of the Aqquyunlu *tamgha*]: *Sultān* Ḥasan, the hero (*bahādur*).

B [in the field in the middle, written within a tear-shaped medaillon]: Victory from God, proximate conquest, and good tidings for the believers! (Qur'ān 61, 13) Oh Muḥammad, oh 'Alī!

C [written around the border of the banner, framing the field in the middle]: a) In the name of God the Merciful and Compassionate. Verily, we have given you evident conquest. May God pardon the sins you have committed before and after to fulfill His favor on you and lead you on the straight path. (Qur'ān 48, 1–2).

b) God, no god is but Him, the Lifegiver and All-Guardian. No tiredness or sleep touches Him, everything in the heavens and on earth belongs to Him, nobody in the heavens or on earth intercedes with Him without His permission. He knows what is between their hands and behind them and nobody knows anything from His knowledge without Him willing. His throne extends across the heavens and the earth and guarding them is easy for Him, for He is the Exalted and Great. (Qur'ān 2, 255).

306 I translate based on the photograph reproduced in Uzunçarşılı 1984, resim 49.

c) God heard the voice of those who said: 'God is destitute and we are rich!' We will note their words and how they lawlessly killed the prophets, and We will say [to them on the Day of Judgement]: 'Suffer torture and burn!' (Qur'ān 3, 181).

Intertextual links within the Qur'ān and between the Qur'ān and subsequent textual production embedded in Muslim discursive traditions abound. Nonetheless, the strong resonance of the last quotation of Qur'ān 48, 1–2, with the obvious purpose of a military banner should be noted. At the same time, the somewhat unspecific promise of future conquest and divine support to troops following this banner that is formulated by means of the performative inscription of this auspicious verse becomes much more specific if we consider the extent to which Qur'ānic text such as these verses were (and are) memorized in Islamic societies. If we accordingly continue the 'internal dictation'³⁰⁷ of the Qur'ānic sequence, these two verses immediately precede the verse promising that God will grant a great victory ([*wa-*] *yanṣuraka llāhu naṣran 'azīzan*) of Qur'ān 48, 3, which as demonstrated by Woods was isopsephically related to the year of *uzun* Ḥasan's military triumphs of 872 / 1467 to 1468 CE within the textual production of the Aqqyunlu court.³⁰⁸ Notwithstanding this specific resonance with the political events of the year 872 / 1467 to 1468 CE, however, Faḍlallāh incidentally attests to the continued deployment of Qur'ān 48, 1 and 3, on banners used during the military conflict between Ya'qūb and *shaykh* Ḥaydar.³⁰⁹ In this way, the performative deployment of auspicious if somewhat unspecific Qur'ānic verses within Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture could be intertextually linked to elaborate numerological and other 'proofs' demonstrating their specific resonance with the political events of the time. Nonetheless, this specific resonance did not preclude their future deployment in more general terms.

4.2.4.3 Inspiration-based Methods of Predicting the Future

The isopsephic engagement of al-Ghiyāth with a prediction by 'Abd alrahḥmān al-Biṣṭāmī that has already been discussed demonstrates that inspiration was also seen as a valid source of information revealing the divine preordination of future events. No explicit criticism of the (allusions to) astrological and text-based methods of revealing future events based on contemporary information appears to be attested within Qara- and Aqqyunlu representational

307 Dain 1975, 44–46.

308 Woods 1999, 102, see above.

309 Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. Woods, 257, ed. 'Ashiq, 252, cf. Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 435.

courtly culture. In contrast, several diatribes against inspirational performances contest the validity of this practice. A good example of this somewhat hesitant acceptance of inspiration-based methods of prediction the future is contained in the *Manāqib* of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, where Ibrāhīm Gulshanī is asked by his patron *qāḍī* Ḥasan to abstain from future predictions after accurately foreseeing that several courtly figures would be appointed to governorships and other positions.³¹⁰ This request is motivated with the Arabic proverb 'speak to the people according to their intellect' (*kallimū l-nās 'alā qadri 'uqūlihim*), which is inserted into the Ottoman text of the narrative.

More prominent are several emblematic events relating to the rise of *uzun* Ḥasan himself that were demonstrated to be divinely preordained. According to Ṭihrānī, the astonishing political and military success of *uzun* Ḥasan was accurately foretold by *uzun* Ḥasan's courtly mystic *bābā* 'Abdalraḥmān not only by means of the textual omens described in the passage translated above, but also in a performative inspired act:

Uzun Ḥasan, trusting on the support of God [against Jahānshāh's approaching army], also went forth and, turning to the hearts of the friends of God (*qulūb-i awliyā*) for help, took them with him on the march. *Bābā* 'Abdalraḥmān took some meat that was being grilled off a skewer, gave it to him [*uzun* Ḥasan?], and rode forward toward the army of Jahānshāh *mīrzā* with it [the skewer] in his hand, exclaiming: 'Hey, Pūrṇāk [one of the component groups of the Aqqyunlu army]!'³¹¹ Take him [Jahānshāh] and kill him!' Due to this favorable omen and intercession (*ishāra wa-ḥawāla*), his prediction came true and the trust of *uzun* Ḥasan for this master of the inspired (*tāj al-majādhīb*)³¹² multiplied and grew.³¹³

Ṭihrānī also describes divinely inspired dreams (*ru'yā-yi ṣāliḥa*) of *bābā* 'Abdalraḥmān that similarly predicted the victory of *uzun* Ḥasan over Jahānshāh.³¹⁴

310 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 32–33. See also the account of how Ibrāhīm Gulshanī caused the victory of the army of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb over the Mamlūk general Yashbak *min* Mahdī, Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 76–77.

311 See Woods 1999, 194–195.

312 Woods 1999, 252, suggested that *majdhūb* within the name of *bābā* 'Abdalraḥmān should be understood as 'independent' in the sense of not affiliated to any established *ṣūfī* order (*ṭarīqa*). Nonetheless, I follow the literal meaning of the term as an apt reference to the prominently remembered mystical visions performed by *bābā* 'Abdalraḥmān. For *jadhb* as a technical term for inspiration and ecstasy in Islamic mysticism, see Schimmel 1995, 157.

313 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 416. The words 'take him and kill him' (*imsikhu wa-qtulhu*) are quoted in Arabic in Ṭihrānī's otherwise Persian narrative.

314 Ṭihrānī *Ḍiyārbakrīyya*, 416.

Notwithstanding the favorable references to these inspiration-based performances of *bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān in most of the courtly narrative reports,³¹⁵ a somewhat more critical view of his performance at the setting of the meal described in the passage translated above is preserved in the travelogue of the Venetian envoy Barbaro:

[Mystics in the Aqqyunlu realms.] I have seen another one [*bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān] who, when *uzun* Ḥasan (*il signor Assambeī*) was in Southeastern Anatolia, [...] preparing for his campaign against Jahānshāh (*il signor Giausa*) [...] and eating with his court, threw a stick from his hand among the bowls from which they were eating. He [*bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān] said some words and broke all the bowls. Because he was held to be an inspired madman (*matto di bona materia*), *uzun* Ḥasan (*il signor*) asked what he had said. Those who had understood [*bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān] told him that he had predicted that *uzun* Ḥasan would be victorious and defeat his enemy, just as he had smashed these bowls. [After the prediction came true, *bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān was greatly honored by *uzun* Ḥasan.]³¹⁶

Notwithstanding the possible exoticism of this external reproduction of gossip likely narrated to the Venetian envoy during his sojourn within the Aqqyunlu realms,³¹⁷ the underlying criticism of inspiration-based methods aimed at predicting or even influencing the future appears to have indeed been rooted within the configurations of the ‘Turkmen’ courts. This is explicitly suggested by Barbaro’s own assertion that his source for the story translated above smiled when he recounted this episode (*la disse ridando*).³¹⁸

315 See the favorable assessment of the miracles worked by *bābā* ‘Abdalraḥmān in his biography by Ibn Karbalā’ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 470–472, as well as the discussion by Woods 1999, 82–83. An intertextual dimension to this type of inspired performances is suggested by Woods 1999, 252, in note 77.

316 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 166, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 571. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese’s edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

317 The generally disfavorable depiction of Islamic mystics in Barbaro’s report is illustrated in his presentation of dubious or openly fraudulent mystics he claims to have encountered within the Aqqyunlu realms, as well as in the story of the killing of an Armenian merchant in Tabrīz. Both are discussed below.

318 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 167, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 572. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese’s edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

See also the incidental polemic of an unnamed courtier of *uzun* Ḥasan against the honor awarded to mystics by this ruler translated above arguing that ‘the mystics know

Nonetheless, this situational criticism of inspiration-based methods of predicting the future should not be confused with a sustained criticism of inspired mystics engaging in this type of practices within Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly culture. The potentially ambiguous positionality of inspired mystics is exemplified by the masterful polemic of Faḍlallāh against the Ṣafawid leader *shaykh* Ḥaydar contained in his court history written for *uzun* Ḥasan's son *sultān* Ya'qūb. As this polemic spans many pages in the modern editions and draws on a wide variety of discourses and traditions, I do not offer a comprehensive analysis here. Instead, I discuss this text during the discussion of how multiple Islamic positionalities were performatively negotiated at the 'Turkmen' courts below. Nonetheless, it is relevant to the present discussion that the comprehensive deployment of multiple polemic repertoires by Faḍlallāh is much more concerned with demonstrating how *shaykh* Ḥaydar violated the limits of his inherited and naturalized social position as the leader of a mystical *ṭarīqa* or mystical brotherhood, than with a sustained criticism of inspired performances by the Ṣafawid leader.³¹⁹ Therefore, it appears that the occurrence of situational criticism of performances aimed at predicting the future on the basis of transcendental inspiration contests neither the principal validity of mystic inspiration, nor the prestige enjoyed by individuals embedded within the interpersonal networks of Islamic mystical brotherhoods (*ṭuruq*) at the 'Turkmen' courts.

4.2.5 *Resonances with Non-Muslim Iconographical Repertoires*

Within this survey of the deployment of religiously charged elements in the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, the appropriation of non-Muslim repertoires appears to be limited mainly to the inclusion of elements pertaining to Christian traditions.³²⁰ This absence of non-Christian non-Muslims from the representational culture of the court is also paralleled by the rarity of references to non-Christian non-Muslims from the (very

nothing', Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhīr*, 74, as well as the opposition of *sultān* Ya'qūb to the claim of the killer of the Armenian merchant in Tabriz that he had acted upon an inspired vision of Muḥammad (Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 92–95), which is discussed in greater detail below.

319 Compare for instance the marginal role played by the polemic semantic field of 'magic' or *sihr* in Faḍlallāh's polemic in comparison with the prominence of the long sequence of naturalizing imagery demonstrating how *shaykh* Ḥaydar violated the limits of his role: Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 257–306, ed. 'Ashīq, 252–302.

320 For the Church of the East under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule, see the comprehensive survey by Carlson 2018.

fragmentarily preserved) account-books of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts.³²¹ Although it must be assumed that Jewish, Zoroastrian, and other non-Christian religious traditions existed in several locales within the regions ruled by the Qara- and Aqquyunlu, which must also have interacted with the multiple networks of administration and mobilization intersecting at the court, no specific reference to non-Christian religious denominations appears to be attested at all. In a similar fashion, notwithstanding the plurality and internal opposition between the multiple Christian communities that were represented within the ‘Turkmen’ realms, no attempt of the court to differentiate particular Christian traditions is mentioned.³²² Although the decidedly non-courtly Armenian and Syriac sources describe the power struggles within their respective denomination in considerable detail, Christianity is similarly homogenized in these sources, as no factional opposition from adherents to one Christian denomination to claims for leadership voiced from another denomination are recorded.

The performative interactions directed at these homogenized Christians by the ‘Turkmen’ courts can be clustered around two separate modes and concepts. The first of these concerns the performative establishment of the court as a guarantor of supra-factional justice. The second mode encompasses performative acts and interactions directed specifically at Christian audiences. This second mode appears to be governed by overarching concerns of audience management.

4.2.5.1 Performances of Justice and Order toward Christians

The courtly performance of justice toward non-Muslim subjects was predicated upon the hierarchical subordination of non-Muslims under Islamic normativities upheld by the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers. In ‘Turkmen’ courtly representation, the establishment of this subordination was commonly externalized in the form of grand military campaigns typically directed at the Georgian kingdoms. This topic localization of hyperbolic descriptions of non-Muslim haughtiness in Georgia that needed to be ‘punished’ by a just

321 See the references to the poll-tax of the Christians (*jizya-yi naṣārā*) in the exemplary accounts quoted in Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 6, 29 (Baghdād), 32 (Baghdād), and 34 (Sardsīr-i [i. e. *yaylāq-i?*] Shūshtar), compared to references to income derived from the Jews (*mina l-yahūd*), Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 34 (Sardsīr-i Shūshtar). It should, however, be noted, that not all of these references can be securely dated to the ‘Turkmen’ courts, cf. the designation of Baghdād as *dār al-khilāfa* (as in the references quoted) in the *daftar-i jāmi‘ al-ḥisāb* of the year 750 / 1349 to 1350 CE, written in the beginning of 751 / 1350 CE in Māzandarānī *Risāla*, 161.

322 This point is also made by Carlson 2018, 46. Cf. the remarks of Fazio 2015, 225–244, on the homogenizing depiction of the topical setting of a Christian monastery in a 15th-century CE Persianate book illustration.

Muslim ruler is intertextually rooted in the topical worldview of Persianate historical writing. This is exemplified by the historiographical work of Juwaynī, whose influence on the representational culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu is hard to overstate:

[The History of the Khwārizm-*shāhs*.] Concerning the deeds of the *sultān* and the Georgians, as well as their defeat.

Thus, the state (*dawlat*) of the Atābaks [in Ādharbāyjan] perished and its rule was assumed by [the Khwārizm-*shāh*] *sultān* Jalāl al-Dīn, so its people and servants flocked toward him. The sacrilegious Georgian unbelievers decided to take possession of these regions, initially by overpowering the *sultān* and taking possession of Tabrīz. Subsequently, they planned to continue toward Baghdād to seat the patriarch (*jāthalīq*) in the place of the caliph, as well as to convert mosques into churches and truth into falsehood. [To this end, the Georgians assemble a strong army which is decisively defeated by the Khwārizm-*shāh* as the guarantor of the supremacy of Islam.]³²³

Juwaynī's topic localization within the Georgian kingdoms of disbelieving haughtiness that threatened the very political existence of Islam was continued in Qara- and Aqquyunlu representational courtly culture. Within the rhetoric deployed by Ṭīhrānī and Faḍlallāh to describe the military campaigns into Georgia of *uzun* Ḥasan and his son *sultān* Ya'qūb, the magnitude of the Georgian threat to Islam was further illustrated by the recurring comparison of Georgian fortresses with the fortresses of the oasis of Khaybar, which had been the destination of one of the most hard-fought campaigns of Muḥammad.³²⁴ According to this comparison, the 'Turkmen' raids against Georgia are envisioned as an existential struggle of the embattled Muslim community led by the 'Turkmen' rulers, just as the embattled early Islamic community of Medina led by Muḥammad had fought for its survival against the non-Islamic Arab unbelievers. Significantly, however, this externalized threat of Georgian Christian dominance over Muslims is never linked to the Christian communities among

323 Juwaynī *Tārīkh*, 496–497.

324 See Ṭīhrānī *Diwānbakriyya*, 377, where the fortress of Samağar between modern-day Oltu and Tortum is described as 'better fortified than Khaybar' (*az khaybar muḥkamtar*) as well as Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 221, ed. 'Ashīq, 214, where the capture of the castle of Akhaltsikhe is celebrated with the recitation of a *ḥadīth* celebrating the conquest of Khaybar. Muḥammad's campaign against Khaybar is described for instance by al-Wāqidī *Maghāzī*, 2, 113–164.

the homogenized subjects (*ra'āyā*) living within the realms governed by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts.

Within the shadow of unquestioned Muslim predominance, the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts occasionally engaged in performative and highly visible acts that resonated particularly well with their Christian subjects. The best documented example among these cases in which 'Turkmen' rulers enforced claims of their Christian subjects to the expressed discontent of Muslim elites may well have led to a prolonged estrangement of *sultān* Ya'qūb from the Muslim urban elites of Tabrīz.³²⁵ This incident is particularly informative due to its independent description both in the report of the Venetian envoy Barbaro, which is likely rooted among the Christian merchants of Tabrīz, and in the (post-'Turkmen') work of Ibn Karbalā'ī, which reflects the sentiments of the Muslim elites embedded in the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz.³²⁶ As no emic description of this incident from a courtly perspective is preserved, I reconstruct the policy and concerns of the Aqqyunlu court on the basis of the two competing etic reports.³²⁷

Quoting the testimony of a Kaffa-born Genuese named Pietro de Guascho, who likely was embedded within the interpersonal networks of the Christian merchants of Tabrīz,³²⁸ Barbaro describes this incident as follows:

[Mystics in the Aqqyunlu realms.] He [Pietro de Guascho] told me that one day, a revered mystic (*uno azi al suo modo santto*)³²⁹ came to

325 See Woods 1999, 141, cf. Carlson 2018, 41.

326 After the completion of the present manuscript, I became aware of two Armenian colophons not translated by Sanjian, which include references to this episode. I hope to publish an analysis of the impact of these additional, but clearly non-courtly, sources in a separate publication.

327 It may be worth considering whether the episode of how 'two wrong-guided heretics named 'Irāqī and Qāsim' (*ikī bad-madhhab 'irāqī wa-qāsim nām mulhīdler*) attempted to influence *sultān* Ya'qūb's minister and mentor *qādī* 'Isā in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 68–69, could refer to the same incident. In this case, the entire story is presented as a power struggle between different courtly figures, while the Armenian merchant of Barbaro and Ibn Karbalā'ī is not mentioned at all. Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 71, contains another reference to both figures, where they are introduced as 'Fakhr al-Dīn the heretic and the wrong-guided one named Qāsim, who have already been mentioned.'

328 The functionalization of Christian, predominantly Armenian, merchants who held property in Tabrīz as initial points of contact for Western European travellers is described in the travel account of Joos van Ghistele translated above.

329 Although the Italian *azi* used by Barbaro has commonly been glossed as Arabic *ḥājī* or 'Muslim who has completed his pilgrimage', the context of a description of mystics and the suggestion that the *azi* in question was revered or involved in some 'holy' business (*modo santto*) makes an identification of the underlying word as *akhī*, commonly used to

the goldsmith-store of a rich Armenian merchant living in Tabrīz, who was named *khwāja* Mīrak (*Choza Mirech*). This mystic told him that he must renounce the religion of Christ and become a Muslim. *Khwāja* Mīrak replied politely (*humanamente*), asking him not to trouble him, but the mystic insisted and importuned him to convert. When *khwāja* Mīrak showed him some money, intending to pay him so he would leave him alone, the mystic replied: 'I do not want money, I want you to convert!' *Khwāja* Mīrak again responded that he did not wish to convert, but wanted to remain in his religion of Jesus Christ, just as he had so far. Thereupon, this ruffian (*ribaldo*) turned around, pulled the sword of one of the bystanders from its sheath, and struck him over the head so that he killed him. Then he fled away.

A son of *khwāja* Mīrak of about 30 years, who had also been in the store, began to cry and, leaving the store, went to the court of the ruler (*andò verso la porta del signor*) to notify him of what had happened. *Sultān* Ya'qūb (*il signor*), who expressed great anger over this deed (*mostrando d'haver molto molestia questa cosa*), ordered the mystic to be found and apprehended. Finally, the mystic was located two days from Tabrīz in a town called Marand (*Meren*) and brought before the ruler. *Sultān* Ya'qūb immediately called for a knife and killed him with his own hand, ordering the corpse to be thrown on the esplanade (*piaccia*, to be identified with the *maydān* facing the palace of Hasht Bihisht and the endowment complex of the Naṣriyya in Tabrīz) and left there so the dogs might devour him. *Sultān* Ya'qūb said: 'How? Should the religion of Muḥammad grow in this way?'

When the evening drew near, many people who were very zealous in their religion (*che erano più zelanti de la lor fede*) went to a certain *darwīsh* Qāsim (*darviscassun*), who was the guardian of the mausoleum of *uzun* Ḥasan, the father of the current ruler. In our terms, he served as the prior of the hospital. He was a well-esteemed and influential man, who had served as the treasurer of the deceased ruler, so they asked him for his permission to pick up the body, so the dogs might not eat him during the night. Without further consideration, he permitted this and the people picked up the corpse and buried it.

denote someone affiliated to a mystical 'brotherhood' (*ṭarīqa*) in Anatolia and Western Iran, more likely. The *locus classicus* describing numerous *akhīs* as influential mobilizers of interpersonal networks within urban spheres is the Anatolian part of the famous travelogue of the 14th Century CE traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *Rihla*, 1, 256–289. For the attestation of *akhī* as part of onomastic repertoires in Tabrīz, see the registers of the two volumes of Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*.

Due to the proximity of the esplanade to his palace, *sultān* Ya'qūb soon heard of this and ordered *darwīsh* Qāsim apprehended and brought before him. He chided him: 'Do you dare give orders that contradict my own? Have him killed!', whereupon *darwīsh* Qāsim was executed on the spot. *Sultān* Ya'qūb declared: 'May the entire town (*tutta questa terra*) be punished for the people's contravention of my order by being sacked!' Accordingly, his people (*la sua gente*) began to sack the town, to the great shock and discomposure of all. This went on for some three to four hours, whereupon he ordered the sacking to desist and imposed a fine of a certain sum of gold on the entire town. Finally, he had the son of this *khwāja* Mīrak come to him and consoled and honored him with good and polite words (*con bone et humane parole*).³³⁰

Although this report highlights the agency of the Armenian Christian community of Tabrīz in bringing the unlawful killing of *khwāja* Mīrak before *sultān* Ya'qūb, the agency of the Armenian Christian in-group disappears as soon as *sultān* Ya'qūb decides to personally enforce justice. Notwithstanding the ruler's personal willingness to enact performative punishment on the Muslim elites and commoners of Tabrīz, Barbaro's account represents the situation of Christians living within the Aqquyunlu realms as precarious to the audience of the Venetian envoy. This is indicated twice by Barbaro at the beginning and the end of the account translated above, where their situation is in both cases characterized as a 'bad treatment' (*mala compagnia*) suffered by the Christians.³³¹ Nonetheless, the confidence with which the son of *khwāja* Mīrak brought his complaint before the ruler suggests that the Armenian Christian community of Tabrīz was very well aware of their right, guaranteed by the dominant normative discourses of Islamic jurisprudence, not to be molested by attempts to dissuade them from their Christian faith. Considering the pivotal role played by access in pre-modern Islamicate political thought,³³² the ready visibility at the court granted to the personal grief of the son of *khwāja* Mīrak further indicates that strong personal ties connected the Aqquyunlu court to the Christian

330 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 169–171, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 573–574. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

331 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 167 and 171, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 573 and 574.

