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Nurlan Atygayev,

Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University, Almaty, Kazakhstan

Eurasian Research Institute of the Khoja Akhmet Yassawi International Kazakh-Turkish University, Turkestan, Kazakhstan E-mail: nuratygaev@mail.ru

Zarine Dzhandosova,

St. Petersburg State University, St. Petersburg, Russia E-mail: zarinejandosova@rambler.ru

Kaliolla Ahmetzhan,

Military History Museum of the Armed Forces of Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana, Kazakhstan

E-mail: kaliolla.akhmetzhan@mail.ru

Tatiana Krupa,

Pavlodar Pedagogical University, Pavlodar, Kazakhstan E-mail: tatiana.krupa@gmail.com

Omir Tuyakbayev

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Almaty, Kazakhstan E-mail: omirabuali@gmail.com

MOGHUL KHANS FROM *MURAQQA* ' *TAṢĀVĪR-I SALĀṬĪN-I KĀSHGḤAR*. PART II [1]

Abstract. The article introduces a reader to a small handwritten album of miniatures in the Persian style (*muraqqa* '), most likely originating from Kashgaria (modern XUAR of the PRC) and currently stored in the manuscript fund of the Malek National Library and Museum in Tehran (IRI). The album contains eight miniature portraits of the "Sultans of Kashgar" (i. e., rulers of Mughulistan (Eastern Chaghatay Khanate) and later Daulat-i Mughuliya (Yarkand Khanate)) of the 9th—10th/15th—16th centuries, including such famous khans as Shir Muhammad Khan, Sultan Mahmud Khan, Sham-i Jahan Khan, and Naqsh Jahan Khan. The portraits are not set in chronological order. One miniature depicts prince Sufi Sultan, the ruler of Kashgar, who, judging by the entry on the first page of the album, is the customer of the manuscript. The authors of the article offer their own attribution of some portraits, where the depicted personality seem not so obvious. The publication of miniatures is accompanied, if possible, by a detailed historical commentary, as well as by the description of the portrait itself, with special attention to the clothes and ammunition of the depicted person.

Key words: muraqqa', miniature, portrait, Kashgar, Eastern Chagatay Khanate, Moghul, khan, sultan, weapons, costume, status

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Portrait of Sulțān-Maḥmūd-khān (plate 7)

Historical Note

The eldest son of Yunūs-khān (r. 892—910 / 1487—1504), who was born in 863/1463–64 and ruled in the western part of Mughūlistān approximately from 897/1487 to 909/1503–4 [2]. Like his father, he gravi-

tated toward a settled life and lived permanently in his capital, Tashkent. By the standards of his time, he was not alien to poetry [3], but did not have the managerial and military abilities necessary for a good ruler.

"Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān was not a fighting man, he was completely deprived of the gift of military leadership", wrote Bābur (888—937 / 1483—1530), who was Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān's maternal nephew [4]. The same unflattering assessment is given to Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān by his other nephew, Mīrzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar (904—958 / 1499—1551): he "was a weak sovereign and showed great laziness and gentleness in matters of administration" [5]. From the end of the 1480s, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān would intervene unsuccessfully in the struggle of the Qazaqs and Shibanids for the cities of Turkestan (Middle Syr-Darya region), supporting one side or the other [6]. At the end of the 9th —beginning of the 10th / end of the 15th century, he supported

Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān (r. 906—916 / 1500—1510) in the conquest of Mā warā' al-nahr. However, after the creation of his state, Shaybānī-khān began to fight with his yesterday's ally and in 908/1502—3, as mentioned above, defeated the Moghul army near Akhsī. In 914/1508—9, Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān, with his five sons, were executed by order of Shaybānī-khān [7]. Only his eldest son Sulṭān-Muḥammad-sulṭān survived. He spent some time with his adherents in Mughūlistān, and then went to the Qazaq khans Būrūnduq and Qāsim. But then his companions, hoping that the Shibanids would treat their master better than the Qazaq khans, brought him to Tashkent. There, Sulṭān-Muḥammad-sulṭān was killed on the orders of Shaybānī-khān [8].

Description

Above the portrait there is an inscription in Arabic: "رأفة على" — "His Gracious Majesty".