332 See Paul 1996, 1–16, and the discussion of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* at Ūjān translated above.

as well as to the Muslim elites embedded within the interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq*.³³³

In Barbaro's report, *sultān* Ya'qūb's decisive personal involvement in avenging the killing is expressed by violent emotions, which are formulated in a terminology of (supra-factional) justice. Significantly, *sultān* Ya'qūb's anger is explicitly motivated by Barbaro with the ruler's resolve to establish himself as the decisive instance which establishes the righteousness of Islamic deeds and curbs overly zealous interpretations of Islam in his rhetorical question translated above as 'How? Should the religion of Muḥammad grow in this way?' (*Come? La fede di Machometo cresce in questo modo?*).³³⁴ Arguably, this intention of *sultān* Ya'qūb to establish himself as the arbiter of Islamic normativities could be seen as contributing to the manifestation of Muslim discontent with the exhibition of the corpse and his subsequent performative execution of *darwīsh* Qāsim.

Due to the importance of personal loyalties in pre-modern Islamicate societies, however, the willingness of *sultān* Ya'qūb to performatively exact justice for the killing of *khwāja* Mīrak should not be exclusively seen as rooted in an abstract concept. Instead, the vivid depiction of *sultān* Ya'qūb's uncontrolled rage even in Barbaro's report that is sympathetic to the punishment of the killer of an Armenian Christian merchant suggests that some sort of instability of the ruler's personality may well have contributed to the violence that ensued. *Sultān* Ya'qūb's order to sack the entire town in particular is so drastic that it must be connected to the ruler's fear of losing face. Accordingly, it would appear that *sultān* Ya'qūb's initial uncontrolled performance of retribution on behalf of non-Muslims led to an open defiance of the ruler's authority by Muslim interpersonal networks embedded in Tabrīz, which could only be checked by an ultimately disastrous armed conflict between the ruler's court and the elites of the *qishlāq*.

As Barbaro explicitly notes that *khwāja* Mīrak was a very wealthy and well-known man (*homo richissimo e de optima fama*),³³⁵ the initial performative

333 The links between Christian multipliers and the Qara- and Aqquyunlu court in the *qishlāq* are discussed in the reconstruction of the performative establishment and maintenance of interpersonal ties of loyalty and leadership between the court and multipliers embedded in the *qishlāq* above.

334 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 170, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 573. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

335 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 171, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 574. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il*

violence of *sultān* Ya'qūb may additionally have been motivated by economic considerations. Nonetheless, the subsequent escalation can only be motivated by *sultān* Ya'qūb's intention to demonstrate his absolute willingness to decisively counter any challenge to his authority voiced by the influential Muslim multipliers embedded within the *qishlāq* of Tabrīz. In this regard, it may well be significant that even the likely Christian and Armenian milieu whose sentiments Barbaro's report reflects expresses sympathy for *darwīsh* Qāsim. Instead of expressing any sort of triumphant sentiments over the clash between the Aqqyunlu court, upholding the rights of its Christian subjects, and one of the most influential Muslim multipliers of Tabrīz, *darwīsh* Qāsim is represented as the innocent victim of an intrigue by overly zealous sympathizers of the killer of *khwāja* Mīrak. Considering *darwīsh* Qāsim's importance as the executor of the last will of *sultān* Ya'qūb's father *uzun* Ḥasan and overseer of the foundation of the Naṣriyya complex in his name,³³⁶ his unawareness of the explicit orders of *sultān* Ya'qūb may possibly attest to his guilelessness and estrangement from the immediate courtly circle. Nonetheless, *sultān* Ya'qūb's drastic order to kill *darwīsh* Qāsim on the spot is hardly justified and arguably resonates with the *topos* of 'Oriental despotism', which certainly informed the renaissance-schooled Venetian audience of Barbaro's report.

Accordingly, the Muslim interpersonal networks of Tabrīz are represented in Barbaro's report as engaged in a conflictual contestation of interal hierarchies, during which 'overly zealous' Muslims, who lack the influence necessary to carry out the burial of the executed killer of *khwāja* Mīrak on their own, instrumentalize *darwīsh* Qāsim against his best interests. A more inclusive discontent of the Muslim multipliers embedded within the interpersonal networks of mobilization and patronage in Tabrīz is described in the account of the same event contained in Ibn Karbalā'ī's early Ṣafawid spiritual (Islamic) topography of Tabrīz:³³⁷

[*Darwīsh* Qāsim.] The righteous death of this pious and blessed man, who God may have mercy upon (*shahādat-i ān marḥūm-i mabrūr-i maghfūr laḥū*), took place as follows. One of the soldiers affiliated to the Turkmens (*sipāhī az tā'ifa-yi turkmān*) partook of inspiration and mystic visions (*ki khālī az jadhba wa-ḥālatī nabūda*) and was said to have occasionally been overcome by excessive inspiration (*ghulawā-yi jadhba*) and

Nuovo Ramusio, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

336 See the discussion of the foundation of the Naṣriyya complex in Tabrīz translated above.

337 For this text, see Bashir 2020.

ecstasy (*shaṭḥ*), announcing: 'I am the redeemer (*mahdī-am*)!' Therefore, he was given the name Mahdī. He was an extremely serious young man (*jawānī būda ba-ghāyat pur-haybat*) who respected the pious and powerful (*bā dahshat-i ahl-i ṣalāḥ wa-ṭā'at*).³³⁸ He was so to speak a lover of the Muḥammad-like life (*āshiq-i sirat-i muḥammadī*) who both alone or in company (depending on whether he was with people or on his own) constantly pronounced recitations (*wird*) or prayers (*ṣalawāt*). He used to wear costly clothes and dress up with fancy arms, and when he rode, he rode on good horses. Thus, he went around and ordered everybody and every assembly with a loud and serious voice to pray, declaring: 'Pray for Muḥammad, pray for Muḥammad!' (Turkic *muḥammada ṣalawāt, muḥammada ṣalawāt*), repeating this over and over. Due to his great seriousness, nobody ever declined to speak a prayer.

One Friday in the year 891 / 1486 CE, he sat in the great mosque of the Naṣriyya complex in Tabrīz, facing the *qibla* and engaged in obligatory and customary religious practices (*miyān-i farḍ wa-sunnat*), when he was overcome by sleep. While he was asleep, he saw his highness the prophet, God bless him and his relatives and grant them peace!, commanding him: 'Rise and go forth to kill Mīrak the Christian (*mīrak tarsā*) and raid the unbelievers! (*mīrak tarsā-rā bikush wa-ghazā kun*)' This Mīrak the Christian was an infidel (*gabrī*) who was extremely stubborn (*mu'ānid*) and had repeatedly made inappropriate remarks (*az ū ... alfāz bī-adabāna wāqī' shuda*) regarding the pleasant *sharī'a* and the religion of the white community [Islam]. Thus, his execution had become mandatory according to the religion of Islam (*qatlash dar dīn-i islām wājib shuda*).

When Mahdī had finished the Friday prayer and came out of the mosque, he told his dream to everybody he met, took his arms, and sat on his horse. On his way, he proclaimed his dream and stated his intention, asking the people to accompany him. When he reached the door of the store of this Christian, *khwāja* Mīrak (*ān tarsā*) was seated in his store. Uttering prayers, Mahdī ordered him to convert to Islam, however *khwāja* Mīrak refused and declined, ridiculing this proposition and making fun of him. Three times, Mahdī said: 'Cursed infidel (*ay gabr-i la'īn*), become a believer and pronounce prayers, for if not, I will kill you, raiding the unbelievers (*ghazā mīkunam*)!' As the Christian cursed him in return, Mahdī finally got off his horse and cut off the head of this Christian. With crimson hands and blood-shot eyes, he then picked up the head and went

338 I read *dahshat-i ahl-i* etc. instead of the *dahshat wa-ahl-i* etc. of the printed edition.

through the market, pronouncing prayers. A great multitude from among the inhabitants of Tabrīz followed him, uttering prayers and praising him. After he had gone through all parts of the city in this horrible fashion and terrible state, some people told him: 'Having done this type of deed, you should take a street out of town, so no misfortune befalls you!' Thus, he left the town.

When this story reached the king [*sulṭān* Ya'qūb], the king became angry and ordered him [Mahdī] to be found. When they went after him, they found him at some place engaged in prayer. People on horses and on foot assembled and arrested him. When they brought him before the king, he angrily ordered him to be killed, so his head was cut off on the spot. The relatives of *khwāja* Mīrak and the other infidels took his head from the servants of the king and carried it to their home and quarter, where they kicked it, saying: 'Say again "Pray for Muḥammad" (*muḥammad* *ṣalawāt*)!'

Due to this injustice and disgraceful behavior, the believers and Muslims felt great anguish and sadness. *Darwīsh* Qāsim, may he rest in peace!, (*tāba thurāhu*), who was filled with great zeal and devotion for the religion of Islam, came forward and together with a great assembly of notables, dignitaries, guardians (*ḥuffāz*, sc. of the Qur'ān and sayings of Muḥammad), muezzins, readers of the Qur'ān, and recitators (*dhākirān*) obtained permission of the ruler to go to the home of this young man named Mahdī to wash him and give him a burial. His coffin (*tābūt*) was adorned with various costly cloths and together with the guardians, readers of the Qur'ān, and all kinds of people who spoke prayers for him, as well as much lamentation and crying, they carried him through the middle of the market and the streets to Ṣāhibābād. A great multitude of people prayed for him at his funeral. At this time, the blessed tongue of *darwīsh* Qāsim said: 'Why have you died thus on account of me? (*kū az barāy man īn tūr margī*)'

Because the funeral of Mahdī was so tearful and they conducted it near the palace (*khāna*) of the king, the cries of the assembled multitude of people and the clamor of the commoners reached the ears of the king. Becoming very suspicious and frightened, he asked: 'What clamor and crying is this? What causes it?' Incidentally, some jealous and hostile people happened to attend the court of the king, who presented the event in disfavorable terms to *sulṭān* Ya'qūb, saying: 'The cause of this civil strife (*fitna*) is *darwīsh* Qāsim, who in this way conducts the funeral of the one who excited the anger of the king!' Huge anger overtook the king, who sent a group of servants to fetch *darwīsh* Qāsim. When they reached the

bier, they plundered the costly cloths which covered the bier and injured and insulted a great number of Muslims.

Having seized *darwīsh* Qāsim, it was almost the time of the evening prayer when they brought him to the palace of the king. At this time, the king had already consumed wine and become drunk and incoherent (*lā ya'qilu*). When he caught sight of the mentioned *darwīsh* Qāsim, he pulled a sword and wanted to kill this great man of religion himself. Repeating the Islamic creed (*shahāda*), *darwīsh* Qāsim turned toward the divine court (*dargāh-i ilāhī*), while the king wounded him multiple times with his own hand. Subsequently, some other people from among the servants also pulled swords and killed *darwīsh* Qāsim.

On the following morning, the hearts of the believers, notables and commoners alike, became sad and their eyes bloody. In truth, this day resembled the Day of Resurrection (*rūz-i 'araṣāt*) with its screaming and crying, alas!, of all creation, which rose to the ears of the inhabitants of the firmaments. The cries of misfortune and sorrow of every being rose from the narrowness of the dust to the ear of the sign of Pisces, as this strange and wondrous event had occurred to the entire community of Muslims, who cursed the murder (*ṣarīḥ*) and deplored the shamefulness of the king.

In the night in which the impudent king committed this abominable deed, he had ordered, due to his drunkenness and anger, that the slain and unjustly killed *darwīsh* should not be picked up and buried, and no relative [of *darwīsh* Qāsim] be notified until three days were over. When he awoke in the morning and returned from the world of drunkenness to the realm of sense, *sultān* Ya'qūb became aware of this shameful deed and cried bitterly. Together with all his closest courtiers, he commanded that the corpse be washed, prayed for, and buried on this same day near his highness *bābā* Mazīd, may his secret be sanctified!

He was slain on the evening of Saturday, the 19. Rabī' al-Awwal of the year 891 / after nightfall on Friday, March 24, 1486 CE.³³⁹ Incidentally, *darwīsh* Qāsim used to write 'He is the Giver' (*huwa l-fayyāḍ*) as the title of

339 I emend the date of 18. Rabī' al-Awwal given by Ibn Karbalā'ī to accord with the day of the week of Saturday, as the day of the week is regularly more reliable than the date of the month, cf. Spuler et al. 1961, *Gebrauchsanweisungen*, 7, as well as Leube Prolegomena (forthcoming).

It must be kept in mind that the Islamic day begins at nightfall. Accordingly, the evening of the Islamic Saturday is equivalent to Friday evening CE.

every letter he wrote. The date of his death [891] was the numeric equivalent of *ḥayyāḍ* [in *abjadī*].³⁴⁰

In comparison to the report preserved in the account of the Venetian envoy Barbaro, Ibn Karbalā'ī's version of the same incident differs in several key aspects. The first concerns the agency of the Armenian Christian community of Tabriz. Not only is *ḥwāja* Mīrak alleged to have challenged the hierarchical subordination of Christianity under Islam within the Aqquyunlu realms with his 'inappropriate' remarks, but his community is further represented as explicitly vilifying the head of Mahdī as a Muslim who transgressed and is now performatively humbled by the ruler as the guarantor of justice. Accordingly, the Armenian Christian community as a whole is presented as questioning the hierarchic dominance of Islam, thereby voiding the Islamically guaranteed protection granted to non-Muslims living within the shadow of Islamic supremacy according to the dominant normative discourses of Islamic jurisprudence.

This inappropriate behavior of the Armenian Christians accordingly motivates both the actions of Mahdī and the manifestation of Islamically motivated discontent against the court at his funeral. Within this perspective, Mahdī occupies a pivotal and highly ambiguous position as a 'partially divine fool'. Indeed, his very name is represented as something of a joking reference to his exuberant religiosity, while his habit of walking around and calling for prayers for Muḥammad is represented as Mahdī making a nuisance of himself within the Muslim community. Indeed, the willingness of the Muslim community of Tabriz to follow his adhortations reflects both their unwillingness to provoke him and the ultimate righteousness of his call. Nonetheless, the Turkic form in which Mahdī's adhortation is quoted in Ibn Karbalā'ī's account, which is composed in cultured Persian prose, arguably deploys (Azeri) Turkic as a sociolinguistic marker of inferior social standing within the Muslim interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq* of Tabriz.

Notwithstanding this ambiguous positionality of the 'partially divine fool' Mahdī, his killing of *ḥwāja* Mīrak is represented by the likely Muslim sources of Ibn Karbalā'ī embedded within the Muslim interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq* as justified by the infamous utterances of *ḥwāja* Mīrak, as well as by the inspiration of Mahdī by Muḥammad himself. The validity of the vision of Mahdī, in which Muḥammad ordered him to kill *ḥwāja* Mīrak, is demonstrated not only by the justness of this execution, but also by its setting during the Friday prayer in the great mosque of Tabriz. Mahdī's righteous inspiration is further reflected in his open propagation of his intention while riding

340 Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 92–95.

toward the store of *khwāja* Mīrak, as well as in his suggestion to the Armenian Christian that he avert being killed by converting to Islam. As the patience of Mahdī in repeating his call for conversion three times before resorting to violence patently contradicts Ibn Karbalā'ī's earlier allegation of Mahdī's impatience, this patient call for repentance is arguably represented as untypical for Mahdī and a possible continuation of the prophetic inspiration he had received. Taken together, these narrative framings suggest that in this incident (if at no other time), Mahdī may well have been a fool chosen as the tool of divine justice, a sentiment that is also reflected in his public assumption of responsibility for the killing across town.

As in Barbaro's report, *sultān* Ya'qūb's involvement in the affair is represented by Ibn Karbalā'ī as intensely personal and driven by uncontrolled emotions. It is instructive to attempt a hypothetical reconstruction of the mode of governance that would appear as commensurate to the situation so far described by the sources of Ibn Karbalā'ī. Due to the repeatedly attested violence of Mahdī, *sultān* Ya'qūb's order to apprehend the fugitive killer is certainly appropriate and justified, if only to ward off further harm. Subsequently, however, *sultān* Ya'qūb in this hypothetical reconstruction of an 'ideal' performative establishment of justice should not have assumed the execution of justice himself and become personally and emotionally involved. Instead, Ibn Karbalā'ī implies that the matter should have been handed over to qualified Islamic jurists rooted within Arabic-Islamic discourses of learning, who could ascertain whether Mahdī's actions were indeed motivated by factual transgressions of *khwāja* Mīrak and a valid prophetic inspiration received by Mahdī. As these Arabic-Islamic jurists were personally rooted in the interpersonal networks of the Muslim elites of Tabrīz, this would also have amounted to an effective deployment of their personal influence as transmitted along networks of loyalty and leadership to calm the populace of Tabrīz and ward off further sectarian strife. Ultimately, blood-money would likely have been awarded to the family of *khwāja* Mīrak in a performative acknowledgement of the injustice of killing the Armenian Christian merchant according to dominant Islamic normativities, while Mahdī himself could have been taken into some sort of custody to prevent further violence. In any case, established Islamic normativities pronounce that no Muslim should be killed in retribution for a non-Muslim.³⁴¹

Accordingly, *sultān* Ya'qūb overstepped the limits of his authority as a ruler in attempting to impose his personal and emotional reaction as a supra-religious concept of justice that was situated hierarchically above normativities rooted in scholarly traditions and discourses of Islam. This is further aggravated by

341 See for instance Oßwald 2017, 138–139.

his negligence to curb the shameful performance of the Christians mistreating the corpse of Mahdī, which challenged the hierarchic subordination of non-Muslim religious communities within the public sphere of the Aqqyunlu realms. Instead, both *sultān* Ya'qūb and his courtiers are represented as engaged in undue strictness toward Muslims, while allowing their Christian subjects to performatively violate the corporal integrity of *khwāja* Mīrak's killer in a public setting. This is aggravated by the specific vilification of Mahdī as a Muslim implied in the Christians' alleged mocking quotation of Mahdī's calls for prayer for Muḥammad. The agency of *sultān* Ya'qūb is further discredited in Ibn Karbalā'ī's account by allegations that he acted out of fear and that he had been drunk when he participated in the execution of *darwīsh* Qāsim.³⁴² This unfoundedness of *sultān* Ya'qūb's actions is conclusively demonstrated by the description of his public performance of remorse on the following morning. Notwithstanding this inappropriate agency of *sultān* Ya'qūb, however, Ibn Karbalā'ī also suggests that some performances that threatened public order may have occurred during the funeral, for which *darwīsh* Qāsim was then held accountable.

As indicated by Ibn Karbalā'ī's suggestion that *darwīsh* Qāsim had miraculously foretold the year of his death, the attempt of *sultān* Ya'qūb to demonstrate his resolve of upholding justice against the influential Muslim multipliers of Tabrīz ultimately impaired *sultān* Ya'qūb's own legitimacy. To avoid this sort of infelicitous and unsuccessful performances, Muslim rulers frequently attempted to manage the visibility of performative acts resonating specifically with their non-Muslim subjects. Arguably, such a management of visibility motivates the omission of the affair of the killing of *khwāja* Mīrak in Faḍlallāh's court history of *sultān* Ya'qūb, who notwithstanding his description of the year 891 / 1486 CE, in which the affair took place, jumps directly from a note recording the completion of the palace of Hasht Biḥisht in Tabrīz to an account of *sultān* Ya'qūb's *yaylāq*.³⁴³ This 'management of audiences' is discussed in the second part of the current overview of the inclusion and appropriation of elements resonating with non-Muslim religious iconographical repertoires in the courtly representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu.

342 But cf. the currency of the *topos* of the drunk ruler unjustly slaying one of his courtiers, followed by performative remorse on the following morning, in the courtly discourses of the greater Mediterranean since classical antiquity at the least.

343 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 226–227, ed. 'Ashīq, 219–220.

4.2.5.2 Strategic Visibility and Alleged Apostasy

As we have seen, the infelicitous attempt of *sultān* Ya'qūb to performatively guarantee supra-factional justice ultimately harmed all parties involved. Even if *sultān* Ya'qūb's prohibition of notifying the relatives of *darwīsh* Qāsim of his execution, which is mentioned in the report of Ibn Karbalā'ī, should have been intended as an attempt at containment, *sultān* Ya'qūb ultimately found himself forced to publicly repent. At the same time, this very visibility of the affair arguably enables the detailed reconstruction of both a perspective sympathetic to the Armenian Christian inhabitants of Tabrīz via the account of the Venetian envoy Barbaro and of a description that reflects the sentiments of the Muslim networks of Tabrīz in the report of Ibn Karbalā'ī.

By contrast, a successful management of visibility of performative courtly acts resonating with specific non-Muslim religious traditions necessarily left no trace in Muslim historiography and is, if at all, only described in narrative sources compiled by the respective non-Muslim religious in-group to whom the performative act was addressed. As demonstrated by an Armenian colophon translated by Sanjian, which was composed in 1462 CE in Erceiş, these non-Muslim sources describe numerous honors and gifts that were bestowed upon Christian dignitaries at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts. In its account of how the Armenian patriarch Zak'aria III met Jahānshāh and his wife *khātūn* Jān *bīgum*, this colophon exemplifies the performative acts that could be deployed at the Qaraqyunlu court to demonstrate favor to Christian dignitaries. Thus, they 'received him most respectfully. They honored him and offered him a robe of honor (*xlay*, cf. Arabic *khil'a*) and they also granted him the relic of the right hand of St. Gregory the Illuminator, as well as the title of patriarch.'³⁴⁴ After this preferential treatment, Zak'aria arranges for the peaceful collection of taxes from the contested region of Bitlis in the name of Jahānshāh and is also received favorably by Jahānshāh's foster brother, the governor of Van.³⁴⁵ The reference to a secret plot against Zak'aria by the Kurdish governor of Gevaş (Ostan) may even suggest that allegations of Muslim discontent with the honors bestowed upon Christian dignitaries could be deployed as a rhetorical device to underline the extent and significance of these honors.³⁴⁶ In any case, this episode is not described in any Muslim narrative, arguably attesting to the successful management of visibility by the Qaraqyunlu courts of Jahānshāh and his foster-brother in Van. Similarly, the 'happy' performance of

344 Sanjian 1969, 272, with several stylistic adaptations.

345 Sanjian 1969, 272–275.

346 Sanjian 1969, 275.

uzun Ḥasan's alleged gift to the Armenian monastery of Glak³⁴⁷ and Ḥasan'ali's alleged patronage of a church in Mākū³⁴⁸ is (regardless of the factual accuracy of both reports) demonstrated by their exclusive mention in Armenian Christian colophons, which were similarly invisible to Muslim audiences.³⁴⁹

By contrast, I suggest interpreting polemics directed against alleged 'christianizing' performances of individual Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers contained in Muslim sources etc to the 'Turkmen' courts as the result of an inept management of visibility. This interpretation builds decisively on a recent article by Evrim Binbaş that gives an overview of the contemporary depiction of the Qaraqyunlu ruler *shāh* Muḥammad, slightly preceding the chronological frame of the present study.³⁵⁰ According to his argument, the multiple assertions in Muslim sources that *shāh* Muḥammad deviated from 'proper' Islamic normativities suggest that *shāh* Muḥammad adhered to 'Christic' currents within Islam that believed in a supremacy of Jesus over the other (Islamic) prophets.³⁵¹ Notwithstanding the correlation of the 'Christic' depiction of *shāh* Muḥammad in the Arabic historiographical works of the Mamlūk chronicler Ibn Taghribirdī with his depiction in a Persian letter composed by the *ḥurūfī* traveller Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad noted by Binbaş, however, Binbaş's own argument for the importance of stories about a 'hidden' Jalāyirid king,³⁵² as well as of 'Alid devotion in the courtly iconography of *shāh* Muḥammad,³⁵³ calls for caution regarding the internal coherence of the performatively deployed beliefs of *shāh* Muḥammad. As the evidence for 'Christic' allegations assembled by Binbaş is external and the numismatic legends referring to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn³⁵⁴ are included in anonymous coins that were assigned to *shāh* Muḥammad's brother Aspān by date,³⁵⁵ I believe it is easier to explain the

347 Sanjian 1969, 307.

348 Sanjian 1969, 304–305.

349 But cf. the (later and etc) suggestion of Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 14, that *sultān* Ḥamza granted the Christians of Diyarbakır permission to build one or two large churches (*bir iki 'ālī kilisālar*) due to their assistance during the siege of the town (see below). Several Christian churches were founded or enlarged under Qara- and Aqqyunlu rule, cf. Sinclair 1987–1990, *passim*.