The miniature depicts a middle-aged man of Mongoloid appearance, with a short black beard with grey hair, standing half-turned, with his right side to the viewer. The Khan is depicted, like previously Sulṭān-Aḥmad-khān, in marching gear: the hemlines of his robes are tucked into trousers and girded with a combat type-setting belt with metal plaques. The underrobe is green, the overcoat is brown, presumably decorated with gold (shown as yellow); the sleeves of the overcoat are shorter. Fastening is in the form of a row of small, probably gold buttons from neckline to waist. (One of the authors of this article, Tatiana Krupa, suggested that here, as in the previous case, there may be a shortened shoulder clothing such as a jacket (nīmcha), and not robes). Red pants are tucked into black, low-heeled boots embroidered with gold thread.

A round shield with black and blue decor and a sabre in a pinkish sheath are suspended from the belt on the right. With his left hand, the Khan leans on a buzdygan-type mace (pernach), a sign of military power. The handle and head of the buzdygan are obviously gilded, the "feathers" of the head have a subtriangular shape. With his right hand, the Khan leans on the hilt of his sabre. The mouth, clips, scabbard tip, crosspiece and hilt of the sabre are depicted in gold. The sabre is like the previous ones. A shield hangs on the Khan's shoulder. Judging by the image, this can be a *qalqān*-type wicker shield woven from willow twigs. It is either wrapped with black and blue silk threads, creating an ornamental pattern, or covered with a patterned coloured fabric. Thus, considering the buzdygan, the gilded sabre and the ceremonial shield, the Khan is depicted as a Commander-in-Chief.

Portrait of Nagsh-i Jahān-khān (plate 8)

Historical Note

The author of Tarikh-i $Rash\bar{i}d\bar{i}$ calls Naqsh-i $Jahan-kh\bar{a}n$ (r. 819-821/1416-1418) a son of $\underline{Khizr-kh\bar{a}n}$ [9]. However, according to an earlier work Matla 'al-sa 'dayn va majma' al-baḥrayn ("The Rise of the Two Blessed Stars and the Junction of the Two Seas") by 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī (816-888/1413-1482), he was the son of \underline{Sham} -i $\underline{Jah\bar{a}n-kh\bar{a}n}$ (r. 802-811/1399-1408) and the grandson of $\underline{Khizr-Kh}$ $\bar{k}h$ and \bar{k}

Mughūlistān for two years [11]. According to Mīrzā Muḥammad-Ḥaydar, he ascended the throne with the help of Amir Khudāydād Dughlāt (722—822 / 1322—1419). Naqsh-i Jahān-khān tried to maintain diplomatic relations with the Timurids. *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn va majma' al-baḥrayn* reports that in 819/1416—7 the ambassadors of Naqsh-i Jahān-khān arrived in Samarkand and presented Ulūghbīk-mīrzā (r. 812—853 / 1409—1449) with "rare and outlandish gifts of those vilayats" [12]. In 821/1418—19 Naqsh-i Jahān-khān was killed by Uways-khān (r. 822—824 / 1418—1421, 828—831 / 1425—1428), another grandson of Khizr-Kh^vāja-khān [13].

Description

Above the portrait there is an inscription in Persian: "לנ שلاطين اجداد" — "[One] of the sultans-ancestors".

The miniature depicts an elderly man standing half-turned with a grey beard and moustache. He is wearing a green-lined, blue underrobe with a long, narrow wrist-length sleeve, and a shorter, white-lined, short-sleeved brown overcoat. The clasp of the over-

coat is made in the form of a row of small, presumably gold buttons from neckline to waist. The upper part and shoulders of the robe are embroidered with yellow (presumably gold) thread. The length of both robes reaches his ankles, the footgear are red boots with low heels.