350 Binbaş 2019.

351 Binbaş 2019, 224–225 and 231.

352 Binbaş 2019, 214–129.

353 Binbaş 2019, 227–229.

354 Binbaş 2019, 227–229.

355 Album 2011, 269. See the introduction to this discussion of the appropriation of 'religious' iconography in 'Turkmen' courtly representation for a suggestion how 'Alid' slogans on coins minted in the name of specific Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers could resonate with multiple discursive traditions within Islam. Cf. the argument of Ilisch 1983 suggesting that anonymous coins such as those assigned to Aspān may represent a phenomenon specific

‘Christic’ allegations made against *shāh* Muḥammad as rooted in a coherent theme of Islamic polemical discourses, rather than in a coherent performative representation of the personal set of beliefs of this ruler. Thus, I follow the iconographical framing of the present study to ask not ‘what *shāh* Muḥammad believed’,³⁵⁶ but rather, how iconographical elements rooted in multiple repertoires representing religious affiliation are deployed in the depiction of *shāh* Muḥammad. Therefore, I suggest that external polemic assertions that individual ‘Turkmen’ rulers ‘converted’ to Christianity should be explained by the prevalence of the *topos* of apostasy in Islamicate polemics. The currency of this *topos* enabled the deployment by etic Muslim sources of courtly favors granted to Christian networks within the Qara- and Aqquyunlu realms as evidence that resonated strongly with the *topos* of a polemic assertion of apostasy.

According to this argument, performative favors granted to Christian multipliers by the court could become ‘infelicitous’ simply by becoming visible to a sufficiently influential Muslim audience that could use this performance of favor to non-Muslims to voice discontent. As the courtly elites of a successful Muslim ruler had little interest in recording visible favors to non-Muslims as causing Muslim discontent, Muslim descriptions of this type of ‘infelicitous’ performances are only preserved in narrative sources that are etic to the court that is described. This pattern is ideally represented in Ṭihrānī’s account written *post festum* for *uzun* Ḥasan, of how *uzun* Ḥasan’s uncle *sultān* Ḥamza took over Diyarbakır (Āmid) from his nephew with the help of the Christian inhabitants of the town:

How *uzun* Ḥasan (*ṣāḥib-qirān*) arrived at Diyarbakır, how *sultān* Ḥamza sieged the town, and its conquest.

Three days after *uzun* Ḥasan had entered Diyarbakır and [his father] ‘Alī *bīk* had continued toward Harput, *sultān* Ḥamza with troops, provisions, and equipment (*‘idda wa-‘udda wa-asbāb*) set up camp outside of Diyarbakır and started sieging the castle (*qal’a*, likely the entirety of the famous city walls or *surları* of Diyarbakır rather than the inner citadel of the *iç kale*). After 70 days of fighting, one of the Christians (*naṣārā*) of the town committed the impious act (*bī-diyānatī karda*) of handing one of the towers over to the besiegers, so that *sultān* Ḥamza might enter the town. When *uzun* Ḥasan was informed that one of the towers had come into the hand of the enemies, many of whom had entered the town

to acephalous periods of Muslim communities. This argument is also made by Binbaş 2016, cf. the absence of any coins explicitly minted in the name of Aspān in Album 2011, 269.

356 See Binbaş’s programmatic heading ‘What did Shāh Mohammad Believe?’, Binbaş 2019, 222.

while others killed the inhabitants from the walls, he saw no alternative to flight notwithstanding his resolve to defend and fight. Thus, he turned toward the palace (*khāna*)³⁵⁷ and set forth to join his noble father, leaving the town through a secret gate (*bāb al-sirr*).³⁵⁸ Undaunted by the light of the morning and the siege of the town by a foreign (*biḡāna*) army, they fearlessly and calmly went through the besieging army and came to the castle of Eğil. [...]

When *sultān* Ḥamza entered the town of Diyarbakır, he committed injustice, strife, and evil (*bīdād wa-fitna wa-fasād*) toward the notables and honoraries of the town for having cooperated with [uzun Ḥasan's father] 'Alī *bīk* and surrendering the town to him. Thus, he made them destitute and poor and ruined them all, killing *qāḍī* Aḥmad and *ḥājī* Yūsuf, who were the preeminent men of the town, and annihilating the inhabitants of this place by plunder and looting. By contrast, he allowed no opposition whatsoever against the Christians, empowering and honoring them in every way. He bestowed honors and gifts upon their priests and when he met them, he treated them with kindness and respect, while not showing any politeness toward the scholars of Islam (*'ulamā-yi islām*). His hostility toward the Muslims (*ahl-i islām*) went so far that one day, going past the door of a school for Muslim children (*maktab-i atfāl-i musulmānān*) and seeing these children reading and reciting the word of the beneficent God, he exclaimed: 'Have they established another foundation, in which they may engage in the science and reading which I have overthrown!' [Arabic:] We take refuge with God from His leading into insanity!³⁵⁹

Ṭihrānī's narrative exemplifies how political opposition to a particular ruler could be expressed by the polemic deployment of allegations of apostasy from Islam, or at least performative hostility toward it, against the ruler in question. Even if *sultān* Ḥamza should have felt entirely justified in executing

357 For the material remains of the Artuqid and Aqquyunlu residence in the *iç kale* of Diyarbakır, see Aslanapa 1961 and Korn 2017.

358 I translate literally, as I am not currently aware of any toponym of this name in Diyarbakır, cf. the description of the fortifications of the town in Evliya *Siyāhatnāma*, 4, 30. The reference could possibly be to one of the two gates directly connecting the *iç kale* with the surrounding countryside outside the walls of the city.

359 Ṭihrānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 136–137. See the description of the alleged brashness of the Christians (*kāfirler*) of Diyarbakır due to the support of *sultān* Ḥamza in Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 13–15, where Ibrāhīm Gulshanī's grandfather *ḥājī* Ibrāhīm and his father *shaykh* Muḥammad constitute the focus of the narrative.

those responsible for the revolt of Diyarbakır against his rule, one can imagine how little factual evidence was needed to construct an accusation of unbelief against him based on allegations that he had been treating Christians with undue respect. The concluding anecdote, which has *sultān* Ḥamza claim that he had overthrown Islam, resonates neatly with this allegation of performative favor shown toward Christian clerics.

A similar narrative dynamic that possibly builds on (alleged) performative and visible favors shown toward Christians may also explain the Mamlūk polemics against the religious beliefs of various Qaraqyunlu rulers. The unspecific character of these polemics is exemplified by the notes of Ibn Taghribirdī on the occasion of the death of the Qaraqyunlu rulers *qarā* Yūsuf and *shāh* Muḥammad:

[The death of *qarā* Yūsuf.] After him, his son *shāh* Muḥammad ruled, who behaved like a Christian / converted to Christianity (*tanaṣṣara*) and called the people to the religion of Christianity, annihilating the Islamic scholars and the Muslims (*abāda l-‘ulamā’ wa-l-muslimīna*). Then his brother Iskandar became king, who followed the path of *shāh* Muḥammad and even exceeded him. He was followed by their brother Aspān (*Aṣbahān*), who was a heretic who did not follow any religion (*kāna zindīqan lā yatadayyana bi-dīnin*). [Currently, Jahānshāh rules.] May God, exalted be He!, dispatch him to those before him among his ancestors and brothers, those unbelievers and heretics (*al-kafara wa-l-zanādiqa*)!³⁶⁰

[The death of *shāh* Muḥammad.] This *shāh* Muḥammad held evil beliefs (*kāna ... radīu l-‘aqida*) and inclined toward the Christian religion, may God damn and curse it! He removed the commands of Islam from Baghdād and the other parts of his realms, killing Islamic scholars (*al-‘ulamā’*) and flattering the Christians. Later, he sent them away and became inclined toward the religion of the Zoroastrians (*dīn al-majūs*). [...] May God bring him near to those whose beliefs and religion he shared!³⁶¹

Although this type of report is (unsurprisingly) only attested for the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts in etic sources, it is not impossible that some sort of courtly performance resonating with ‘Christic’ currents within Islam may have taken place under ‘Turkmen’ rule. Indeed, Jesus as a Muslim prophet is copiously

360 Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 164–165. *Shāh* Muḥammad is also referred to as a heretic (*zindīq*) in Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 14, 322.

361 Ibn Taghribirdī *Nujūm*, 15, 193.

referenced in the representational iconography deployed at the courts of both dynasties alongside numerous other prophets similarly 'shared' by the Abrahamic religions. In addition, several Christian dignitaries are attested at the 'Turkmen' courts, as discussed above. Nonetheless, neither references to pre-Islamic prophets referenced in the Qur'ān, nor the presence of Christians at the court are atypical in Islamicate and Persianate courts centered around Muslim rulers. By contrast, no explicitly 'Christic' performances are attested in sources emic to the Qara- or Aqqyunlu courts. Therefore, I believe it is more likely that individual performances directed at specific non-Muslim subjects that had become visible to Muslim sources intent on voicing discontent with the ruler in question form the factual basis of this type of external polemical framings of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers.

4.2.6 *Islamic Traditions Deployed at the 'Turkmen' Courts*

As has emerged from the preceding discussion of different religious traditions surrounding iconographical elements that were appropriated by the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, the search for 'personal' religious affiliation(s) or 'beliefs' of the ruler has frequently obscured the interplay of multiple traditions within the iconographic repertoires deployed at the 'Turkmen' courts. This search is based upon the suggestions that the 'personal' religious affiliation be specific and unambiguous, and that religious traditions be understood as mutually impermeable and clearly demarcated systems of thought and practice. Building on research implicitly and explicitly following these suggestions, I now deploy the iconographical framing of the present study to suggest an alternative path of argumentation that sees permeabilities between multiple traditions as the pivotal feature in the deployment of religiously charged iconographical elements at the 'Turkmen' courts. As suggested above, I argue that tradition as constructed in the moment of its deployment drew on multi-levelled consonances and resonances to anchor the legitimacy of the court in as broad and inclusive a (claimed) basis of tradition as possible. This contrasts sharply with the alleged 'polarization' of *sunni* vs. *shī'i* currents of Islam occasionally described at the Timurid courts that were contemporary to the Qara- and Aqqyunlu.³⁶² The limits of this inclusiveness were in turn

³⁶² A good example is the passage in Bākhārzi *Maqāmāt*, 153–159, which claims to depict the sharp criticism of exclusionist *shī'i* currents of Islam (*rawāfiḍ*) by Jāmī, but cf. the more nuanced analysis of Szuppe 1992. In any case, Bākhārzi in particular has to be taken *cum grano salis* as a historical source (cf. the reference of Rizvi 2018, 232 and 243, to the critical appraisal conducted in Ertuğrul Ökten's unpublished dissertation on Jāmī of 2007. Unfortunately, I have not been able to access Ökten's monograph directly). Indeed, this factionalist polarization may even be the result of subsequent textual interferences

negotiated by means of counterclaims voiced from inside and outside the fractal galactic courtly sphere focused on the court of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers. Accordingly, the court is not the topical scene for the performance of the personal religious and factional affiliation of the ruler, but rather the *topos* of impartiality and fairness that enables the negotiation of Islamic plurality.

Due to the pervasiveness with which elements pertaining to the iconographical repertoires of Islamic discursive traditions are deployed within ‘Turkmen’ courtly culture, I suggest a synthetic argumentative structure. To illustrate this structure, I draw on individual examples, which can be discussed in greater detail. Echoing the setup of the preceding discussion, I begin with an overview of integrative deployments of iconographical elements aimed at including an integrative entirety of Islamic traditions. Subsequently, I discuss performances of the court as the claimed ‘topos of impartial fairness’ during the negotiation of multiple and conflicting traditions within Islam.

4.2.6.1 Inclusive Performances of ‘Globally Islamic’ Fairness

We have already come across numerous examples of the performative courtly deployment of iconographically charged elements that represent the ‘Turkmen’ court as an integrative nexus where multiple discursive traditions of Islam become consonant. The techniques used for this deployment of integrative tradition can be arranged with an increasing level of specificity as follows.

1. The courtly performance of maintaining the ‘infrastructure’ perpetuating multiple discursive traditions of Islam. This technique should be understood as governed by an inclusive provision of justice, which spanned the range from overseeing the execution of justice,³⁶³ renewing deeds and titles that underpinned the economic foundations of multiple interpersonal scholarly networks,³⁶⁴ the courtly commission of copies of texts and other representational goods,³⁶⁵ the regular issuing of coins and naming of the ruler during the Friday sermon, as well as other modes in which an ‘inclusive Islamic’ infrastructure was maintained.

during the process of the transmission of manuscripts; see the detailed study of textual stability and interpolation in Khwāndamīr’s *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Bockholt 2021.

363 See the discussion of justice and order as transcendental concepts above.

364 For the importance of the recurring re-accreditation of deeds and titles, see Aubin 1956b, Aubin 1965, Minorsky 1955a, as well as the ‘Turkmen’ decrees structured by Islamic terminology and normativities granted to individual Christian clerics published by Papazân 1956. The performance of architectural patronage by the ‘Turkmen’ courts has been discussed above. See also the formal accreditation granted by the court of *sultān* Ya’qūb to a claim for descent from Muḥammad, Faḡlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 244, ed. ‘Ashīq, 241.

365 See the two overviews of the production of manuscripts at the ‘Turkmen’ courts Robinson 1976 and Robinson 1991.

2. The courtly deployment of tradition by means of a continuation of inclusive textual and pragmatic traditions in their entirety. This technique of deploying an integrative Islamic consonance includes the performative reading of larger passages from the Qurʾān and collections of *ḥadīth*,³⁶⁶ the inclusive formulation of ‘canonic’ works to be taught in individual foundations,³⁶⁷ the performance of recurring Islamic rituals by the court, etc. This inclusive deployment of multiple Islamic traditions in their entirety was frequently performed by attracting individual scholars to the court who were situated at the nexus of multiple traditions. An ideal example of such a scholar who integrated multiple traditions in his positionality is Jahānshāh’s chief judge (*qāḍī l-quḍāt*) Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uskūʿī as depicted by Ibn Karbalāʾī:

[Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uskūʿī.] He was the *sulṭān* of the jurists and commentators, the pinnacle of the *imāms* of the transmitters of *ḥadīth*, the propagator of the *ḥadīths* of Muḥammad, the collector of all individual scholarly disciplines, who knew the details of the logical and transmitted bodies of knowledge and towered over the greatest scholars in his verbal and written work (*bi-l-taqrīr wa-l-taḥrīr*). He was preeminent among the masters of the meritorious in argument and interpretation, an eminent ascetic, and a god-fearing scholar and jurist-prudent. He fused science and deed as the guarantor of the religion of Islam and detained those who propagated falsehood and evil. He was full of truths and cognizances.³⁶⁸

This type of positional inclusiveness is rooted in the transmission of authoritative Islamic texts, as shown by Ibn Karbalāʾī’s quotation of several *ijāzas* and chains of transmission for the prestigious collection of *ḥadīth* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī that converged in this eminent scholar.³⁶⁹ In this way, the mere inclusion of Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uskūʿī as an influential multiplier at the court of Jahānshāh anchored

366 This performative reading of Qurʾān and collections of *ḥadīths* has already been discussed during the reconstruction of the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal networks of loyalty and patronage within the *qishlāq* above. Cf. Leube Genre (forthcoming).

367 See the foundation deed for the Qaraqyunlu foundation in Shīrāz in the name of Jahānshāh’s son Yūsuf, Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1353 / 1974, 257–258, cf. Binbaş 2019, 229, who, however, somewhat overstates the prominence of specifically ‘*shīʿī*’ texts within the rather vaguely delimited curriculum.

368 Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 58–59.

369 Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 2, 59–60.

the court as a key nexus within the continuous tradition of multiple scholarly discourses of Islamic sciences and practices.

3. The courtly deployment of individual elements rooted in Islamic traditions that were unlikely to be contested. Beyond the courtly deployment of prestigious texts from Islamic tradition in their entirety, this technique redeployed integrative and consensual parts and quotations at court in a way that was unlikely to be contested. Examples include the inclusion of Qur'ān 99, 7, in numismatic legends,³⁷⁰ the appropriation of uncontroversial titles rooted in Islamic textual traditions for the current ruler, and arguably also the propagation of generally accepted normativities that were commonly disregarded. The most visible instance of the latter is the public performance of a prohibition of alcohol, which is attested for several 'Turkmen' rulers.³⁷¹
4. The courtly deployment of specific claims in the name of individual members of the incumbent dynasty. Building on resonances with the comparatively uncontested techniques 1) to 3) already discussed, this technique voiced specific and impactful claims that could well be expected to be contested. Additionally, these claims could also be deployed in a way that resonated with other religious traditions that did not necessarily have to be specific to Muslim communities. Thus, the propagation of claims that represented 'Turkmen' rulers as global renewers of the Islamic community (*mujaddid*),³⁷² as God's and Muḥammad's representative on earth (*khalīfa*),³⁷³ or as foretold by Islamic scripture and prophetic visions³⁷⁴ drew on Islamic discursive traditions in a way that resonated with the courtly performance of supra-factional justice and cyclical periodizations of time.

The way in which expected counterclaims could be preemptively headed off by the prominent deployment of an 'integrative vagueness' is best exemplified in the appropriation of the prestigious heritage of the caliphate (*khilāfa*) claiming 'globally Islamic' leadership. The analysis of the argumentative deployment

370 See the introduction to this survey over religious iconography deployed at the Qara-and Aqqyunlu courts. Arguably, this continues an earlier precedent established in the Qaraquyunlu surcharges of 'whoever takes refuge with God, will be saved', cf. Album 1976.

371 See e.g. for *uzun* Ḥasan al-Ghiyāth *Tārīkh*, 57 (also includes a prohibition of gambling), for *sultān* Ya'qūb the very eloquent account given by Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 319–327, ed. 'Ashīq, 308–316, and for Aḥmad *bīk* the account of Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 925, which has been translated above.

372 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 163–167, ed. 'Ashīq, 155–159, see Glassen 1979 and Woods 1999, 104–105.

373 See below.

374 See above.

of caliphal titles in the crucial passage of the dedication of Dawwānī's *Akhlaq* to *uzun* Ḥasan by Woods³⁷⁵ can be supplemented by a survey of numismatic and epigraphic evidence. According to the dispersion as represented in the extant coins and inscriptions, no 'official' assumption of the title of caliph (*khalīfa*) appears to be attested.³⁷⁶ Instead, the inscription in the name of Jahānshāh written in stone and displayed in the great mosque of Gurgān / Astarābād begins with a quotation of Qur'ān 38, 26, 'David, we have appointed you as a deputy (*khalīfa*) on earth so that you may judge between the people', before continuing with a political decree by means of which Jahānshāh himself 'judges between the people' of Gurgān / Astarābād.³⁷⁷

More commonly, the term 'and his caliphate' (*wa-khilāfatahū*) was attached to the customary eulogy of *khallada llāhu mulkahū*, may God make his reign eternal, most prominently in the numismatic legends of the Aqquyunlu ruler Muḥammad Abū l-Makārim.³⁷⁸ Similar claims to the caliphate (*khilāfa*) are also attested in epigraphy composed in the name of Jahānshāh,³⁷⁹ *uzun* Ḥasan,³⁸⁰ and *sultān* Rustam.³⁸¹ Thus, counterclaims taking issue with the assumption of caliphal claims to global Islamic leadership by 'Turkmen' rulers could be defused by arguments turning on the literal meaning of *khilāfa* as exerting rulership in the name of God and Muḥammad, suggesting that the mere

375 Woods 1999, 105–106. See also the attestation of this title in poetry dedicated to 'Turkmen' rulers, for instance in Jāmī's *qaṣīdas* dedicated to *sultān* Ya'qūb, Lingwood 2018, 262–263.

376 But cf. the coin in the name of the Aqquyunlu ruler Aḥmad that appears to proclaim him *khalīfatū llāhi fī l-arḍ*, 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 269. In light of the singularity of its legend, however, I hesitate to accept this reading as entirely convincing; cf. the similarly eccentric titles suggested for another coin of the same ruler by 'Alā' al-Dīnī 1398 / 2019, 270.

377 See inscription 862 Gurgān / Astarābād, edited by Dhabīḥī 1351 / 1972, 313–314, Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1352 / 1973a, 30–33, and Ma'ṭūfī 1387 / 2008, 266.

378 Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977a, 161 and 162.

379 See the inscription on the portal of the Darb-i Imām in Iṣfahān (inscription 857 Iṣfahān a, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 343, and Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 766) discussed above and the foundation inscription on the portal of the (restored, see Kātib *Tārīkh*, 117) mosque of Sar-i Rīg in Yazd (inscription 860 or later Yazd, cf. Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2, 193–194, and Aube 2017, 141) and the portal of the great mosque in Yazd (inscription 861 Yazd, cf. Afshār 1348–1354 / 1969–1975, 2, 126–127, and Aube 2017, 147).

380 See the renovation inscriptions in the mosque of Qaṣr al-Dasht (inscription 875 Qaṣr al-Dasht, edited by Muṣṭafawī 1343 / 1964, 80) and the great mosque of Ushturjān (inscription 881 Ushturjān, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 275–277, and Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 825–826, cf. Leube 2015e), as well as the decree in his name at the great mosque of Ardabil dated to 878 (inscription 878 Ardabil, edited by Turābī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 2535 / 1977b, 283; Ṣafarī 1370–1371 / 1991–1992, 2, 181–182, and Sa'ādātī, Sa'ādātī 1394 / 2015, 7).

381 See the inscription on the portal of the Darb-i Kushk in Iṣfahān (inscription 902 Iṣfahān, edited by Hunarfar 1350 / 1971, 359; cf. the important corrections of Sauvaget 1938, 106, as well as Rafī'ī Mihrābādī 1352 / 1973, 137) discussed above.

administration of the *khilāfatu llāhi wa-rasūlihī* did not amount to a proclamation of a caliphate headed by a ‘Turkmen’ caliph.³⁸²

Due to the pervasiveness with which these four techniques of appropriating Islamic traditions were deployed within the courtly representation of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, as well as their strong mutual resonance, effective counterclaims were difficult to formulate. Nonetheless, the specificity of the last technique that claimed very specific concepts of Islamic legitimation for the incumbent ruler was sufficiently focused to propagate claims for globally Islamic leadership. Somewhat paradoxically, according to this interpretation, the unspecific and inclusive character of most of the iconographical elements pertaining to Islam that were deployed at the ‘Turkmen’ court was pivotal in suggesting that the multiple discursive traditions and networks structuring Muslim negotiations of normativity culminated at the rightful nexus of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts in a logical sequence difficult to contest.

This unspecific character of Qara- and Aqqyunlu claims for Islamic legitimation, which were based on multiple arguments that were mutually consonant, is paralleled by the vagueness and internal resonance of external counterclaims contesting this legitimation. This is well represented in the negative portrayal of Jahānshāh in the collection of biographies of poets composed by Dawlatshāh for the Timurid court of Herāt:

Although *amīr* Jahānshāh b. *qara* Yūsuf was a mighty ruler and statesman, he was unreliable (*nā-i’timād*) and badtempered (*bad-khūy*). He incarcerated the notables under any pretense and kept them in prison forever. [..., political events of his career.] The experts in these matters suggest that no ruler in the history of Islam has ever exhibited worse faith (*dar rūzgār-i islām az-ū bad-i’tiqādtar pādishāhī zāhir nashuda*), as he weakened Islam and propagated evil and decay.³⁸³

If the deployment of Islamic traditions at the ‘Turkmen’ courts arguably turned on diffused and vague arguments to suggest unambiguous legitimacy, this type of external polemics attests to the effectiveness of this strategy by its unambiguous claim *that* the Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers were unjust, even

382 Cf. the overview of the development of *khalīfa* as a title denoting claims to universal Islamic leadership given by Crone, Hinds 1986.

383 Dawlatshāh *Tadhkirat*, 457–458, cf. the discussion by Binbaş 2019, 222. Compare the vagueness and internal resonance in the similarly disfavorable depiction of Qaraqayunlu rulers by al-Ghiyāth *Ta’rikh*.

if the supporting evidence marshalled for this counterclaim was (necessarily) extremely vague.

4.2.6.2 Strategic Visibility and Intra-Islamic Positionality

Building on the argument that the deployment of iconographical repertoires pertaining to multiple Islamic traditions at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts was aimed at representing the court as the nexus where Islamic tradition culminated in its entirety, I argue that the interactions of the court with specific networks and traditions were governed by an attempt to be 'fair'. Accordingly, the 'Turkmen' courts were not represented as the locale of any particular tradition, but as the culmination of an inclusive and integrative vision of Islam in the shadow of the ruler's just guardianship. For this framing, it is paramount that Islam should not be seen as structured by an abiding contest between 'true' and 'false' traditions within Islam, but rather as a discursive space of competing but parallel currents, for which plurality was constitutive.³⁸⁴ Accordingly, the 'just guardianship' of inclusive and integrative Islam represented at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court becomes visible mainly during rivalries and strife between different traditions within Islam.

In the following passages, I review the typical performative interactions between multiple Islamic traditions at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. I begin with negotiations of Islamic mysticism vs. non-mysticism, before continuing with *shī'ī* vs. *sunnī* and *shāfi'ī* vs. 'other *sunnī* schools of law' as discursive configurations that were performatively negotiated at the 'Turkmen' courts. This survey concludes with a brief study of the iconography and rhetorics of two examples that illustrate how particular Islamic traditions were performatively excluded from this inclusive and integrative courtly representation of Islam.

Due to the permeability and context-dependency which I see as pivotal for the negotiation of inner-Islamic plurality, I use mysticism as a heuristic concept that is deliberately vague enough to include all instances where mystic strands of Islam, particularly those formulated in a terminology of affiliation to a specific order or path (*ṭarīqa*), as well as currents of individualistic ascetism and piety, are represented in the iconography deployed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts. As has already been argued during the survey of the integration of inspiration and other 'miracles' (*karāmāt*) within the representational culture of the court, the fundamental validity of 'mystical' benediction or curse was not contested. The permeability between high courtly office and affiliation to a *ṭarīqa* or a renowned mystic is ideally exemplified by *uzun* Ḥasan's chief minister (*şadr*) 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī, who was also known as a judge

³⁸⁴ This framing was most influentially proposed by Asad 1986.

(*qāḍī*). According to Ibn Karbalā'ī, he was buried at the feet of the famous mystic *dede* 'Umar Rawshanī, one of the most influential mystics in Aqqyunlu Tabrīz,³⁸⁵ whom he had served as a pupil notwithstanding his influence and rank at court.³⁸⁶

By contrast, the objection of an unnamed courtier of *uzun* Ḥasan to the ruler's performative saying that 'God said thus, the prophet ordered thus, the poor / mystics say thus' (*tangrī böyle dedi, payghambar böyle buyurdu, miskīnler böyle derler*) asserting that 'the poor / mystics know nothing' (*miskīnler bokh bilir*)³⁸⁷ contests the elevation of mystics to the same hierarchical level as the Qur'an and prophetic *ḥadīth*. Thus, *uzun* Ḥasan's statement postulates a threefold source of Islamic normativity, which reflects the internal hierarchy of Islamic normative sources merely by naming the Qur'an first and the utterances of mystics last. To this, the courtier arguably objected that not all sayings of mystics should necessarily be awarded this level of prestige, even if individual miracles (*karāmāt*) manifesting divine interventions could be granted to mystics under some circumstances. Thus, the somewhat straightforward reply of the courtier should be understood as based in a concept of miracles that sees the agency of God as pivotal, who merely deploys individual mystics as the unwitting conduit of His divine power.

Accordingly, performative courtly agency ostentatiously only interfered with fraudulent mystics who 'faked' their miracles. While the rhetorics and iconographical elements deployed to exclude individual mystic networks from the courtly topos of fair and inclusive Islam is discussed in greater detail below based on emic sources, the following anecdote in the etic account of the Venetian envoy Barbaro represents a very concise example of how the court performatively upheld truth and justice against a trickster:

[Burial.] This shall be sufficient as far as superstitions (*superstitione*) are concerned. Regarding the feint of miracles (*simulation di religione*), I will only describe one, hoping that among us Christians one might either not find such a feint or punish it as this one was punished. [...] There was a Muslim whom they held to be holy (*uno machometano a lor modo sancto*), who went about naked as the beasts, preaching and talking about their religion (*fede*). After he had risen to some renown and acquired a

385 See Lingwood 2014, 91 and 93.

386 Ibn Karbalā'ī *Rawḍāt*, 1, 476–477. The significance of burial below a revered master within Islamic traditions is rooted in the burial of Abū Bakr and 'Umar to the side and slightly below Muḥammad, see Leube 2016.

387 Munshī Qazwīnī *Jawāhir*, 74. The linguistic repertoire of this Turkic phrase has been discussed above.

following of ignorant people (*populi idioti*), he was not content with what he had, but announced that he wanted to have himself immured into a wall to fast for 40 days, pretending that the spirit would be sufficient (*li bastava l'animo*) to exit healthy without any hurt to his body.

Wishing to perform this feat (*experientia*), he had bricks brought into the forest (*foresta*), which he had joined with gypsum, which they use for lime cement (*calcina*) in these parts, to build himself a round hut (*caseta rotonda*), into which he was walled in. When he was retrieved after 40 days life and sane, all were amazed. One, however, who was more perspicacious (*più scorto*), noticed a clear smell of meat (*stuffo di certo sapor di carne*) in this place and, having someone investigate, found the fraud (*magagna*, i. e. *faeces* buried in the ground). When the ruler (*il signor*) heard of this, he had him handed over to the courtly judge (*cadi laschar*, cf. Arabic *qāḍī l-ʿaskar*). He was held together with a certain disciple of him, who after torture confessed that he had drilled through the wall and inserted a small reed, through which he fed his master at night with broth and other nourishment. Thus, both were executed.³⁸⁸

Turning to the performative negotiation of *shīʿī* vs. *sunnī* currents of Islam at the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts, a considerable shared space and permeability of both is crucial notwithstanding its blatant contradiction to modern textbook accounts of what *sunnī* or *shīʿī* Islam 'are'. Thus, Ṭihirānī follows the established tradition of Islamic historiography of including al-Ḥasan among the five righteous caliphs of early Islam, awarding him the caliphal title of *amīr al-muʿminīn*.³⁸⁹ Similarly, the attestation of '*shīʿī*' versions of the Islamic creed and the names of the 12 *imāmī* Imāms in numismatic legends alongside a sequence of four righteous caliphs³⁹⁰ demonstrate that honorific references to individuals resonating with '*shīʿī*' currents of Islam were not deployed within a 'factional' opposition of *sunna* vs. *shīʿa*.³⁹¹ In a similar vein, the epigraphic inscription of *ḥadīths* and slogans resonating with '*shīʿī*' traditions of Islam

388 Barbaro *Nuovo Ramusio*, 7, 168–169, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 3, 572–573. The Italian wording quoted above follows the edition of L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M.F. Tiepolo in *Il Nuovo Ramusio*, rather than the standardized forms of M. Milanese's edition in *Navigazione e Viaggi*.

389 Ṭihirānī *Diyārbakrīyya*, 18. For the inclusion of al-Ḥasan among the five righteous caliphs, see Rotter 1982.

390 See the dispersion established at the introduction to this dimension of iconographical elements pertaining to repertoires of religious affiliation above.

391 This argument based on the various media deployed at the 'Turkmen' courts is formulated *pace* Jacobs 1999.

could also be quite commensurate to the context, for instance on a foundation established around the mausoleum of a descendant of Muḥammad,³⁹² just as *shīʿī* texts could be included in the curricula of teaching institutions supported by the court.³⁹³ By contrast, it is difficult to determine to which extent the polemic labelling of antagonists within the Aqquyunlu courtly elite as ‘exclusionist *shīʿī* oppressors’ (*rāfiqī bir zālīm*) in the 17th-century CE *Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī* draws on factual tensions at the ‘Turkmen’ courts that are not described elsewhere. Instead, this labelling may represent a narrative elaboration that is rooted in post-‘Turkmen’ Ottoman-Şafawid polemics.³⁹⁴

Due to the extent of this permeability, which allowed the consonant deployment of *sunni* and *shīʿī* iconographically charged elements in ‘Turkmen’ courtly representation, the main account that depicts the court as the *topos* of just guardianship over ‘fair play’ within multiple Islamic traditions is contained in an external account of the pilgrimage of ‘Abdalrahmān Jāmī, who was publicly assailed in Aqquyunlu Baghdād by individuals propagating an exclusionist *shīʿī* vision of Islam (*rawāfiq*).³⁹⁵ Although this is only implicitly stated in Kāshifī’s account translated below, these *rawāfiq* appear to have claimed that assertions made in Jāmī’s *Silsilat al-Dhahab* demonstrate disrespect toward ‘Alī.³⁹⁶ Even if the ensuing courtly disputation may well have opposed differ-

392 See the ‘Turkmen’ epigraphy in Işfahān discussed above, but cf. the doubtful date of these inscriptions.

393 Mudarrisi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 1353 / 1974, 257–258, cf. Binbaş 2019, 229.

394 Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 107, cf. the labelling of the *shaykh al-islām* of Tabriz, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb as a ‘concealed exclusionist *shīʿī*’ (*zāhirde sunnī wa-bātinde ol zamān rāfiqī imish*), Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 227, and the episode in which a drunk person annoys *dede* ‘Uma Rawshanī, the master of Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, by proclaiming exclusionist *shīʿī* (*rāfiqī*) slogans and bad-mouthing Muḥammad’s companion ‘Umar, remembered as the second caliph in *sunni* traditions of Islam, Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 163–165.

395 See the description and chronology of this journey by Māyil Harawī 1377 / 1998, 43–52, and Rizvi 2018, 243–247. According to Gulshanī *Manāqib*, 30–31, Ibrāhīm Gulshanī happened to be in Baghdād during this controversy concerning the *Silsilat-i Dhahab* (*zinjir-i dhahab*) and was decisive in protecting Jāmī.

396 Algar 1976, 129–130, suggests that the controversial statement referred to the question of Abū Ṭālib’s conversion to Islam, which is contested in *sunni* and confirmed in *shīʿī* traditions. As explained below, this is suggested by Kāshifī’s quotation of the heading of a chapter in the *Silsilat-i Dhahab*, see Jāmī *Haft Awrang*, 113.

A different and somewhat more convoluted issue turning on the caliphal sequence of succession to Muḥammad is suggested as causing the dispute by Rizvi 2018, 244–245, based on the extensive quotation of the preceding chapter from the *Silsilat-i Dhahab* in the account of Jāmī’s pilgrimage in Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 166–168, which is equivalent to Jāmī *Haft Awrang*, 1, 111–113. Cf. the reconstruction of this episode in Māyil Harawī 1377 / 1998, 45–47, as well as his reconstruction of Jāmī’s intra-Islamic positionality, Māyil Harawī 1377 / 1998, 112–122.

ent mystical orders before the provincial governor,³⁹⁷ the episode illustrates the way in which the ‘Turkmen’ court could be deployed as the topical *locus* of fair negotiation:

[Jāmī’s pilgrimage in 877 / 1472–1473 CE, journey to Baghdād and visit to Karbalā’.³⁹⁸] Then he returned to Baghdād. During these days, one of the strange occurrences was that a tumultuous crowd of those who only accept ‘Alī as the righteous successor of Muḥammad (*izdiḥām-i rawāfiḍ*, the latter term is commonly used in polemical contexts to describe *shī‘ī* in opposition to *sunni* Muslims) objected to some of the verses of the *Silsilat-i Dhahab* [composed by Jāmī]. Briefly, a certain Fathī, who was a book-reader (*sawād-khwānī*, here: minor scribe?) from among the inhabitants of Jām and had served the auspicious abode of Jāmī for some years, even accompanying Jāmī on this blessed pilgrimage, happened to become involved in an argument with one of Jāmī’s servants (*khādimān-i īshān*) due to some mental defects on his part (*ba-wāsiṭa-yi ba’ḍi az ‘awāriḍ-i nafsānī*). Therefore, he was filled with bad sentiment and anger, and because he was of an exceedingly coarse disposition and wicked character, he left the service of Jāmī and, out of spite, as well as due to his love for discord, joined a group of *rawāfiḍ*, badmouthing Jāmī among them.

He took a rhetorical example (*tamthīlī*), which Jāmī had transmitted in the first book of the *Silsilat-i Dhahab* on the authority of one of the books of *qāḍī* ‘Aḍud [the well-known theologian and scholar ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī], may God have mercy on him!, to explain how the majority of humanity preferred their spurious beliefs [when asked to convert to Islam] (*dar bayān-i īn ma’nā ki akthar-i ahl-i ‘ālam rū-yi ‘ibādat dar mawhūm wa-mukhīl-i khud dārand*).³⁹⁹ [This Fathī] left out the beginning and end of this rhetorical example and presented them [the *rawāfiḍ*] with some

It should be noted that several *lacunae* in the edited version of this chapter of Jāmī’s *Silsilat al-Dhahab* can be emended from the text as quoted by Bākharzī.

Due to the almost verbatim equivalence of the narrative presented in the accounts of Jāmī’s pilgrimage in Bākharzī and Kāshifī in their depiction of the events in Baghdād, both seem to depend on a common source, if none of them can be shown to be directly dependent on the other.

The contestedness of the *Silsilat al-Dhahab* beyond Jāmī’s public dispute in Baghdād is described in a separate chapter of Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 141–142.

397 Ter Haar 2002, 320.

398 For the chronology and itinerarium of his journey, see Rizvi 2018, 243–245.

399 This is an intertextual link to the title of a chapter of Jāmī’s *Silsilat al-Dhahab*, see Jāmī Haft Awrang, 113: *Dar bayān-i ān-ki akthar-i khalq-i ‘ālam rū-yi parastash dar mawhūm wa-mukhīl-i khud dārand*.

verses that illustrated the beliefs of this majority [of humanity as represented in this chapter of Jāmī's *Silsilat-i Dhahab*]. Out of sectarian factionalism (*ta'aṣṣub*) and with the aim of supporting their fabrication and fuel civil strife (*fitna*), one of the *rawāfiḍ* composed some further verses, which he attached to those of Jāmī.⁴⁰⁰

Ignorant and over-zealous *rawāfiḍ* (*juhhāl wa-ghulāt-i rawāfiḍ*) from everywhere began to point out the members of Jāmī's convoy (*qāfila*), referring to them with terms and names that incited tumult and contributed to civil strife (*fitna*). Finally, a well-ordered courtly session (*majlis*) was held in one of the large *madrasas* of Baghdād,⁴⁰¹ which Jāmī (*ḥaḍrat-i makhdūm*) attended, while the judges⁴⁰² of the *ḥanafī* and *shāfi'ī* schools of law were seated to his right and left.⁴⁰³ Maqṣūd *bīk*, the son⁴⁰⁴ of *uzun Ḥasan*, and Khalīl *bīk*, the brother of *uzun Ḥasan*'s wife, who were the incumbent governors of Baghdād on *uzun Ḥasan*'s behalf, sat facing Jāmī together with the Turkmen generals (*umarā-yi tarākima*). The notables and commoners (*khāṣṣ wa-'āmm*) of Baghdād formed a crowd that extended to the gate and terrace [roof?] of the *madrasa*.

The book *Silsilat-i Dhahab* was brought forward and the content of the passage in question was presented together with the pertinent preceding and subsequent comments. Jāmī explained: 'Because I praised 'Alī (*ḥaḍrat-i amīr*) and his noble descendants, may God be pleased with all of them!, in the verses of *Silsilat-i Dhahab*, I became anxious lest the *sun-nīs* of Khurāsān (*sunniyān-i khurāsān*) presume that I was affiliated to the *rawāfiḍ* (*mā-rā ba-raḥḍā nisbat nakunand*). How was I to know that I would be plagued by the calumny (*jafā*) of the *rawāfiḍ* in Baghdād?'

When those present at the courtly session had thus been properly informed about the case, they were startled and exclaimed at once: 'Never has anybody among the Muslims (*dar īn ummat*) praised 'Alī in this way and presented the merits of him and his descendants with so much eloquence!' The highly renowned *ḥanafī* and *shāfi'ī* judges recorded

400 According to Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 168, these additional verses were composed by Faṭḥī himself.

401 According to Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 168–169, this *majlis* took place in the great mosque of Baghdād.

402 I emend a *lacuna* in the Persian edited text from the Arabic translation Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt Arabic*, 201.

403 According to Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 169, the judges of all four established *sunni* schools of law were present.

404 I emend the nephew (*birādar-zāda*) given in Kāshifī's text based on Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 173, as Maqṣūd *bīk* is well attested as a son of *uzun Ḥasan*.

this verdict of the soundness (*ṣiḥḥat*) of the passage [in Jāmī's *Silsilat-i Dhahab*] in writing, together with the other notables who had attended the courtly session.

While the judges and the notables were present, Jāmī (*īshān*) asked the one who led this circle of *rawāfiḍ*, a man named Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī: 'Did you (*tu*) wish to speak with us in matters of law (*sharī'a*) or mystical affiliation (*ṭarīqa*)?' He replied that he had spoken on behalf of both. Jāmī decreed: 'First you shall stand for the judgement (*ḥukm*) according to the law (*sharī'a*), and pluck the mustache from your face that you have never plucked before!' When Jāmī had spoken thus, a group from Shirwān, who had attended the courtly session due to their sympathy for Jāmī, rose, fell upon Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī, and before shears (*miqrāḍ*) could be brought, they had plucked half of his mustache between a knife and a stick (*nīm-i shārib-i way-rā bar rū-yi 'aṣā ba-kārd qaṭ' kardand*).⁴⁰⁵ Then they cut the remainder with shears.

When his [Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī's] mustache had been entirely plucked out, Jāmī (*īshān*) declared: 'Although you have been punished [by the hands of the people for your infringement of the *sharī'a*],⁴⁰⁶ you have infringed upon the prestige of those affiliated to mystical traditions (*ṭarīqat*) and cannot wear the dress of the poor / mystics (*kiswat-i faqr bar tu ḥarām shud*). Now you must enter the guardianship of the most eminent mystic of our time (*pīr-i waqt*), so he might invoke the first *Sūra* of the Qur'ān and praise God for you (*tā fātiḥa wa-takbīrī dar kār-i tu kunad*).' According to the principles of their mystical tradition (*qā'ida-yi ṭarīqiyān*),⁴⁰⁷ he had to remain in Kirbilā' for some time, so the descendants of Muḥammad (*sādāt*) could praise God on his behalf, before he might be allowed to return to dispute (*muḥādala*).

Afterwards, the *ṭarīqa*-brother (*barādar-i ṭarīqat*)⁴⁰⁸ of Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī was brought forward, who had composed the spurious verses and added them to the *Silsilat-i Dhahab*, because he was the most inclined to inciting enmity and sectarian factionalism (*ta'aṣṣub*) among his contemporaries. After appropriate censure and reprimand, Jāmī demonstrated his power and political sense (*qahr wa-siyāsati-i ḥukkām*) and ordered that

405 I read *qaṭ'*, to cut, for the *qz'* of the edited text.

406 This emendation follows the Arabic translation, Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt Arabic*, 201.

407 I follow the reading *ṭarīqiyān* that is given in a footnote to the edited text instead of the *zarfiyān* given in the main text of the edition. Cf. the Arabic *qā'idat ahli ṭarīqatihī l-fāsida*, which removes any remaining ambiguity, Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt Arabic*, 201–201.

408 The Arabic translation of this passage is unclear, suggesting that Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī himself had composed the spurious verses.

immediately during this courtly session a wooden cap (*takhta-yi kulāh*) [a sign of public disgrace used for convicted criminals] be placed upon his head. Then, he was to be seated facing backwards onto a donkey and publicly paraded and ridiculed throughout the entire town and market of Baghdād together with his companions and helpers.

[Jāmī himself composed a *ghazal* commenting upon these events.]⁴⁰⁹

The degree to which Jāmī himself was involved in the choice of proper punishment for his calumniators may well be somewhat exaggerated in Kāshifī's account. Nonetheless, the link between Jāmī and 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī is also attested by the commentary which Jāmī composed on the famous tractate of al-Ījī on the art of literary composition (*waḍ'*).⁴¹⁰ Jāmī's reference to 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī at the beginning of the passage translated above may be particularly pertinent if the 'leader of the *rawāfiḍ*' who assailed Jāmī in Baghdād, Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī, could be identified with Ni'matallāh II, as according to al-Sakhāwī, Ni'matallāh I was a disciple of al-Ījī.⁴¹¹ Indeed, the main source of al-Sakhāwī's biography of Ni'matallāh I is a son of al-Ījī, who was a disciple of Ni'matallāh I and who married a granddaughter of Ni'matallāh I.⁴¹² Nonetheless, the great prestige enjoyed by Ni'matallāh II at the Aqqyunlu court makes this identification doubtful.⁴¹³

Without entirely accepting the eminent role ascribed to Jāmī himself in pronouncing the verdict on Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī and the second *rāfiḍī*, the deployment of the court as the topic locale of two separate traditions of normativity is significant. If we follow the double verdict of Jāmī on Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī, the Aqqyunlu court of the provincial governors in Baghdād did not only

409 Kāshifī *Rashaḥāt*, 1, 254–258. I thank my friend and colleague Dr. Philip Bockholt, Leipzig, for his generous photographs of his personal copy of this text, which is unobtainable via the German inter-library loan system. See the parallel account Bākhārzi *Maqāmāt*, 166–173, as well as the paraphrasis by Rizvi 2018.