The Khan is girded with a combat type-setting belt, with gold decorative overlays. In his right hand he holds

a lance with two tips, like that of $\underline{Sh}\overline{ir}$ -Muḥammad- $\underline{kh}\overline{an}$. The tips of the lance are also gilded, the nib of the tips is elongated triangular with a small stiffening rib in the middle; there are small spherical limiters ("apples") under the bushings of the tips. A sabre in a green sheath is suspended from the belt. The mouth, the tip of the scabbard,

the crosspiece of the sabre and the pommel of the hilt are depicted in yellow (gold). The sabre of Naqsh-Jahān-khān is like other sabres depicted in this album. A dark blue shield hangs on the Khan's shoulder, the surface of the shield is decorated with an ornament. This shield is similar in type to the shield of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān.

Portrait of Sham'-i Jahān-khān (plate 9)

Historical Note

According to different sources, Sham'-i Jahān-khān (r. 802-811/1399-1408) was the son of <u>Khizr</u>-Kh^vāja-khān (Khizr-Kh^vāja-ūghlān) and ruled Mughūlistān for about nine years. Oleg F. Akimushkin believes that Sham'-i Jahān was the eldest son of Khizr-Kh^vāja-khān [14]. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), in addition to Sham'-i Jahān-ūghlān, menof the following tions the names sons <u>Kh</u>iẓr-<u>Kh</u>^vāja-<u>kh</u>ān: Muḥammad-ūghlān, Shīr-'Aliūghlān and Shāh-Jahān-ūghlān [15]. According to *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, <u>Khizr-Kh</u>^vāja-<u>kh</u>ān had several sons, among them <u>Sh</u>am'-i Jahān, Naq<u>sh</u>-i Jahān and Muḥammad-khān [16]. According to the Timurid historians Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī (d. 834/1431) and Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, Sham'-i Jahān, before his accession to the throne, spent some time in Samarkand at the court of Amīr Tīmūr (r. 772—808 / 1370—1405). In the summer of 799/1397, Amīr Tīmūr sent him, along with his close associate <u>Gh</u>īyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn-tar<u>kh</u>ān, to his Khizr-Kh^vāja-ūghlān, to woo his sister for him. Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī notes that before leaving, the ruler of Mā warā' al-nahr granted Sham'-i Jahān "various kinds of royal gifts and arranged some magnificent ceremonies for him" [17]. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī more specifically indicates that Sham'-i Jahān was gifted with "luxurious royal robes" [18]. Probably, the rulers of Mā warā' al-nahr and Mughūlistān became related, because on Dhū al-Hijja 4th, 800 / August 17th, 1398, Amīr Tīmūr received several ambassadors, among whom was an ambassador of Khizr-Kh^vāja-ūghlān, "arranged a feast and presented [them] with honorary robes, hats and belts" [19]. After the death of Khizr-Kh^vāja-khān in 801/1398-9, a struggle for the throne began between his sons. Sham'-i Jahān-ūghlān, Muhammad-ūghlān, Shīr 'Alī-ūghlān and <u>Sh</u>āh-Jahān-ūghlān fought power [20] and the winner was Sham'-i Jahān [21]. Mu'īn al-Dīn Naṭanzī (d. after 817/1414) in his Muntakhab al-tawārīkh ("Selection of Chronicles") indicates that Sham'-i Jahān-khān came to power with the help of Amīr Hudāydād Dughlāt [22].

Having become a khan, <u>Sh</u>am'-i Jahān fought for independence from Amīr Tīmūr and regained the western part of Mughūlistān (the regions of Aspāra and Yangī-Ṭarāz), captured by Tīmūr during the preparation of his China campaign [23]. Naṭanzī writes:

As soon as he [Sham'-i Jahān] began to reign, he asked those who inspected his thousands and *tūmāns* about the number of troops. There were about 90 *tūmāns*. The multitude of troops had clouded his mind, and he wanted to stir up confusion [24].