410 This commentary is included in Jāmī's bibliography as given by al-Zirikli *A'lām*, 3, 296, cf. for the influence of Jāmī's commentary on the *Risālat al-Waḍ'* Ökten 2018. For the abiding importance of al-Ījī's *Risāla*, see its inclusion in a modern collection of magisterial articles within Arabic-Islamic scholarly traditions, al-Ījī *Risāla*.

411 al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 10, 186.

412 al-Sakhāwī *Ḍaw'*, 10, 186.

413 See for the influence of Ni'matallāh II at the 'Turkmen' courts the discussion by Lingwood 2014, 85, cf. the suggestion of Gulshani *Manāqib*, 118, that Ni'matallāh II (*walī ni'mati*) was decisively involved in the negotiations leading to *sultān* Ya'qūb's victory over Bāyandur *bīk*, as well as the brief biography of Ni'matallāh II contained in the *Jāmī* of Mufidī, edited by Aubin 1956c, 208–215.

Rizvi 2018, 245, may, however, well be correct in suggesting that the Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī mentioned as Jāmī's opponent represents a narrative fiction.

adjudicate grievances according to a (not necessarily clearly defined or uncontested) concept of integrative Islamic normativity (*sharī'a*), but also represents the topic location where individual currents within Islam could be judged according to their particular rules (*ṭarīqa*). Without putting too fine a point on it, Jāmī's duplex verdict therefore suggests that the performative public shaming violating the corporal sovereignty and manhood of Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī, as well as that of his companion paraded through town as a criminal, represent sovereign acts of performative supra-factional Islamic justice (*sharī'a*). This performance of supra-factional justice accordingly established the court as the nexus of multiple interpersonal networks of the entangled urban sphere. The performative bodily punishment is further extended in the parallel account of Bākharzī, who states that the Aqqyunlu governor Maqṣūd *bīk* had some followers of this *rāfiqī* network taken to the riverside of the Tigris in Baghdād to have their heads and beards shaved.⁴¹⁴

At the same time, the verdict that Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī follow the customs of his *ṭarīqa* by spending time at the shrine of al-Ḥusayn in Karbalā', while certainly visible to those visiting the shrine, does not entail a public loss of face on a scale comparable to his punishment according to *sharī'a*. Arguably, this (temporal) banishment to Karbalā' reflects a competition of multiple regionally embedded interpersonal networks for influence at the court. Accordingly, Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī as the leader of the network found guilty is relegated from Baghdād as the seat of the Aqqyunlu governors to the (adjacent and relatively well-connected) periphery of Karbalā'. This regional embeddedness of multiple competing traditions as embodied in interpersonal networks is also reflected in Jāmī's own Khurāsānī convoy and the group of supporters from the region of Shirwān who enforce his verdict. In any case, the duplex judgement of Jāmī demonstrates that courtly justice was once again not concerned with the establishment of a hierarchy of inner-Islamic traditions, such as *sunna* vs. *shī'a*, but rather with the punishment of fraudulent allegations and calumnies according to a supra-factional standard of fairness.

The two *sunnī* schools of law (*madhhab*) that appear to be most prominently represented among the interpersonal networks at the 'Turkmen' courts are those of the *shāfi'ī* and *ḥanafī* traditions. Both traditions are represented as something of a *hen dia dyoin* in the seating order that places their two *qādis* charged with upholding public order in Baghdād according to their respective tradition to the right and left of Jāmī in the account translated above. Nonetheless, Ibn Ajā's claim of having conducted an elaborate demonstration

414 Bākharzī *Maqāmāt*, 173. According to Bākharzī, they were then paraded across the town instead of Ni'mat-i Ḥaydarī.

of the details of their respective rulings during a performative scholarly *majlis* of *uzun* Ḥasan in Tabrīz shows how their differences could also be deployed within a performative disputation of juridic and scholarly *minutiae*.⁴¹⁵ An implicit preeminence is also accorded to jurisprudents (*fuqahā*) affiliated to the *shāfiʿī* tradition of Islam in Faḍlallāh's exclusive quotation of *madhhab*-specific biographical dictionaries dedicated to this current of Islam in the methodological chapter of his court history dedicated to *sulṭān* Ya'qūb and Bāysunghur.⁴¹⁶

Carlson has suggested that the difference between *ḥanafī* and *shāfiʿī* rulings on the admissibility of killing a Muslim in retaliation for a non-Muslim may have contributed to the public unrest in Tabrīz after *sulṭān* Ya'qūb killed Mahdī.⁴¹⁷ Nonetheless, this is not explicitly corroborated by any of the contemporary sources, which instead comment extensively on the drunken rage of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb while he carried out the execution. Accordingly, I believe the significance of the difference between *ḥanafī* and *shāfiʿī* rulings is in this case secondary in comparison to the personal misconduct of the ruler.

Finally, an example of *madhhab*-specific architectural patronage is represented by the possible Aqquyunlu sponsorship of separate prayer halls dedicated to Muslims affiliated to the *shāfiʿī* school of law (*şafîilerin namaz kıldıkları tarafı*). These are exclusively attested in the town of Diyarbakır. The main extant example of this type of *madhhab*-specific architecture that can be linked to Aqquyunlu architectural patronage due to the extant inscription (inscription 874 Diyarbakır) in the name of *uzun* Ḥasan is the *shāfiʿī* portion of the great mosque of Diyarbakır.⁴¹⁸ The function of this *madhhab*-specific portion of the great mosque is described by the 17th-century CE Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi as follows: 'Within this mosque, there is a separate *shāfiʿī* mosque. Everybody who is affiliated to the *shāfiʿī madhhab* prays within it.'⁴¹⁹

In addition, Evliya Çelebi mentions a *shāfiʿī* partition within the Nebi Camii,⁴²⁰ which, notwithstanding the lack of any inscriptions referring to the

415 Ibn Ajā *Ta'riḫh*, ms.-copy Cairo, 79–81, ed. Ṭulaymāt, 115–116.

416 Faḍlallāh *Tāriḫh*, ed. Woods, 90, ed. 'Ashīq, 86. For this genre of biographical dictionaries exclusively dedicated to *shāfiʿī* jurisprudents, see the authoritative overview by Halm 1974.

417 Carlson 2018, 41.

418 For the inscription, see Konyar 1936, 2, 145 and *resim* 94, as well as Beysanoğlu 1996, 284–285, and Sözen 1981, 63–65. This prayer hall faces the main prayer hall of the mosque across its court and is currently used as the section where female Muslims pray. But cf. the suggestion of Konyar 1936, 2, 145, that this inscription may originally have been displayed in another location of the great mosque or even on another monument.

419 Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 4, 32.

420 Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 4, 32.

original foundation of the mosque, is attributed to Aqqyunlu architectural patronage by Sözen.⁴²¹ This *shāfiʿī* portion of the foundation appears to have been destroyed before 1960 CE, as the extant mosque near Dağ Kapı only represents a renovation and partial reconstruction of the *ḥanafī* portion of the earlier foundation.⁴²² Evliya Çelebi also mentions a *madrasa* specifically dedicated to *shāfiʿī* traditions of Islam in Diyarbakır,⁴²³ while Sözen suggests that further mosques in Diyarbakır may have included separate *shāfiʿī* prayer halls.⁴²⁴

Nonetheless, the inscription of *uzun* Hasan at the former *shāfiʿī* portion of the great mosque does not refer to the *shāfiʿī madhhab* at all and no faction-specific patronage awarded to the *shāfiʿī* tradition of Islam in Diyarbakır is recorded in the emic sources produced during ‘Turkmen’ rule over this town. It is accordingly not clear whether these separate prayer halls were indeed originally constructed for Muslims affiliated to the *shāfiʿī* tradition of Islam in Diyarbakır under ‘Turkmen’ rule. Although this phenomenon certainly merits detailed study, I believe it is therefore prudent to reserve judgement on the factual Aqqyunlu patronage directed at *madhhab*-specific monuments until specific and intentional patronage along these lines can be securely dated to the rule of the ‘Turkmen’ dynasties. Nonetheless, this type of architectural patronage would certainly resonate with other instances where courtly links with influential interpersonal networks of the *qishlāq* were performatively established by means of specific architectural patronage.⁴²⁵

Several examples of how courtly agency could performatively exclude and punish individual practices and currents within Islam as ‘fraudulent’ have already been mentioned. I conclude this survey over the appropriation and negotiation of religious traditions within the representational culture deployed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts with two iconic examples of performative exclusion. The first concerns the exclusion and persecution of the so-called *ḥurūfī* movement centered around *mawlānā* Faḍlallāh,⁴²⁶ which is presented in Ibn Karbalāʾī’s spiritual topography of early Ṣafawid Tabrīz as follows:

421 Sözen 1971a, 43–47.

422 Sözen 1971a, 43–45, Sözen 1981, 72–79, and Beysanoğlu 1996, 451–455, Top, Koç 2011, 236.

423 Evliya *Siyāḥatnāma*, 4, 35.

424 Sözen 1971a, 243.

425 See the discussion of the inclusion of ‘*shīʿī*’ currents of Islam in ‘Turkmen’ courtly patronage above.

426 For the *ḥurūfī* movement in the context of 15th-century CE Iran, see the fundamental article by Ritter 1954, as well as the more recent works by Bashir 2003 and Bashir 2005, as well as Binbaş 2013 and Mir-Kasimov 2014b and Mir-Kasimov 2015.

[One of the burial grounds of Tabrīz.] A daughter of *mawlānā* Faḍlallāh Naʿīmī *hurūfi*,⁴²⁷ who was killed during the rule of king Jahānshāh together with a great number of *hurūfis*, is buried in the same burial ground. [...] During the time of Jahānshāh (*dar zamān-i salṭanat-i pādshāh-i madhkūr*), the followers of the *hurūfiyya* [...] grew and prospered greatly. Their leader was a man named *mawlānā* Yūsuf, while the daughter of *mīr* Faḍlallāh was another pillar of their community. This group is known for their anarchy and heresy (*ibāḥat wa-tazandūq*), so that they have never been able to openly proclaim their affiliation (*dar hīch zamān zāhir namūtawānand shud*). Nonetheless, at this time, they were able to generally proclaim their affiliation (*tarīq*) openly, occasionally even spending time with Jahānshāh (*bā pādshāh-i madhkūr nīz gāhī ṣuḥbat midāshta'and*). Due to this closeness (*ṣuḥbat*), they became influential, particularly among the ungrounded minds of the cattle-like common people (*ʿawāmm*).

When they became aware of this, the scholars of Islam and *imāms* of the people, may God strengthen the foundations of the resplendent community with the strength of their rulings and ground the prescriptions of the noble *sharīʿa* in the vastness of their care!, deliberated on this problem. [During Jahānshāh's visit to a scholar named *mawlānā* Muḥammad Tili living in the village of Tīl, the scholar attempts to convince Jahānshāh that a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad makes the ruler responsible for upholding the 'cleanness' of Islam.] The *mawlānā* said: 'This *ḥadīth* applies to everybody, but rulers must cleanse the path of Islam (*rāh-i dīn*) from thorns, stones, clods, and the filth of heresy, unlawful innovation, anarchy, and unbelief (*najāsāt-i zandaqa wa-bid'at wa-ibāḥat wa-kufr*). Right now, the followers of the so-called *hurūfiyya* have openly proclaimed their affiliation. They have caused and continue to cause grave and dire harm to Islam and the Muslims. Until this matter is resolved, their bad reputation lies on your neck. You must oppose this evil-spreading faction!'

After Jahānshāh had been made aware of this matter, the scholars finally transgressed (*ghuluww kardā*) and issued juridic opinions (*fatāwā*) that it was mandatory to oppose this faction. If the ruler should continue to shy away and postpone this matter, it was also mandatory to oppose him. Nonetheless, among the scholars of the time, [the chief judge of Jahānshāh,] *mawlānā* Najm al-Dīn Uskūʿī, may God have mercy upon him!, who represented the perfection of veracity, piety (*diyānat*),

427 I follow the emendation of the editor Jaʿfar Sulṭān al-Qurrāʿī given in a footnote, reading *hurūfi* instead of the *ḥarfī* of the edited text.

God-fearingness, and legal opinion, and in whom Jahānshāh trusted absolutely, was full of concerns in this matter, asking: 'What shall happen if we spill the blood of such a great number of people?' Thus, he did not subscribe to the death-sentence for this group. Building on his opinion, Jahānshāh also did not become involved in this matter, buying time with 'in the future' and 'maybe' (*sawfa wa-la-'alla*).

At this time, people claim that there was a mystic receiving divine inspirations (*majdhūbī*), who had lived for many years as an ascetic in Surkhāb and never come to Tabrīz (*ba-shahr*). All the people held him to be a friend of God due to his esoteric knowledge and miracles (*bāṭin wa-karāmat*). While this debate [about performative violence against the *hurūfis*] was going on, one morning he came to Tabrīz and entered the house of *mawlānā* Najm al-Dīn. When he faced this revered figure, he admonished him with extremely fervent and harsh words, saying: 'This night, I have seen Muḥammad (*ḥaḍrat*) in a vision, ordering me to go to Najm al-Dīn and tell him to subscribe to the death-sentence of this group, for they are the destroyers of Islam (*mukharrib-i dīn*) who devastate the building of the Muslims (*ahl-i yaqīn*).'⁴²⁸ As they claim, *mawlānā* Najm al-Dīn began to cry bitterly when he heard this and ordered them to be killed. Thus, almost 500 people were killed and burned, even though people claim that most of them were executed due to their company and friendship (*muṣāḥabat wa-muṣādaqat*) with them. [...]

It must, however, be said that many among the people of law and truth believe that *mīr* Faḍlallāh Naʿīmī himself was free from any blemish, living in the perfection of piety and ascetism (*taʿabbud wa-tazahhud*) without depending upon anybody for his sustenance. Instead, he engaged in the production of head-dresses to earn his living and pay his expenses. His followers, however, did not understand his excellency and fell into anarchy, heresy, and apostasy (*ibāḥat wa-zandaqa wa-ilḥād*). May God shelter us from the greatest of evils by His prophet and his pure family!⁴²⁸

Although this episode is not described in a source written at Jahānshāh's court, it is clear that the ruler was not at all eager to become involved in inter-factional struggles between the multiple Islamic networks competing within the *qish-lāq* of Tabrīz. In this context, it may be significant that the decision of some scholars to call for opposition against Jahānshāh due to his refusal to execute the *hurūfis* is described as transgression (*ghuluww*), even if this derogatory framing cannot be confidently traced beyond the early Ṣafawid positionality

428 Ibn Karbalāʾī *Rawḍāt*, 478–481; cf. the discussion of parallel sources in Ritter 1954, 32–33.

of Ibn Karbalā'ī. In any case, even mounting unrest among the scholarly elites was insufficient to force Jahānshāh and his chief jurispudent Najm al-Dīn Uskū'ī into action before a performatively deployed claim of divine inspiration resolved the matter. The suggestion that even the quotation of a *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad that could be interpreted as proclaiming the existence of a hierarchy of traditions within Islam was not sufficient to force Jahānshāh to engage in performative violence against the *hurūfis* is particularly striking in its demonstration of the importance of supra-factional and possibly even supra-religious justice within the performative culture of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu courts.

An even more striking manifestation of this unwillingness of 'Turkmen' performative courtly culture of engaging in the policing of inner-Islamic boundaries is the extensive and extremely fervent polemic of Faḍlallāh's courtly historiography against *shaykh* Ḥaydar Ṣafawī, the father of Ismā'īl Ṣafawī.⁴²⁹ Notwithstanding the magnitude of this conflict that opposed the most influential interpersonal networks and lineages of the court of *sultān* Ya'qūb, Faḍlallāh's elaborate justification of the violence is very careful not to suggest that the Aqquyunlu court was engaged in the negotiation of multiple and conflicting traditions within Islam. Instead, he stresses the righteousness of *shaykh* Ṣafī al-Dīn, the eponymous founder of the Ṣafawī tradition and ancestor of *shaykh* Ḥaydar and his influence at the Īlkhānīd court,⁴³⁰ before engaging in an elaborate polemic that suggests that *shaykh* Ḥaydar, following the lead of his father *shaykh* Junayd, personally violated nature and propriety by transgressing against his social station. Indeed, Faḍlallāh is careful to demonstrate the mere possibility of descendants of noble ancestors engaging in reprehensible acts by references to the violently anti-Muslim and anti-monotheist close relatives of the Islamic prophets Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, and Muḥammad mentioned in the Qur'ān.⁴³¹ Significantly, this personal transgression of the Ṣafawīd leaders abandoning their 'natural' position is presented in extremely naturalized terms by comparing both *shaykh* Ḥaydar and his father *shaykh* Junayd with vipers:

Concerning the nature of animals, scientists (*ḥukamā'*) suggest that the reprehensible ways of the snake include that it never finds a permanent abode, does nowhere eat poison [exert any labor?] to prepare a lair, and does not even engage in thought about its home. Instead, it takes the existing abodes of other animals with unlawful force (*ghaṣb*), simply

429 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 255–307, ed. 'Ashīq, 251–297.

430 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 261–266, ed. 'Ashīq, 255–259.

431 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 261–262, ed. 'Ashīq, 255–256.

pushing into an existing place and strangling the others with the enlacement of its head and tail. Thus, the poet says:

You are like the snake that does not dig / But suddenly you appropriate a shelter.

Therefore, it is clear how much the character of a viper is represented in the nature of *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar, who spat the venom of treachery over the houses of Shirwān like a snake that attempts to appropriate a shelter. Thus, they set out every year to conquer Shirwān with evil intent, shedding their skin and mixing the draught of life of the inhabitants of this region with evil poison.⁴³²

Only after this drastic and dehumanizing depiction of the evil character of *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar does Faḍlallāh suggest that they deserve punishment according to Qur'ān 5, 33. In this instance, his rhetorical and argumentative technique is particularly nuanced. Faḍlallāh literally states immediately after the passage translated above: 'and therefore they deserved the harshest of the four punishments of 'Dispel them from the land!' (Qur'ān 5, 33).'⁴³³ In light of the proposed superficiality of their roots in their ancestral center of Ardabīl, which he proclaims before, this sentence is hard to contest due to the magnitude of the transgressions which Faḍlallāh attributes to *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar. Nonetheless, the quotation of this short part of Qur'ān 5, 33, evokes the remainder of the verse, which reads 'Punish those who fight against God and His prophet and spread evil on earth, killing them, crucifying them, cutting their hands and legs crosswise, or dispelling them from the land. This is their punishment in the world, however they will receive harsh torture in the afterlife.' This verse is held to have been occasioned by some Arabs who, after having received Muḥammad's permission to take sustenance from his camels, killed his herdsman and stole the camels.⁴³⁴ By means of his elliptic (and thereby virtually unassailable) quotation of only the least controversial part of this verse, Faḍlallāh therefore implies that *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar similarly broke the faith of God and His prophet as invested in the Aqqyunlu court by quarrelling with the Shirwānshāhs, who like them represented an influential interpersonal network within the Aqqyunlu realms. Additionally, this elliptic quotation preemptively suggests the final outcome of the conflicts, with the deaths of both *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar being justified by the Qur'ānic command, even if it would be virtually impossible to unambiguously

432 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 270, ed. 'Ashīq, 263.

433 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 270, ed. 'Ashīq, 263.

434 al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 142.

accuse Faḍlallāh of calling for the execution of the Ṣafawid leaders due to his virtuoso deployment of an elliptic Qur'ānic quotation that implies the remainder of the verse.

An even greater degree of specificity is achieved by Faḍlallāh's suggestion that *shaykh* Junayd and *shaykh* Ḥaydar deserved 'the harshest of the four punishments' (see above), as Ibn 'Abbās, followed by al-Shāfi'ī, suggested to interpret the sequence of the four punishments suggested in the part of the Qur'ānic verse not quoted by Faḍlallāh as follows:

Killing them is for those who only killed, crucifying them is for those who killed and stole, cutting them is for those who stole and did not kill, and dispelling them is for those who only spread fear.⁴³⁵

Accordingly, the ultimate death of *shaykh* Ḥaydar, followed by the public display of his corpse in Tabrīz,⁴³⁶ is implicitly presented as the appropriate punishment of *shaykh* Ḥaydar's killing and stealing, which in turn are retroactively proven beyond any doubt by the nature of his punishment due to its accordance with Qur'ānic commands as presented in Ibn 'Abbās' commentary on Qur'an 5, 33. Nonetheless, the elliptic quotation of the verse once again shields Faḍlallāh's poetic voice from charges of unambiguously justifying the execution of *shaykh* Ḥaydar, as the specificity of the passage only emerges when the parts of the verse and commentary which Faḍlallāh does not cite are supplemented by the audience.

To motivate the genesis of the evil nature of *shaykh* Ḥaydar, Faḍlallāh suggests that he had been led astray by deviant claims of his supporters:

The ignorant people of Anatolia (*juhhāl-i rūm*), who always go astray and are the armies of the devils of deception, placed the wooden gong (*nāqūs*) of the idle claims of the Christians on the roof of the monastery of the world and like the straying community of the trinity wanted to earn divine torment and pain. They proclaimed *shaykh* Junayd as God and his son as the son of God: 'Heavens, earth, and mountains almost burst when they proclaimed that the Merciful had a son: It is inconceivable that the Merciful should have a son!' (Qur'an 19, 90–91). As if they did not see with their own eyes the corpse [of *shaykh* Junayd] as a mixture of dust and blood! They disregarded the verse 'He is the Living, no god is but Him!' (Qur'an 40, 65), and their stupidity and ignorance reached

435 al-Jalālayn *Tafsīr*, 142.

436 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 305, ed. 'Ashiq, 295.

such an extent that they would have killed anybody who suggested that *shaykh* Junayd had died. Had anybody implied that he had any defect, they would have annihilated him.⁴³⁷

Notwithstanding his installation as the rightful leader of the Şafawī shrine in Ardabīl by the Aqqyunlu ruler after the death of his father, *shaykh* Ḥaydar allowed himself to be led astray by this type of idle claims. To illustrate this, Faḍlallāh fashions an image of *shaykh* Ḥaydar's activities that inverts the common iconographical elements deployed to depict 'proper' behaviour that should be expected from an influential multiplier embedded in interpersonal networks of mystic affiliation (*turuq*) within Islam:

Instead of sitting in the library (*maktab*), as he should have, he rode around on a horse. He laid aside the writing tablet, with which he should have worked continuously. Instead of spiritual miracles, he read boastful stories of heroic deeds, and instead of copying the Qur'ān with his pen, he attacked the dogs of Ardabīl with his sword. Instead of fasting for 40 days, he drew his bow, and instead of progressing along the path of purity, his sword engaged in highway-robbery against truth (*qaṭʿ-i ṭarīq-i ṣafā*).⁴³⁸ In the morning, when the *shaykhs* of the pious engage in burning and fervent worship, he busied himself sewing shields and whittling arrows, and in the evening, when the mystics bow in meditation, he smashed the heads of the people with the sword of his oppression.

What he never did: Pray / What he never gave: Alms,

What he never held: Fasts / What he did not know: The pilgrimage to Mecca.

When the court of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb came to Ardabīl, I heard from reliable sources stories that attribute to him such malice that, even if one only mentioned a fraction of them, one would be held to exaggerate. They said that when he thought someone among the people of Ardabīl might oppose him, he arranged machinations, which even the most overbearing oppressors would not dare to consider, to destroy the ones in question. On one occasion, he coated a living dog from head to tail with oil and sulphur. When his victim (*ān maḥlūm*) sat at night in his home with his children, *shaykh* Ḥaydar's followers (*murīdānash*) lighted this oil-drenched dog on fire and threw him like a thunderbolt through the

437 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 272, ed. 'Ashīq, 265.

438 For the elaborate double meaning of this passage, see the notes of Minorsky, Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, page 57 of the abridged translation.

window of this poor man into the court of his home. Panicking due to the painful flames, the dog ran into every nook and set the stores and staples of the house on fire. [...]

They further claimed that he was so skilled in playing with snakes (*mār-bāzī*) that, whenever a spotted venomous snake moved its head out of its hole, he lured it into his garment so that when he opened a button, it slithered out of his sleeve. He carried chests of snakes and other venomous animals around with him, and instead of the prayer beads (*tasbīḥ*) which *shaykhs* give to their followers, he distributed malign vipers among those who attended his sessions (*ḥāḍirān-i majlis*).⁴³⁹

It is significant that the agency of the Aqqyunlu court of *sultān* Ya'qūb is almost entirely absent from this inverted court of *shaykh* Ḥaydar. Thereby, the military suppression of *shaykh* Ḥaydar and his followers was relegated from an involved negotiation of inner-Islamic traditions of authority to a necessary exercise of courtly justice invested in the Aqqyunlu rulers, charged with upholding the 'natural' order of the world.

4.2.7 Conclusion

Building on the suggestion of Woods to understand the synchronized deployment of multiple normative and religious traditions at the 'Turkmen' courts as governed by the establishment of consonance, the supra- or multi-factional iconography of religious affiliation deployed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts indicates an elaborate vagueness that is predicated upon multiple resonances with various traditions. As I have argued, the key to this consonance lies in a transcendental conception of justice and fairness that is topically invested in the court, which allowed the simultaneous appropriation and deployment of iconographically charged elements pertaining to the repertoires of multiple and intertwined traditions inside and outside Islam. Due to the deliberate vagueness with which much of this iconography was deployed in courtly representation, individuals affiliated to Muslim and non-Muslim interpersonal networks of loyalty and religious affiliation could be expected to see strong resonances of their own religious and transcendental worldview with that performed at court. This was paralleled by an ostentatious unwillingness of the 'Turkmen' rulers to performatively single out any particular Muslim or non-Muslim tradition for exclusion or performative persecution.

At the same time, several highly visible claims to global Islamic leadership were prominently deployed at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu courts, which

439 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 273–274, ed. 'Ashīq, 265–266.

must have been expected to be contested by individuals inside and outside the 'Turkmen' realms. As revealed by a close reading of the specific modes of the deployment of terminology pertaining to the caliphate as the vice-regency of God and His prophet on earth, however, this deployment of contested elements is once again grounded in a deliberate vagueness that encourages their understanding in multiple different ways, frequently opposing the 'expected' and conventional significance with alternative but equally plausible interpretations based in literalist reasoning. Due to the strong resonance of these titles with less controversial iconographically charged elements deployed in 'Turkmen' courtly culture, the performative representation of transcendental justice and fairness at the Qara- and Aqqyunlu court was rooted in the deployment of multiple intertwined traditions that made it difficult to contest any single controversial claim.

Outlook and Conclusion

Written at the turn of the 11th-century / 17th-century CE, the *Sharafnāma* of Bidlīsī programmatically proposes to describe a multiple *longue durée* of legitimate Kurdish rulers. Its author was himself rooted in one of the paramount lineages of Kurdish rulers centered on the town of Bitlis, where he acceded to rulership on behalf of the Ottomans after spending his early life within the orbit of the Şafawid courts. Writing in the ‘contested periphery’ of Bitlis, his historiography of the Kurdish dynasties interweaves with the history of the Qara- and Aqqyunlu, which in hindsight may have appeared as one of the last periods preceding the long-lasting marginalization of the lands he describes. Most of his references introduce the ‘Turkmen’ rulers merely as contextual information necessary to narrate the rise of Bitlis or dynastic succession in particular locales. Nonetheless and taken together, these stray references arguably render the ‘Turkmen’ courts the hidden focus of his account of ‘Kurdistān’ during the long 15th-century CE notwithstanding the ostentatious structuring of his annalistic section according to the dynastic succession of Ottoman rulers. This perspective grounded in a *longue durée* of ‘Kurdish’ history marginalized in the post-‘Turkmen’ polarization between the gunpowder-empires of the Ottomans and the Şafawids is ideally represented in his epitaph on *uzun* Ḥasan given under the heading of the year 882 in his annalistic section. The epitaph follows a brief reference to military activities of the Ottoman ruler Muḥammad *fātiḥ* against Shkodra and Lemnos:

During the night of the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* (*dar shab-i ʿīd-i ramaḍān*) of the same year, *uzun* Ḥasan *bīk* of Bāyandur passed to the abode of the mercy of God. A poet composed the following verse on the date of his death:

Praising the excellent date of his death, everone / Says: ‘A pious and just king!’

And indeed, he was a king who guarded his subjects (*raʿīyyat-parūr*) and demonstrated justice. Regarding the exaction of taxes from the subjects (*akhdh-i māl-i raʿīyā*), he instituted a law (*qānūnī*) which continues to be implemented by the rulers of ʿIrāq, Fārs, and Ādharbāyjan.¹

1 Bidlīsī *Sharafnāma*, 2, 120.



FIGURE 7 The so-called Uzun Hasan Türbesi in Çemişgezek

While the abiding importance of *uzun* Ḥasan's so-called *qānūn-nāma* or book of law can indeed be traced in detail particularly for the Eastern regions of the Ottoman realms formerly included within the 'Turkmen' sphere,² Bidlīsī's epitaph on *uzun* Ḥasan takes up several thematic strands that structure the emic sources composed at the 'Turkmen' courts. Particularly significant is the interpretation of the date of *uzun* Ḥasan's death, which turns not only on *uzun* Ḥasan's death during the night that belongs to one of the two main festivities of the Islamic year, but also motivates the poetic chronogram composed for the date of *uzun* Ḥasan's demise. Thus, the numerical value of the letters of *shah dīn parūr-i ādil*, translated above as 'a pious and just king' according to the *abjadī* method of assigning numerical values to letters of the Arabic alphabet not only constitutes a mnemonic device that facilitates the memorization of the year 882, but arguably also suggests the workings of divine providence in calling this epitome of just rulership to God in this particular year. Significantly, Bidlīsī's brief reference to the abiding importance of the just ordinances introduced by *uzun* Ḥasan across the realms formerly ruled by

2 See the groundbreaking study and edition by Barkan 1941, as well as the discussion by Hinz 1950c.

the Qara- and Aqquyunlu also inscribes the formative influence of the period of 'Turkmen' rule into his history of 'Kurdistān'. This suggests a particular significance of the events of the 15th-century CE that is likely motivated by the post-'Turkmen' disappearance of supra-regional courts and capitals in this region to this day.

As stated in the introduction to this monograph, this study does not claim that the courts of the Qara- and Aqquyunlu rulers are exceptional within the cultural strands of Islamicate courts and the greater Mediterranean. Instead, I believe that the written and unwritten sources pertaining to the 'Turkmen' courts between 853 / 1449 CE and 907 / 1501 CE represent an ideal case-study for the development of innovative categories and framings of Islamicate cultural history due to their contradiction to some of the most influential dichotomic framings applied in the contemporary analysis and interpretation of Muslim cultures. Thus, I argue that the development of theoretical models and their corresponding methodologies should be approached heuristically through systematic studies of clearly demarcated fields, ideally arriving at abstract structures and arguments that are grounded in the systematic survey of the material pertinent to the respective field. In this way, the abstract results of such a grounded analysis of limited but coherent fields or, if I may, *kosmoi*, can be used to question and refine concepts that have been shown to resonate particularly well with other contexts. To structure and embed this plurality of concepts and cases, I have followed the 'anthropological' framing of Islam as a discursive tradition proposed by Talal Asad,³ which holds that a plurality of 'Islamicities' rooted in their particular configuration draws on a shared 'resonance body' of textual, pragmatic, performative, and other elements that constitute the 'tradition' of Islam.

The approach of 'relational iconography' suggested in this study builds on Asad's framing of Islam as a discursive tradition to argue that a) every interpretation needs to be relational in the sense of grounding itself in a specific positionality and context, b) that the significant context or habitus deployed in interpretation must paradoxically be conceptualized as stable and precarious simultaneously, and c) that a pragmatic deployment of this approach is possible by the combination of an exemplary reconstruction of 'totalizing' context for clearly circumscribed utterances with the reconstruction and interpretation of 'dispersions' of individual elements that pertain to iconographically charged repertoires across a wide array of individual contexts.

In this way, I have combined the totalizing contextualization of *sultān* Ya'qūb's ideal *yaylāq* and Joos van Ghistele's description of Tabrīz with a detailed

3 See Asad 1986.

discussion of the dispersion of multiple iconographically charged elements pertaining to repertoires of ethnicity and religious affiliation in 'Turkmen' courtly culture. This analysis of 'Turkmen' courtly culture is predicated on the suggestion that the courts of Qara- and Aqqyunlu rulers between Jahānshāh and Alwand can be approached as a trans-dynastical coherent period. While this heuristic framing of the field of inquiry should certainly be complemented by alternative temporal and spatial frames, the eschewal of a chronological structure of argumentation beyond the most clearly circumscribed source-criticism should be understood as building on the dominant chronological framing of contemporary research into 'Turkmen' and Islamicate courtly culture. Instead, I have striven to illustrate the entanglement of multiple mediums, repertoires, and registers in 'Turkmen' courtly culture by demonstrating how individual contexts and utterances are rooted in an overarching configuration of the court that structured the strategical deployment of resonances and entanglements of multiple strands of meaning.

Due to the emic conceptualization of courts establishing the contested fractal-galactic sphere of Islamicate and greater Mediterranean cultures that suggests a description of the court as a 'nexus between the worlds', I argue that courtly contexts should be approached as paradigmatic *topoi* of representation, which serve as highly visible locales where Islamicate and Muslim normativities are negotiated and contested. Following the suggestion of research into fashion and material culture, I argue that the topic visibility of propositions and framings, claims and counterclaims voiced at the court broadcast the performative culture of the superordinate court to progressively more peripheral social networks and contexts. This diffusion of courtly representation and performance should not be seen as unidirectional, but rather as predicated on multiple resonances embedded in particular social contexts and networks across society, which in turn could 'submit' current questions and conflicts to be performatively negotiated at the court.

Working with the sources for Qara- and Aqqyunlu courtly representation has been a hugely enjoyable privilege. Ever since my first encounter with the beautiful Aqqyunlu mosques of Diyarbakır and Mardin, Hasankeyf and Ahlat during the summer of 2012 CE, I have been struck by the enigmatic beauty of these products of courtly culture, resonating with such a wide array of interpersonal networks and discourses past and present. Over the past years, the plurality of interpersonal encounters that produced this culture was mirrored in my own encounters with individuals and networks embedded in academic and non-academic settings in the Near East and across the world that have shaped this study. To do justice to this overwhelming plurality of intersecting interests and interpretations, narrative dynamics and peculiar sources, I have

striven for a relational discussion that brings out the particular intersection relevant for a given question and context. This has necessarily meant that much more is to be said, be it about Syriac and Christian-Arabic *historiographia in nuce*, the intricacies of the *ijāzāt* of Islamic traditionaries, the transregional interlacement of techniques and concepts represented in any given sample of material culture, or the elaborate and nuanced discussion of the interferences between mystic and *shīʿī* currents of Islam in the *ḥurūfiyya*.

Nonetheless, I am confident that the relational-iconographical framework of interpretation developed in this study can bring together this intriguing field. In an extremely condensed form, my main arguments can be summed up as follows:

1. Islamicate courtly representation is performative and shaped by relational negotiations of claims and counterclaims.
2. The negotiation of normativities as grounded in relational traditions at the time of deployment is shaped by the configuration of social and economic capital focused on the court.
3. The courtly deployment of language and customs as 'appropriate to the situation' shows that courtly representation is not determined by particularist 'ethnic origins', but strategically appropriates linguistic and 'ethnic' traditions.
4. The synchronization of religious and transcendentally grounded normativities in courtly culture is aimed at establishing uncontroversial consonances that uphold the court as the *topos* of supra-factional justice and fairness. This pervasive and uncontroversial legitimacy of the court is then deployed within particular configurations to ground specific claims to global Islamic leadership. These are extremely difficult to contest due to their resonance with the vast body of uncontroversial religiously charged iconographical elements deployed in courtly representation.

If Islamic Studies can be envisioned as a strand of critical Cultural Studies that is discursively and linguistically focussed on the study of Muslim and Islamicate societies, this means that any academic engagement within Islamic Studies bears a responsibility to contribute to the refinement and review of the axioms of our field. Due to the currently very prominent (if already somewhat declining) 'visibility' of 'Islam' and 'Muslims' in popular debates, Islamic Studies must critically engage in particular with those concepts and methods that shape and structure the greater debate on 'what Islam is' and 'where Muslims belong'. This book critically reassesses axioms of 'binary identity' and 'cultural opposition', highlighting the importance of individual agency and multiple and dynamic processes of negotiation that establish culture as a relational construct. In choosing the less-studied field of the Qara- and

Aqqyunlu, I have followed the suggestion of astronomy that it is frequently those parts of the firmament that appear to be the darkest, which are most rewarding for sustained and dedicated study. I look forward to seeing how the relational approaches suggested by me and other colleagues will contribute to the reconfiguration of our field, before themselves being refined and reviewed in their application to other contexts.

The Chronology of the Production of the Uppsala Manuscript of Abīwardī's *Chār Takht* and *Anīs al-Āshiqīn*

As indicated by Īraj Afshār in the preface to his edition of Abīwardī's *Chār Takht* and *Anīs al-Āshiqīn*, both texts are preserved in an autograph manuscript currently held in Uppsala University Library, where the two texts are bound together with some blank pages between them. The chronology of the production of this manuscript can be reconstructed based on some notes in the margins of both texts, as well as by the references to Jāmī in the main body of the narrative of the *Chār Takht*, as Jāmī died during the month of Muḥarram of 898 / November 1492 CE before the production of the manuscript had been concluded.

On the final page of the autograph of the *Chār Takht*, a partially preserved marginal note by the author gives the date of completion for this text (but not that of the following *Anīs al-Āshiqīn*) as the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 898 or December 1492 CE / January 1493 CE. This is about six weeks after Jāmī's death. This note has not been included in Afshār's edition and can be reconstructed as follows:

بر ضمیر منیر اولی الالباب / واضح باشد که این کتاب نا تمام است / آنچه از مبدأ فیاض
فائض شود / بعد از این سواد فرستاده / خواهد شد تم
فی ربیع الاول سنة / ثمان وتسعين وثمانمئة

It will be clear to those who possess insight that this book is not complete. What has been said about the origin of divine cognizance will be sent in a later copy. Finished.

During the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 898.¹

This note likely refers to Jāmī as the *mabdaʾ-yi fiyāḍ* or *origin of divine cognizance* and probably alludes to his having died during the composition of the manuscript by Abīwardī. As a record of the completion of the manuscript, it also forms the likely source of the note which a certain *pīr* Aḥmad left on the

¹ Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 6or. As stated above, this note is not included in Afshār's edition.

title page, according to which the manuscript was written, *kutiba*, in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 898.² The interpretation of the Uppsala manuscript as something of a rough copy is corroborated by some corrections in the body of the text, for instance by the crossed out title of the *Departure of the Sulṭān* [*Yaʿqūb Aqquyunlu*] to Mount Sahand, which had erroneously received the title of the preceding *Chapter of Praise of His Highness the Qāḍī Ṣaḥī al-Dīn ʿIsā*.³

True to this preliminary character of the extant manuscript as a ‘rough copy’ in need of systematic review, the references to Jāmī in the beginning of the text of the *Chār Takht* present Jāmī as still alive and therefore suggest that work on the manuscript commenced some time before his death in Muḥarram 898 / November 1492 CE:

It shall not be hidden from those who think about this (*ūlū l-ibṣār*) that the first hemistich of this book was uttered by his highness the pivot-named, our master Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbdarrahmān Jāmī.⁴

The note translated above does not include any invocations or eulogies for Jāmī and stands on the opening page of the *Chār Takht*. When Jāmī is mentioned in the body of the *Chār Takht* as together with the Timurid ruler of Herāt *sulṭān* Ḥusayn and ʿAlī-shīr Nawāʾī sending letters to Tabrīz calling for Abīwardī’s return to Khurāsān, he is equally portrayed as very much alive.⁵ Abīwardī’s account of how he met Jāmī after his return to Herāt stands at the beginning of the *Fourth Throne* dedicated to Khurāsān and also appears to suggest that Jāmī was living at the time of writing.⁶ It is, however, curious that no agency is ascribed to Jāmī during Abīwardī’s account of their meeting, while the customary eulogies for deceased individuals are similarly absent. Instead, Abīwardī states that ‘my eye fell on this pivot of the time’ and ‘I kissed his foot and rejoiced’;⁷ before continuing with his meeting with Jāmī’s successor as the center of the Timurid court of Herāt, the famous poet and scholar ʿAlī-shīr Nawāʾī. Considering the likely production of the manuscript at the Timurid court of Herāt during the time of Jāmī’s death, this may indicate that Abīwardī

2 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 1r. This note is edited in the preface to the edition by Afshār, page 7–8.

3 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 31r. This crossed out title is not mentioned in Afshār’s edition.

4 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 1r. This note is edited in the preface to the edition by Afshār, page 7.

5 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 39r, ed. Afshār 57. Cf. the letter from *sulṭān* Yaʿqūb to Jāmī pertaining to Abīwardī’s travels, Jāmī *Namāhā*, 302–303.

6 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 41r, ed. Afshār 60.

7 Abīwardī *Chār Takht*, ms. Upps. 41r, ed. Afshār 60.

met Jāmī shortly before his death, when no eulogies were yet appropriate during the meeting with the soon-to-be-deceased scholar and statesman. Nonetheless, Jāmī himself was already so unfit as to be unable to perform any acts to welcome Abīwardī that would have been worth recording in Abīwardī's work.

In the Uppsala manuscript, the autograph of the *Chār Takht* is followed by another text by Abīwardī entitled *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* or Garden of the Lovers, which is written in the same hand. On the title page of this second text, three couplets are written in Abīwardī's hand, which are introduced as having been composed by Jāmī for this book and written on its spine (*ẓahr*).⁸ Here, Jāmī is clearly presented as already deceased with the eulogies *qaddasa* [*llāhu*] *sirrahū*, may [God] make his secret holy, and possibly also the concluding *ʿafā* [*llāhu*] *ʿanhū*, may [God] have mercy on him. The colophon of the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* dates the conclusion of the copy of this manuscript to the month of Ramaḍān 898 / June to July 1493 CE.⁹

As the *Chār Takht* does not contain a separate colophon and the colophon concluding the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* refers to the completion of 'the book', *al-kitāb*, in Ramaḍān 898, it appears that the two texts were originally written down as a unit by Abīwardī himself. This also fits the complementary character of the two texts, in which the *Chār Takht* gives a chronological travelogue, within which the anecdotes narrated in non-chronological order in the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* are situated.

The two dates of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 898, when the copy of the *Chār Takht* was finished, and Ramaḍān 898, to which the colophon concluding both texts is dated, indicate a comparatively long period of five to six months for a simple copy of the 113 pages of the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn*. Nonetheless, the claim that Jāmī reacted to the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* with his three couplets recorded on the title page of this text suggests that Abīwardī had presented this text, possibly in a preliminary version, to Jāmī prior to Jāmī's demise. Keeping the comparatively long time of five to six months between Jāmī's death in Muḥarram 898 and the colophon dated to Ramaḍān 898 for the production of the 113 pages of the manuscript of the *Anīs al-Āshiqīn* in mind, a similarly long period of five to six months for the completion of the 119 pages of the *Chār Takht* appears possible. Accordingly, it seems likely that Abīwardī did indeed begin the writing of the extant manuscript while Jāmī was still alive, some time before Muḥarram 898, after having presented a possibly preliminary version of both texts to Jāmī. The subsequent demise of Jāmī accordingly posed a problem to

8 Abīwardī *Anīs*, ms. Upps. 65r, ed. Afshār 85.

9 Abīwardī *Anīs*, ms. Upps. 122r, ed. Afshār 160.

Abīwardī, who possibly was unable to re-dedicate the text to another member of the court due to the ‘public’ setting in which he had already presented it to Jāmī. This difficulty may also account for his subsequent omission to rewrite the manuscript in order as to consistently refer to Jāmī as deceased, which may suggest that Abīwardī gave up his hope of further advancement in Herāt altogether. Nonetheless, his subsequent career at the court of Balkh under the Timurid ruler Badī‘ al-Zamān and the Uzbek ruler Shaybānī *khān* suggests that he, as many Islamic courtiers moving within the fractal galactic sphere of the *Persophonie*, continued his courtly activities elsewhere.¹⁰

10 Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb*, 4, 303, 305, and 350–351, cf. Bidlīsī, *Sharafnāma*, 2, 146. Khwāndamīr’s claim that Abīwardī did not return to Herāt after loosing face before *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb in Tabrīz is disproven by the narrative presented in the manuscript of the *Chār Takht* by Abīwardī himself. This version of events is discussed by Soucek 1988, 2.

The Chronology of the Production of Faḍlallāh's *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*

The first reconstruction of the textual history of the *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī* by Faḍlallāh was undertaken by Minorsky in his English 'abridged translation' (or rather condensed paraphrasis) of the text. After its initial publication in 1957 CE,¹ this abridged translation was included by Woods in his first edition of the Persian text of the history.² As Minorsky's text as included in Woods' edition is apart from an 'editor's preface' and some notes virtually unchanged in comparison to the first edition, all references to Minorsky's abridged translation are to the text as re-edited by Woods.

The main historical narrative presented by Faḍlallāh ends notwithstanding some chronological gaps³ with the death of *sultān* Ya'qūb in 896 / 1490 CE,⁴ which is consistent with Faḍlallāh's claim that *sultān* Ya'qūb himself commissioned a history of his reign from Faḍlallāh that would continue the *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya* of Abū Bakr Ṭīhrānī.⁵ As stated by Faḍlallāh, he was unable to finish this work during the lifetime of *sultān* Ya'qūb, so he decided to include a 'second volume'⁶ on the events of the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb's son Bāysunghur, presumably in the hope of including the passages he had already written in a larger historiographical work which he might formally offer to Bāysunghur.⁷ Accordingly, the extant text describing the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb represents the (possibly unfinished, see below) 'first volume' of a projected larger historiographical work, with the extension of the chronological scope beyond the reign of *sultān* Ya'qūb becoming necessary due to the death of the original patron. Apart from the references cited from the extant text of the 'first volume', no trace remains of this promised 'second volume', which seems to imply that Faḍlallāh abandoned his historiographical work after having revised some parts of the introduction.

1 Minorsky 1957.

2 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods.

3 See Woods 1999, 220.

4 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 442, ed. 'Ashīq, 419.

5 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 74–77, ed. 'Ashīq, 71–74.

6 The phrase 'second volume' or *mujallad-i thānī* is explicitly used in Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 56, ed. 'Ashīq, 53.

7 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 77–79, ed. 'Ashīq, 74–75.

Notwithstanding this likely abandonment of his history by Faḍlallāh some time after the death of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb, a brief reference to the disinterment and burning of *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb’s body after the capture of Tabrīz by Ismā‘īl Ṣafawī in 907 / 1501 CE is given at the very end of the text.⁸ As this note is included in both manuscripts that were known to him (see below), Minorsky argued that ‘one should conclude that the original draft remained in the author’s hands till that time’.⁹

Minorsky based his translation on a manuscript from Istanbul designated by him as manuscript Fātiḥ or F,¹⁰ which is dated in the colophon to 927 / 1520–1521 CE.¹¹ He designates the other manuscript known to him¹² as manuscript Paris or P, which is dated in its colophon to Muḥarrām 21 of the year 952 / April 4, 1545 CE.¹³ As this manuscript is later than manuscript F and written less clearly, he mainly drew on manuscript P for its introduction, which contains different passages compared to the introduction as given in manuscript F. The differences between both manuscripts can be visualized as follows:

Manuscript F: Preface, praise of Muḥammad and the caliphs.¹⁴

Manuscript P: Missing.

Manuscript F, P: Praise of Aqquyunlu rulers, *uzun* Ḥasan, *sulṭān* Ya‘qūb, and Bāysunghur.¹⁵

Manuscript P: Praise of Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan.¹⁶

Manuscript F: Missing.

Manuscript F, P: Text of the book with minor variations.

8 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 443, ed. ‘Ashīq, 420. For a discussion of the performative disinterment and public burning of the remains of pre-Ṣafawid rulers buried in the Qaraqayunlu Muḥaffariyya complex and Aqquyunlu Naṣriyya complex in Tabrīz in the context of a general discussion of concepts corporeal sovereignty in 15th- and 16th-centuries CE Persianate culture, see Mitchell (forthcoming).

9 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 5, in Minorsky’s introduction to his abridged translation.

10 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 5, in Minorsky’s introduction to his abridged translation.

11 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 443, ed. ‘Ashīq, 420.

12 See below for the additional manuscripts and quotations that were indicated by Woods and ‘Ashīq.

13 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 443, ed. ‘Ashīq, 420.

14 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 1–20, ed. ‘Ashīq, 3–22.

15 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 21–56, ed. ‘Ashīq, 23–53.

16 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 57–63, ed. ‘Ashīq, 55–61.

Minorsky suggested to interpret the inclusion of the preface, the praise of Muḥammad and the caliphs in manuscript F compared to the praise of Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan in P as follows:

<F> begins with a desultory enumeration of the principal caliphs [...], which looks like purely educational stuff added *ad usum delphini*, when, after the sudden death of Sulṭān Ya'qūb, the work had to be rededicated to the youthful Bāysunghur. In <P> this dull chapter is omitted [...] It looks as if the text of <F> was arranged immediately after the accession of Bāysunghur, who was put on the throne by Amīr *ṣūfī* Khalīl. On the other hand, the text of <P> must have been re-adapted after the overthrow of *ṣūfī* Khalīl by Sulaymān (b.) Bijan [sic].¹⁷

As reconstructed by Woods, Faḍlallāh's history appears to have existed in at least three different redactions. While following Minorsky in using manuscript Fāṭih or F as the basis of his edition,¹⁸ he also chose to indicate variants contained in manuscript P as compared to manuscript F in an *apparatus criticus* below the main text of his edition. In addition to these two manuscripts that had already been described by Minorsky, Woods postulated a third redaction on the basis of differences in the course of events, particularly of the defeat of the Mamlūk general Yashbak in 885 / 1480 CE, as described in the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥasan *bīk* Rūmlū,¹⁹ which presumably drew on this third redaction of Faḍlallāh's history in its depiction of these events.²⁰ This 'third redaction' of Faḍlallāh's history postulated by Woods on the basis of the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* does not include any information regarding the structure of its introduction. Accordingly, Woods accepted Minorsky's explanation of the genesis of the different versions of the introduction as described above.²¹

While harshly (and somewhat unfairly) criticizing Woods' edition,²² the edition of 'Ashīq for the prestigious Iranian series *Mīrāth-i Maktūb* or *written heritage* indicates several additional manuscripts that had not been used

17 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 5, in Minorsky's introduction to his abridged translation.

18 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, xii, in Woods' *editor's preface*.

19 Rūmlū *Aḥsan*, 835–837.

20 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, xii, in Woods' *editor's preface*, cf. the overview of the internal dependencies of the (Persian) sources as given in Woods 1999, 223. Woods does not give his reasons for claiming that Rūmlū's depiction of these events is in fact based on Faḍlallāh's account as given in Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 187–199, ed. 'Ashīq, 179–189.

21 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, xii, in Woods' *editor's preface*.

22 'Ashīq concludes his ('still not comprehensive') list of *errata* contained in Woods' edition, that runs for nearly eleven pages of his introduction (Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Ashīq, lxii–lxxiii), with the claim that 'the presented text shows that the honored editor does

previously. As stated in the preface to his edition, ‘Ashīq consistently includes a third manuscript K (Kitābfurūsh), likely dated to some time before 1012 / 1604 CE²³ in his edition, while noting the existence of two further manuscripts of the text in Cairo, as well as one copy in Medina.²⁴

‘Ashīq interprets the relation between manuscripts F, P, and K as follows:

Manuscript F was written first, it is complete. As suggested by the author in his *fourth remark*, suitable points such as titles, Qur’ānic verses, *ḥadīths* and so on have been written in vermillion. [...] Manuscript P [...] was written as a second manuscript, which the author presented after the death of *sultān* Ya‘qūb to the new *sultān*, after having added good wishes in his descriptions of Bāysunghur and his minister Sulaymān *bīk* Bijan [sic]. This manuscript is also complete but lacks the introduction. [...] Manuscript K [...], although some of its pages have been mixed up and the end has disappeared, contains the introduction and is closer to the first version, namely manuscript F.²⁵

As indicated by ‘Ashīq, manuscript K appears to follow the text as given in manuscript F in the structure of the introduction. Accordingly, ‘Ashīq follows Minorsky’s suggestion to reconstruct the history of Faḍlallāh’s history based on the different parts of the introduction contained in manuscripts F and P.²⁶ This chronology as accepted by Minorsky, Woods, and ‘Ashīq can be visualized as follows:

Before 896 / 1490 CE: Work on a commissioned history of the reign of *sultān* Ya‘qūb based on ‘secondhand’ sources and Faḍlallāh’s personal involvement in the events depicted.²⁷

896 / 1490 CE: Death of *sultān* Ya‘qūb, subsequently introduction of additional material in the original of manuscript F for rededication to Bāysunghur, extant text reframed as ‘volume one’ of a two-volume work.

not master the basics of Persian script and ... editorial practice’ (Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. ‘Ashīq, lxxiii).

23 Cf. the colophon of the second text by Faḍlallāh included in this manuscript, the *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā* as edited by Muḥammad Akbar ‘Ashīq in his preface, Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. ‘Ashīq, lxi.

24 Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. ‘Ashīq, lxi.

25 Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. ‘Ashīq, lx–lxi.

26 Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. ‘Ashīq, lx.

27 Cf. Faḍlallāh *Tārikh*, ed. Woods, 14, in Minorsky’s introduction to his abridged translation, and Woods 1999, 220.

897 / 1492 CE: Overthrow of *ṣūfī* Khalīl by Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan, subsequently praised in the original of manuscript P.

907 / 1501 CE: Burning of the corpse of *sultān* Ya'qūb, subsequently addition of a note on the last page that is retained in both manuscripts F and P.

The *stemma* of the manuscripts accordingly looks as follows:

F* – F

F* or F – K

P* – P

F*: Original from which F was copied, in the possession of the author until 907 / 1501 CE at the least.

P*: Original from which P was copied, in the possession of the author until 907 / 1501 CE at the least.

Although a conclusive reconstruction of the textual history of Faḍlallāh's work necessitates detailed work on all extant manuscripts of the text that is not undertaken in the present monograph, several problems emerge from the chronology as originally suggested by Minorsky and subsequently elaborated upon by 'Ashīq.

1. Why would the introductory praise of Muḥammad and the caliphs be left out in P and its original P*? Even if the inclusion of Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan in the preface to P should indicate a later date for the entire manuscript P*, it is difficult to see why Faḍlallāh should have left out this chapter in particular in a copy of the whole (extant) text.
2. As indicated by 'Ashīq in his introduction and translated above, manuscript K lacks 'the end' of the history, including the reference to Ismā'īl Ṣafawī and the events of 907 / 1501 CE. The precise point where K breaks off is, however, not indicated clearly in 'Ashīq's edition, who rather states on a note to the penultimate page that 'manuscript K ends in this passage (*qismat*)'.²⁸ If the only part missing at the end of manuscript K should be the reference to Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, this indicates that manuscript K (or rather the original K* from which K was copied some time before 1012 / 1604 CE) was copied from manuscript F* before 907 / 1501 CE according to the *stemma* as reconstructed above.
3. Notwithstanding the accordance of manuscripts F and K in the structure of the introduction, 'Ashīq frequently indicates common readings shared

28 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Ashīq, 419.

by P and K against F in his *apparatus criticus*.²⁹ While these shared readings in P and K can frequently be explained as variants caused by different readings of the letters in question, the accordance of these readings in P and K makes it questionable whether K was indeed copied exclusively from either F or F*, as suggested by 'Ashīq's interpretation of the textual history on the basis of the structure of the introduction. Furthermore, the lack of titles such as the chapter heading on p. 77 of 'Ashīq's edition in both P and K against F may indicate a closer dependency between P* and K than suggested in the *stemma* as depicted above.

4. Although it is difficult to make conclusive statements about the dedicatory practices of court historiography, 'Ashīq's suggestion that P[*] was formally presented to Bāysunghur appears doubtful, seeing that manuscript P does not contain the 'second volume' promised in its introduction. Even if we accept the suggestion that P reproduces a preliminary draft of 'volume one' of the projected history that was presented to Bāysunghur, this still does not explain how Faḍlallāh retained access to this formally presented manuscript long after the death of Bāysunghur and many of the most influential courtiers described at the court of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb when he inserted the concluding note about Ismā'īl Ṣafawī's desecration of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb's body some time after 907 / 1501 CE.

These chronological problems could be resolved if we conceptualize Faḍlallāh's history not as a finished work but as a the working copy or *brouillon* (Arabic *musawwada*) of a project that was never quite completed.³⁰ After having been surprised by the death of *sulṭān* Ya'qūb in 896 / 1490 CE, Faḍlallāh accordingly retained the finished passages of the history that *sulṭān* Ya'qūb had commissioned from him and even drafted some additional material that was likely intended to ensure a favorable reception of the introduction by figures that were influential at the court of Bāysunghur at one time or another. After the demise of Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bizhan in 897 / 1492 CE³¹ and Bāysunghur in 898 /

29 Explicit references to instances where P and K agree against the reading of F as retained by 'Ashīq in his edition stand e.g. Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Ashīq, 57, note 3, 67, note 2, 71, note 9, 74, note 4, 77, note 1. According to the conventions of an *apparatus defectivus* such as the one offered by 'Ashīq, to these explicit references should be added the even more numerous cases where 'Ashīq indicates that F alone contains a different reading from the one retained in the edited text, which presumably also represents the readings of both P and K.

30 A similar interpretation was suggested by Minorsky, see Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 13, in Minorsky's introduction to his abridged translation. See Haarmann 1970, 27–60, for the description of different manuscripts of the chronicle of the Mamlūk historiographer al-Jazarī by means of the theoretical concept of a *brouillon* or *musawwada*.

31 Woods 1999, 154–155.

1493 CE,³² Faḍlallāh did not include further dedicatory praise in this *brouillon*. The only later intervention by Faḍlallāh (or somebody else) in the body of the text that can be securely dated is represented by the note about Ismā'īl Ṣafawī that can be assigned to a *terminus post quem* of 907 / 1501 CE. Following Haarmann's classic study of *brouillons* in Mamlūk historiography,³³ this hypothesis of a loose and unbound collection of material that Faḍlallāh may have hoped to finish one day could explain the peculiarly circular interdependency of the extant manuscripts. Assigning the *siglum* O* to this hypothetical *brouillon*, in which additional introductory material may have been inserted *in margine* or on loose sheaves, I therefore suggest the following *stemma*:

O*	–	F*	–	F
	–	P*	–	P
	–	K*	–	K

This reinterpretation of O* not as a complete history but as a loose *brouillon* could also explain the chronological *lacunae* in the text,³⁴ as well as the curiously contradictory presentation of key figures such as *qāḍī* 'Isā in Faḍlallāh's history. *Pace* Minorsky's suggestion to interpret this shifting framing of *qāḍī* 'Isā as an intricate literary strategy,³⁵ this incoherence may therefore be the result of the composition of different passages of the history at different times without any systematizing revision, if we accept the interpretation of Faḍlallāh's historiographical work (at least as far as it can be followed in the extant manuscripts) as never having progressed beyond the stadium of a *brouillon*. In addition, a reinterpretation of Faḍlallāh's history as a *brouillon* can explain the peculiar structure of its introduction. Contrary to the normative practices of Islamic scriptural traditions, the text as edited by Woods and 'Ashīq does not contain a formal *basmala* before the *taṣliya* (which in Faḍlallāh's case includes the caliphs) contained in manuscripts F and K. The structure of the following 'chapters' equally appears repetitive and partially redundant. Accordingly, this partial redundancy of the material collected in the introduction of the book could be explained as due to the unfinished state of O*.

It may even be possible that all three extant manuscripts F, P, and K were copied directly from this hypothetical *brouillon* of Faḍlallāh, if we argue for

32 Cf. the remarks of Minorsky on the death of Bāysunghur in Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, 96–97, in Minorsky's Annex 1 to his abridged translation, as well as Woods 1999, 149–155.

33 Haarmann 1970.

34 See Woods 1999, 220.

35 Minorsky 1955, 451–452.

the brouillon as a rough copy difficult to read and possibly riddled with marginalia and loose sheaves that were inserted after the 'finished passages' of the main manuscript had been written. In this case, we would likely assume that Faḍlallāh took this unfinished project with him during his later years in Central Asia, as the colophon of F indicates that F was copied by a certain Yūsuf-i Marwī,³⁶ presumably from Marw, during the last year of the life of Faḍlallāh,³⁷ and the colophon of K states that the copy was completed in Balkh in the year 1012 / 1604 CE.³⁸ Nonetheless, this suggestion cannot be more than a hypothesis until further study of all extant manuscripts of the text.

36 The *nisba* is read as *Marwī* by both Woods and 'Ashīq, cf. Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. Woods, xii, in Woods' *editor's preface*, ed. 'Ashīq, lx and 420, notwithstanding the normative form of the *nisba* of Marw as *marwazī* as postulated by the Arabic grammatical tradition, see for instance Yāqūt *Mu'jam* 7/8, 256 *sub voce* Marwu l-Shāhijān.

37 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Ashīq, lx.

38 Faḍlallāh *Tārīkh*, ed. 'Ashīq, lxi.

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Index

bābā ‘Abdalrahmān, influential mystic and courtier of *uzun* Ḥasan 322, 328–329
‘Abdalrahmān Jāmī, Timurid scholar and courtier
dedication of Abīwardī’s works to 45–47, 49–50
dedication of works to *sulṭān* Ya’qūb 299, 353*n*375
exclusionist *shī‘ī* currents of Islam (*rawāfiḍ*) and 349, 358–363, 381–384
pilgrimage of 186*n*465, 187*n*467, 188*n*475
Abhar 208, 231–232
Abīwardī, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, Timurid and Aqquyunlu courtier 43–56, 63, 65*n*58, 83*m*103, 85, 100–102, 171, 381–384
Abū Bakr Ṭihrānī, ‘Turkmen’ courtier and historiographer
age of members of the Aqquyunlu concatenation of rulers 54*n*28, 166–167
biography of ‘Turkmen’ courtiers 142*n*299, 175*n*430, 181*n*447, 198*n*502, 218*n*570–573, 219*n*574, 229–230, 237*n*640, 287*m*117
description of courtly representation in the *qishlāq* 119*n*217, 120*n*221, 127*n*239, 164–165, 196*n*500, 198, 202–203, 207–208, 214*n*558, 23*n*617, 232, 235*n*630, 248*n*673, 258–259, 310*n*257
description of courtly representation in the *yaylāq* 56, 61–63, 65, 94–96, 98–100, 106*n*172, 266–267, 271*n*45, 332
description of ruler’s patronage of trans-regional infrastructure 116, 174*n*425, 175*n*427, 175*n*431, 187–188
invitation to India by Maḥmūd Gāwān 50*n*23
portrayal of Aqquyunlu ancestors 269–270, 273, 276–277, 280, 286, 346–347
preordination of political successes 322–323, 328
reference to Aqquyunlu exiles 83*m*103, 84*m*105, 136*n*275
treatment of different linguistic registers and matrices 262–264

Abū Sa‘īd, Timurid ruler 123, 142*n*299, 193, 208, 314, 318, 320–321, 323
‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, scholar 359, 362
Ahlat 3, 161, 259–260
Ahtamar 276
göde Aḥmad *bik* b. *ughurlu* Muḥammad b. *uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 290, 294, 306–307, 314, 326, 352*n*371
Ahwāz 3, 81
qāḍī ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī, Aqquyunlu courtier 141–142, 196, 200, 355–356
‘Alā’ al-Dīn Bayhaqī, Aqquyunlu courtier 108
‘Ālamshāh bt. Jahānshāh Qaraqayunlu 145, 154
Aleppo 3, 83*m*103, 115*n*206, 135*n*269, 136, 158, 188*n*475
‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī *see* ‘Alā’ al-Dīn
‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān Aqquyunlu, father of *uzun* Ḥasan 346–347
tūr ‘Alī *bik*, Aqquyunlu ancestor 272*n*49, 273–274
‘Alī *bik* b. Khalil b. *uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 65–67, 69, 70*n*72, 90, 94, 96, 146–149
‘Alī *bik* Purnāk, Aqquyunlu general and patron 240, 244
‘Alī-shīr Nawā‘ī, Timurid scholar and courtier 261, 276*n*66
Alwand Aqquyunlu 284, 291, 295
Ambrosio Contarini *see* Contarini
amūr Khusraw Dihlawī *see* under Khusraw
Anatolia 3, 44, 80, 84, 125*n*234, 207, 294, 319, 320*n*287, 323–324, 329, 334*n*329, 370
Angiolello, Venetian scholar 96*m*147, 104*m*168, 121*n*224, 136*n*275, 263–264
Arabic, courtly significance of the linguistic matrix of 60, 73, 77–80, 83, 91, 175–184, 192, 219, 233–235, 256–265
Arabs 44*n*8, 106*m*172, 143, 177, 179, 182, 184, 254, 266, 271, 369
Arapgir 159*n*381
Aras 99, 237*n*641
Ardabil 3, 58*n*37, 161, 204, 263*n*22, 275, 319, 353*n*380, 369, 371
Argavand 167*n*408

- Armenian Christians in the 'Turkmen' realms
128, 170, 204–207, 260, 311, 330–348
- Aspān b. *qara* Yūsuf Qaraqayunlu 271,
283*n*102, 290*n*122, 295*n*175, 318, 321,
345, 346*n*355, 348
- Astarābād *see* Gurgān / Astarābād
- Avnik 99
- bābā* 'Abdalaḥmān *see* under 'Abdalaḥmān
- Baghdād 3, 106*n*172, 116, 161, 174*n*425, 175,
177, 180, 184, 187*n*467, 190–191, 193, 258,
272, 284, 290*n*122, 295*n*175, 296, 317,
318*n*277, 320, 323, 331*n*321, 332, 348,
358–360, 362–363
- Bahrām Gūr, pre-Islamic Sasanian ruler
65*n*57, 69, 71, 88–90, 98, 267
- Bandar 'Abbās / Jarūn 3, 9, 280*n*84
- Barbaro, Giosafat, Venetian envoy 70*n*73,
75*n*81, 85, 96, 103–107, 109–110, 124*n*232,
126–127, 173, 232, 248–254, 263, 265,
278, 329, 333–337, 341–342, 344,
356–357
- Bašra 3, 81, 99, 161
- Bāyandur *bik* b. Rustam Aqquyunlu,
Aqquyunlu general 114*n*204, 162–170,
202*n*520, 259–260, 316–317, 362*n*413,
374
- Bāyandur, eponymous founder of the
Bāyandurī lineage of Aqquyunlu
rulers 273, 280, 286
- Bayhaqī *see* 'Alā' al-Dīn Bayhaqī
- Bāysunghur b. *sultān* Ya'qūb Aqquyunlu 88,
90, 94*n*142, 275, 284, 290, 297–298, 300,
364, 385–388, 390, 391*n*32
- bih būd*, numismatic legend on surcharges
262
- Bingöl 98–99, 117*n*212
- Bitlis 161, 261, 267*n*36, 284, 296–298, 344, 374
- Black Sea 99, 170
- pūr* Būdāq *see* under *pūr*
- Buq'a-yi Abū Mas'ūd in Iṣfahān, displaying
inscriptions 895 Iṣfahān a and b 83*n*102,
149*n*338, 150, 212–215, 217, 234*n*627,
235–240, 243, 245–246
- Cairo 3, 43, 50, 51, 83*n*103, 113*n*202, 118,
125*n*234, 133, 137*n*277, 156–158, 193,
210*n*549, 222*n*584–585, 324*n*295
- Caspian provinces 87, 99, 318–319
- Caterino Zeno *see* Zeno
- Central Asia 11, 61, 84*n*104, 170, 250, 256,
265–266, 268–269, 272–275, 278*n*79,
279, 286, 392
- China 158, 170, 250, 263
- Contarini, Ambrosio, Venetian envoy
53–54*n*28, 98*n*151, 98*n*152, 123, 124*n*232,
198*n*505, 214*n*558, 232
- Christians in the 'Turkmen' realms 85*n*108,
102, 117, 132–134, 136, 164, 204–207, 252,
260–261, 276, 301, 305, 311–312, 314,
330–349, 350*n*364, 370, 378
- Damascus 3, 118, 136*n*275, 157–158, 204*n*523
- Darb-i Imām shrine in Iṣfahān, displaying
inscriptions 857 Iṣfahān a–d 123*n*229,
151, 212–214, 217–230, 245–247,
308*n*253, 353*n*379, 353*n*381
- darwish* Qāsim *see* under Qāsim
- zāwīya-yi* Darb-i Kushk, entrance portal to a
foundation complex in Iṣfahān displaying
inscription 902 Iṣfahān 149*n*338, 151,
212–217, 236, 240–246, 353*n*381
- Dawwānī *see* Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī
- Daylamistān 81, 87, 318
- Despina *khātūn*, wife of *uzun* Ḥasan
134–137
- Diyarbakır 3, 111, 115*n*206, 120*n*220–221,
130*n*250, 150*n*340, 161, 273, 281–282,
284, 285*n*109, 292*n*139, 293–298,
307*n*253, 345*n*349, 346–348, 364–365
- Egypt 3, 62*n*45, 80, 83, 86*n*111, 102*n*163,
157–158, 162, 169–170, 184, 188–189, 194,
200, 206, 222
- Erciş 281*n*90, 344
- Ergani 159*n*378–381
- Erzincan 3, 161, 262, 284, 295*n*175, 297–298
- Erzurum 3, 161, 295*n*175, 297
- Faḍlallāh Rūzbihānī Khunji, Aqquyunlu
courtier and historiographer
biography of 'Turkmen' courtiers
202*n*520, 287*n*117, 350*n*364
description of courtly representation
in the *qishlāq* 119*n*217, 131, 133, 232,
352*n*371

- Faḍlallāh Rūzbihānī Khunjī (*cont.*)
 description of courtly representation in
 the *yaylāq* 68–94, 99n155,
 historiographical method and style 40,
 164–165, 256–257, 266–268, 275, 299,
 310–313, 323–325, 327, 332, 343, 364,
 385–392
 description of ruler's patronage of
 trans-regional infrastructure 59,
 61–63, 174n425, 184, 189–192
 polemics against *shaykh* Ḥaydar
 Ṣafawī 330, 368–372
- Fārs 3, 54, 67, 70, 85, 89n122, 96n147,
 107–110, 148, 312, 374
- Fulād *sultān* b. Aspān Qaraqayunlu
 290n122
- Georgia 3, 45, 170–171, 252–253, 331–332
- Gevaş / Waṣṭān 161, 162, 168n408, 284, 297,
 344
- al-Ghiyāth, non-courtly historiographer in
 Baghdād 9, 83n103, 86, 164, 175n427,
 184n452, 185n456, 186–187, 271–272,
 278n76, 317–321, 323–325, 352n371,
 354n383
- Gilān 3, 81, 87, 162, 294, 318
- Giosafat Barbaro *see* Barbaro, Giosafat
- göde* Aḥmad *see* under Aḥmad
- Great mosque of Ardabil, displaying
 inscriptions 878 and 879
 Ardabil 204n523, 319, 353n380
- Great mosque of Baghdād 360n401
- Great mosque of Diyarbakır, displaying
 inscription 874 Diyarbakır 150n340,
 307n253, 364–365
- Great mosque of Erzincan, formerly
 displaying inscription 897 or earlier
 Erzincan 204
- Great mosque of Gurgān / Astarābād,
 displaying inscription 862 Gurgān /
 Astarābād 175n430, 183n450, 203n522,
 307n253, 353
- Great mosque of Iṣfahān, displaying
 inscription 880 Iṣfahān 150, 212–214,
 230–232, 234, 242n659, 245–246,
 353n380
- Great mosque of Yazd, displaying
 inscriptions 861, 863, and 875
 Yazd 204n523, 307n253, 353n379
- Gulābi *bīk* Mawṣillu, eponymous brother of
 the founder of the Bey or Gulābi Hamamī
 in Erzincan 173n424
- Gulshanī *see* Ibrāhīm Gulshanī
- Gurgān / Astarābād 3, 161, 190, 203, 353
- Ḥadith 39n94, 123n228, 141, 146–147,
 176n434, 198, 200–201, 225, 234n637,
 236, 239–241, 243, 317, 325, 332n324,
 351, 356–357, 366, 368, 388
- Hamadān 78, 161, 284, 297
- Ḥamza b. ʿUthmān Aqquyunlu 54n28,
 150n340, 233n622, 271, 284, 345n349,
 346–348
- Ḥamza b. Jahāngīr Aqquyunlu 167n408
- Ḥanafī School of Law 72, , 76, 314, 360,
 363–365
- Harput 3, 159n379, 159n381, 280n87,
 288n119, 346
- qāḍī* Ḥasan, Aqquyunlu courtier and
 jurist 142n300, 199, 276n67, 328
- uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu
 age 53–54n28
 career of courtiers 68, 168n408, 175, 261,
 287, 317n276, 355–356, 360
 chancellery composed at the court of
 60n40, 171, 193, 306n250, 314n269
 coins of 94–95, 284, 290–295
 courtly representation in the *qishlāq*
 115, 119n217, 120n221, 121–131, 133n265,
 134–136, 141–142, 149n338, 150,
 152–154, 159–162, 164–165, 173, 196–203,
 204n524, 206, 207n540, 208–210,
 212–213, 214n558, 218, 230–235, 246,
 248–254, 281, 307n253, 309–311, 334,
 337, 345–347, 352n371, 353, 364–365
 courtly representation in the *yaylāq* 56,
 62–63, 65n56, 75n81, 94–96, 98n152,
 103–107, 267, 282–283, 332
 legacy of 374–376
 patronage of trans-regional infrastructure
 114n204, 116, 187–189, 194
 preordination of success 318–330
 utterances of 262–264, 313–314

- Ḥasan'ali b. Jahānshāh Qaraqayunlu 175,
 207, 219, 237n640, 291, 293, 345
 Hasankeyf 83m103, 115, 161, 168n408, 206,
 238n644, 284, 294, 297–298, 319
 Hasht Bihisht palace in Tabriz 117–127, 139,
 157–158, 248, 334, 343
shaykh Ḥaydar Ṣafawī 58n37, 82, 327, 330,
 368–372
 Herāt 3, 43, 45–46, 49–50, 51, 56n31,
 188n476, 225, 237n640, 253, 313, 354
 Hijāz 3, 59, 61–63, 94, 174–194
 al-Ḥilla 99, 178, 180, 183–184, 284, 290m122,
 295n175, 297
 Hurmuz 86, 153n354
hurūfiyya 303, 345, 365–368
 Ḥusayn b. *ughurlu* Muḥammad b. *uzun*
 Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 83m103
 Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Timurid ruler 84, 142n299
qāḍī Ḥusayn Maybudī, Aqquyunlu courtier
 and scholar 70n72, 123n228, 144–152, 154,
 198n506, 307n252

 Ibn Ajā, Mamlūk envoy and courtier 141–
 142, 155, 196–201, 263–265, 363–364
 Ibrāhīm Gulshanī, Aqquyunlu courtier 91,
 137n277, 142, 154, 165n401, 193, 199, 258,
 288m117, 308–309, 313n268, 314n269,
 316–317, 328, 358n395
Manāqib-i Ibrāhīm-i Gulshanī 73n76,
 83m103, 99n155, 108m180, 115n208, 127,
 165n398, 188n476, 198n506, 276n67,
 310, 313n268, 333n327, 345n349,
 347n359, 358, 362n413,
 al-Ījī *see* 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī
 Indian Muslim rulers 50n23, 81, 85, 172–173,
 248–249, 253n681
 Indian Ocean 64, 80, 85m106, 99, 170
 Iraq, encompassing both the *irāq al-'ujam*
 and the *irāq al-'arab* 62n45, 86, 169, 175,
 177, 179, 182, 184–189, 248n673, 253,
 295n175, 312, 319–321, 333n327, 374
qāḍī Īsā Sāwajī, mentor and minister of
sultān Ya'qūb Aqquyunlu 50, 66n62,
 83m103, 91, 131, 149, 194–196, 258n6, 276,
 299n228, 312–313, 333n327
 Iṣfahān 3, 39, 83m102, 111–113, 120n221,
 121n226, 122n227, 123–124, 149n338,
 150–151, 161, 211–247, 256, 293–294,
 297, 308n253, 322, 353n379, 353n381,
 358n392

 Iskandar b. *qara* Yūsuf Qaraqayunlu 76, 98,
 139, 166, 267n36, 283m102, 292m142, 348
 Ismā'il Ṣafawī 58–59n37, 82, 120–121,
 123–124, 135n271, 276, 368, 386, 389–391
 Istanbul 3, 43, 45, 50, 51, 81, 113n203,
 222n585

 Jahāngīr Aqquyunlu 83m103, 168n408, 284,
 286
 Jahānshāh b. *qara* Yūsuf Qaraqayunlu
 career of courtiers 167n408, 214, 218,
 236–237, 286, 344, 351
 chancellery composed at the court of
 171n414, 171n418, 174–184, 314n269
 coins of 41m1, 95, 283m102, 290–291, 293
 courtly representation in the *qishlāq* 86,
 119n217, 123n229, 127, 135n272, 136n274,
 137–158, 168n408, 221–224, 227–229,
 353, 366–368
 courtly representation in the *yaylāq*
 65n56, 95, 106n172, 248n673, 258,
 271n45, 307n253
 demise of 313n266, 318, 320–322, 324,
 328–329, 348
 external support for 85m105
 false affiliations of 280n84, 280n87,
 288m119
 legacy of 152–153, 202–203, 354
 patronage of trans-regional infrastructure
 174–187
 preordination of success 320–323
 Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī, influential scholar and
 courtier 50n23, 85m108, 86, 153, 306,
 307n252, 312–313
 account of parade in Fārs composed by
 54–55, 57, 67, 70, 76, 94m140, 96m147,
 103, 107–110, 147n324, 148n331, 216,
 227n598,
Akhlaq-i Jalālī composed by 277n72,
 314–316, 319n282, 323–325, 353
 Jāmī *see* 'Abdalraḥmān Jāmī
 Jews in the 'Turkmen' realms 331
 Joos van Ghiste, Flemish traveller 53n28,
 85m106, 113–174, 301n231, 333n328
 justice 47, 152, 170, 209, 238, 269, 300–301,
 304–316, 331, 335–336, 339, 341–344,
 347, 350, 352, 356, 363, 368, 372–374,
 378

- Ka'ba 43–46, 59, 63, 176, 178–180, 184*n*453, 188, 190–192, 210
- Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Abiwardī *see* Abiwardī
- Kāshān 3, 60*n*40, 111, 161, 204, 284, 294, 297–298
- Kemah 99, 160, 161, 262
- Khalīl b. *uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 54–55, 57, 67, 83*m*103, 96*n*147, 103*m*166, 107–110, 148, 162–165, 170, 209, 238*n*644, 270*n*44, 276, 313*n*268
- khātūn* Jān *bīgum*, wife of Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu 136*n*274, 137–158, 203, 205, 208*n*545, 344
- Khurāsān 3, 43, 49, 81, 84, 95*m*144, 190–192, 312, 360, 363, 382
- Khusraw I Anūshirwān, pre-Islamic Sasanian ruler 72, 269, 275, 307
- Khusraw II Parwīz, pre-Islamic Sasanian ruler 57–58, 75, 79
- Khūy 118, 162, 164
- khwāja* Maqṣūd Kāzirūnī *see* under Maqṣūd *khwāja* Mīrak, Armenian merchant in Tabriz 333–343
- Kiğī 166–168, 280
- Kirmān 161, 284, 295*m*175, 297
- Kurds 205–206, 237*n*640, 259, 267*n*36, 271, 280, 344, 374, 376
- Maḥmal 59, 61–63, 174–194
- Maḥmūd Gāwān, Persian scholar and *wazīr* in India 50*n*23, 85*m*108, 86*n*113, 280*n*84
- Mamlūk rule over Egypt and Syria 44*n*8, 45, 62*n*45, 83–86, 90*m*125, 93*m*134, 125*n*234, 132–133, 136, 141, 159, 162, 170, 184–185, 188–189, 193–194, 196–197, 200–201, 204*n*523, 253*n*682, 263, 266, 277*n*71, 286, 299, 306*n*250, 324*n*298, 328*n*310, 328*n*313, 345, 348
- Maqṣūd *bik* b. *uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 360, 363
- khwāja* Maqṣūd Kāzirūnī 313
- Marāgha 161, 279*n*82
- Marand 334
- Mardin 112, 113*n*200, 120*n*220, 150*n*340, 159*n*380–381, 161, 167–168*n*408, 204, 206, 233*n*622, 280–282, 284–286, 294, 297
- Masjid-i Maydān-i Sang in Kāshān, displaying inscriptions 868 and 869
- Kāshān 204*n*523
- Mausoleum of *akhi* Sa'd al-Dīn in Tabriz 119, 139
- Maybudī *see qāḍī* Ḥusayn Maybudī under Ḥusayn
- Māzandarān 81, 87, 161, 190–191, 294
- Mecca 3, 43–44, 61, 62*n*45, 63, 144, 175–176, 178–179, 182, 186–189, 191, 194, 202, 210, 246, 371
- Medina 3, 43, 44*n*8, 80, 102*m*163, 179, 185, 188, 194, 332, 388
- Mount Sahand 45, 52–53, 55–60, 63, 69, 93, 98, 100–102, 171, 184, 382
- Muḥammad II *fātiḥ*, Ottoman ruler 84*m*105, 130, 142*n*299, 278, 374
- shāh* Muḥammad b. *qara* Yūsuf Qaraqyunlu 185, 345–346, 348
- Muḥammad b. Jalāl al-Dīn 'Arabshāh, patron of the rebuilding of the Buq'a-yi Abū Mas'ūd in Iṣfahān 236–240
- ughurlu* Muḥammad b. *uzun* Ḥasan *see* under *ughurlu*
- Muḥammadi *mīrzā* b. Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu 123*n*229, 152, 185–186, 212–213, 218–230, 322–323, 338
- Mujaddid, Islamic renewer 321, 352
- Muṣ 280
- Musha'sha' 81, 86, 166, 169, 186*n*465
- Muẓaffariyya complex in Tabriz 86*n*111–112, 130*n*250, 135*n*272, 136, 137–158, 196, 202–203, 208*n*545, 221, 237*n*642, 283*m*102, 386*n*8
- Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Uskū'i, courtier of Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu 351, 366–368
- Naqsh-i Jahān esplanade in Iṣfahān 113*n*201, 214
- Naṣriyya complex in Tabriz 68*n*69, 115, 119*n*217, 125*n*233, 127–131, 208–211, 242*n*659, 334, 337–338, 386*n*8
- Ni'matallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bawwāb, Qaraqyunlu calligrapher 144, 148
- Ni'matallāh II, influential mystic 187, 362
- Nizām al-Dīn 'Ashūr, courtier of Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu 175–181
- Nūr'alī Aqquyunlu 284, 291, 298, 300

- Ottoman rulers and Ottoman sources 44n8,
45–46, 59n37, 83–85, 93n134, 96n147,
113n201, 117, 122, 125n234, 127, 130, 136,
153–154, 163, 170, 194, 205, 209n546,
242n659, 252, 254, 258n6, 261, 263–264,
273–274, 277n71, 278, 281n90, 282,
286–287, 302–303, 305, 308n253,
309n256, 313n265, 317n276, 326, 328,
358, 364, 374–375
- Pasin 99
- Persians 157, 275, 315, 320n287
- pīr* Būdāq b. Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu
106n172, 175, 181n447, 183, 186, 187n467,
248n673, 258–259, 271n45, 308n253,
321–323
- qara* ‘Uthmān Aqqyunlu *see* under ‘Uthmān
- qara* Yūsuf Qaraqyunlu *see* under Yūsuf
- darwīsh* Qāsim, courtier of *uzun* Ḥasan
Aqqyunlu 68, 115, 199, 208–210,
334–337, 339–340, 343–344
- Qāsim *parwānchī*, Qaraqyunlu courtier
181
- Qaṣr al-Dasht 353n380
- Qazwīn 3, 63, 86n112, 120n221, 121n226,
122n227, 161, 208, 231
- qibla* 130, 176, 190–191, 209–213, 230–232,
242, 245–246, 338
- qishlāq* or *entangled urban sphere as the site
of courtly performances* 97, 110–254,
265–266, 322, 333, 336–337, 341,
351n366, 365, 367
- Qumm 3, 111, 161, 181n447, 187–188, 284, 297,
310n257
- Qur’ān 39n94, 44–45, 47n15, 48, 55, 57,
59–61, 89, 91, 109, 143–144, 146, 171,
176–183, 190, 192–193, 233–234,
238–240, 266, 268, 283–284, 296,
298–301, 304–305, 307, 319, 322–327,
339, 349, 351–353, 356, 361, 368–371
- al-Raqqa 3, 99n158, 266
- sultān* Rustam Aqqyunlu 76, 94n142,
154, 193, 213, 217, 226, 243–244, 284,
290–291, 292n139, 294, 298, 300, 353
- Şafarshāh, the *lālā* (mentor) of Muḥammadi
mīrzā b. Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu
212–214, 218–230
- Şafawids 82, 111n194, 112n199, 113n201, 123,
152n347, 154, 163, 195, 211, 214, 217,
218n567, 221, 231, 243, 264, 275–276,
287, 288n117, 292, 303, 306, 309,
318n280, 330, 337, 358, 365, 367–368,
370, 371, 374
- Şāhibābād gardens and palatial grounds in
Tabriz 117–127, 153, 203, 248, 254, 339
- Şāhib-qirān, lord of the auspicious
conjunction 188, 262, 286n114, 318–321,
346
- Sa’īdābād 59–64, 189
- Şāliḥa bt. Jahānshāh Qaraqyunlu 145,
147–148, 152
- Salīm I, Ottoman ruler 59n37
- Saljūqshāh *bigum*, wife of *uzun* Ḥasan 153,
189n484, 232, 267–268, 276
- Shāfi’ī School of Law 72, 76, 140–141, 213,
307n253, 314, 355, 360, 363–365, 370
- shāh* Muḥammad *see* under Muḥammad
- Shāhrukh, Timurid ruler 85n105, 159–161,
184, 270n44
- shaykh* Ḥaydar *see* under Ḥaydar
- Shī’a* and *shī’ī* Muslims 139, 141, 157, 213,
217, 236, 241–244, 290–296, 303, 305,
313n268, 314, 349, 351n367, 355, 357–363
- Shirāz 3, 91, 96n147, 104, 108n180, 161,
181n447, 248n673, 258, 261, 271n45, 284,
297, 313n268, 322–323, 351n367
- Shirwān 80, 85n106, 90, 275, 361, 363, 369
- Shirwānshāh 90, 275, 369
- Siirt 115, 161, 284
- Sulaymān *bīk* b. Bīzhan, Aqqyunlu general
87–88, 261, 386–390
- sultān* Ya’qūb *see* under Ya’qūb
- Sultāniyya 63, 70n73, 75n81, 103–107, 158,
161, 170, 208, 231, 298
- Sunna and *sunnī* Muslims 76, 140–141, 213,
236, 242–243, 292, 296, 357, 363
- Sürmeli 99
- Syria 80, 84, 117, 184–185, 200, 206
- Syriac Christians (Church of the East and
Syriac Orthodox) 85n108, 206–207,
277n71, 315, 331

- Tabrīz 3, 43, 45–46, 50, 51, 52, 57–60, 62, 64, 73n76, 83m103, 85m106, 86, 100, 105, 111m194, 112m195, 113–174, 189–190, 194–204, 206–208, 232, 237n642, 242n659, 248–254, 263n22, 283m102, 284, 288m117, 290m127, 294, 296–298, 303, 313n265, 313n268, 314, 332–344, 356, 358n394, 364–367, 370, 382, 384m10, 386
- Takht-i Jamshīd 14, 45, 54–55, 57–58, 67, 76, 92m132, 94, 96m147, 103m166, 107–110, 147n324, 148, 216, 225–227, 270n44, 308n253
- tanistry 272–273
- Taşawwuf*, Islamic Mysticism 44–45, 129, 153–154, 186n463, 188n475, 190, 198, 209, 228n605, 264, 292, 299, 303, 309–310, 313n266, 314, 322, 328–330, 333–334, 337, 355–356, 359, 361, 367, 371, 378
- Tihirānī* see Abū Bakr Tihirānī
- Timurids 45–46, 49–51, 67n66, 84–86, 93m134, 94m141, 123, 142n299, 160, 175, 184, 193, 195, 211, 225–227, 229, 230n609, 253, 261, 262m16, 270n44, 277n71, 286, 287m114, 290, 292, 293m143, 298n214, 299, 305, 307, 313, 318, 320–321, 349, 354
- Trapezunt 134, 170, 273–274
- tūr* 'Alī see under 'Alī
- Turkic, courtly significance of the linguistic matrix of 60–61, 64, 70, 80, 82, 200–201, 258–259, 261–265, 277–280, 284, 286, 322, 338, 341, 356
- ughurlu* Muḥammad b. *uzun* Ḥasan Aqquyunlu 84m105, 104–105, 108, 113n201, 123–124, 136n276, 232, 326
- Ūjān 56–94, 96, 108, 120n220, 147, 196n500, 254, 266–267, 335n332
- dede* 'Umar Rawshānī, Aqquyunlu courtier and master of Ibrāhīm Gulshānī 91, 153–154, 276n67, 356, 358n394
- Urfa 9, 83m103, 118, 159n381, 194, 281, 285, 319
- Ushturjān / Īmānshahr 212–213, 215, 233–235, 245–246, 353n380
- qara* 'Uthmān Aqquyunlu 83m103, 272–274, 276, 278, 284, 288m118, 296m176
- Uzbeks 123n231, 137n277, 384
- uzun* Ḥasan see under Ḥasan
- Van 207n540
- Venice 53n28, 85, 106, 117, 126, 164, 232, 248, 251–253, 266, 278, 329, 333, 335, 337, 341, 344, 356
- Yashbak *min* Mahdī, Mamlūk general and courtier 171, 196–198, 201, 263, 328n310, 387
- sultān* Ya'qūb Aqquyunlu administration of realms 169–171, 308–310, 312–314, 352n371 career of courtiers 123n228, 146, 151, 154, 198n506, 202n520, 205–207, 276, 307n252, 328n310, 350n364, 362n413, 368, 384m10 chancellor composed at the court of 382n5 coins of 159–162, 284, 290, 292m139, 294, 296–301 courtly representation in the *qishlāq* 119, 127–129, 131, 133–134, 137, 139, 162–165, 194–196, 209–211, 213, 235–240, 254, 266, 333–344, 364, 371 courtly representation in the *yaylāq* 64–94, 96, 98–103, 108, 327, 332, 372 depiction of wife and children 39–40 patronage of trans-regional infrastructure 189–192, 194 preordination of success 316–319 verses and discourses composed for 49–50, 145, 147, 256, 330, 353n375, 364, 385–392
- yaylāq* 51–110, 142, 147, 171, 184, 189, 196–198, 208, 254, 265–267, 331n321, 335n332, 343, 376
- Yazd 3, 11, 123n228, 130n250, 147n323, 149n338, 151–152, 161, 174n425, 181n447, 187, 198n506, 204, 232n619, 238–239, 242, 250, 284, 294–295, 297, 307n252, 307n253, 353n379
- qara* Yūsuf Qaraquyunlu 65n54, 83m103, 185, 272, 276, 354

- Zak'aria III, Armenian catholicos 204–205,
207ⁿ540, 344
- zāwiya-yi* Darb-i Kushk *see* under Darb-i
Kushk
- Zeno, Caterino, Venetian envoy 136ⁿ275,
263, 264ⁿⁿ25–26
- Zibād *khātūn* bt. *amīr* 'Umar Mawṣillū
173ⁿ424