Pointing to the clearly exaggerated number of the Moghul army of 90 tumans (900 thousand soldiers), Klaudia A. Pishchulina believes that this figure allows "to judge the number of combat-ready men the Khan could count on in the ideal case of complete obedience from the feudal nobility" [25]. However, <u>Sh</u>am'-i Jahān-<u>kh</u>ān was defeated by the troops of Timurid Sultān-Iskandar (786—819 / 1384—1416). According to Muntakhab al-tawārīkh, after this defeat Sham'-i Jahān fled to Altay. "For three years he lived either independently or on the run, and then he died", writes Națanzī [26]. According to Națanzī, he died of illness in 802/1399-1400), and his grave is located on the Irtysh River next to the grave of his father Khizr-Kh^vāja-khān [27]. However, from Maţla 'al-sa 'dayn va majma' al-bahrayn it follows that Sham'-i Jahān was still alive in 814/1411-2 when the ruler of Mughūlistān Muḥammad-khān sent him with an army of 15 thousand to Mā warā' al-nahr [28]. There is no later information about Sham'-i Jahān, so we can conclude that he died soon after. 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī also reports that Sham'-i Jahān had a son named Nagsh-i Jahān [29]. In Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī ("The Book of the Shah's Glory") by Hāfiz-i Tanīsh (956—998 / 1549—1590), it is indicated that Timurid Mīrzā Muḥammad Jūkī (805-849 / 1402—1445), the son of Mīrzā Shāhrukh (779— 851 / 1377—1447, r. 812—851 / 1409—1447), was the son-in-law of Sham'-i Jahān-khān [30].

Description

Above the portrait there is an inscription in Persian "عن شد" — "Depicted in all his might", the signature "شمع جهان خان" (Sham'-i Jahān-khān) is given not under the miniature, but on the picture field, to the right of the figure of the Khan. To the left of the figure is an inscription in Arabic: "سنة ثلث سبعين و سبعمائة" — "The year seven hundred and seventy third" 773/1371.

The miniature depicts a middle-aged man of Mongoloid appearance, with a short black beard. He stands half-turned, left side to the viewer. He is dressed in a red robe with a long narrow sleeve and a light lining. The clasp is made in the form of a row of small buttons from neckline to waist. The lower robe is belted with a narrow belt with a metal (?) clasp. The overcoat is

brown, short-sleeved, unfastened, with yellow (presumably gold) decoration on the shoulders, upper chest, sleeves, and hemline. Both robes are long. The footwear are black boots with a decor without heels or with low heels. The Khan is depicted without a weapon, with a cane in his hand. It can be assumed that this is due to his military failures and his inglorious end "on the run".

The Meaning of Headgear on Portraits from Taṣāvīr-i salāṭīn-i Kāshghar

The iconographic analysis of the portrait miniatures of the *muraqqa' Taṣāvīr-i salāṭīn-i Kāshghar* gives us some interesting results. The elements of a traditional costume usually indicate a person's place in the social and political hierarchies. In this case, the most important element of costume is headgear. Various symbols of power and signs of official position were worn on headgear. In the Middle Ages, historical or legendary characters were certainly depicted with special headdresses and status decorations as attributes of power and high position

In the medieval Muslim countries, there were two main types of headgear and status decoration, which served as signs of supreme power and high rank. Firstly, it is a crown as a symbol of the power of a sovereign ruler. There were crowns of two types: a hat with a crown, and an open crown. They were made of gold and decorated with precious stones. Secondly, it is a jig (Rus. "*cynman*"), which was worn on headdresses by representatives of the upper class: rulers and commanders.

The Persian word $j\bar{\imath}gha/j\bar{\imath}ghe$ (α) means an ornament of feathers on a headdress or on a crown [31]. The tail feathers of a pheasant, crane, heron, or ostrich were commonly used. In $j\bar{\imath}gha$ one or more of such feathers were mounted on a small metal base adorned with inlays of precious stones. The lower end of the base ended in the form of a needle, with the help of which the jig was fixed on the crown of the headdress (therefore, in Kazakh, attaching a jig to a headdress is called zhvga

shanshu (lit. "stick a jig")). The jig was attached to either frontal or side part of a headdress. Depending on the rank, up to three jigs with different feathers could be attached to a headdress. In a wartime, commanders-in-chief used to wear a jig on their combat helmets. Sometimes a jīgha in the form of feathers was made entirely of gold and decorated with precious stones (Pers. jīgha-yi tilla, Turk. tilla jiga ("golden jig")).

In the 9th—11th / 15th—18th centuries, the tradition of wearing luxurious jigs on headgear as a sign of a special status existed in the Mongolian states (the Golden Horde [32], the Chaghatay Khanate, the Ilkhanate) and their heirs. The *jīgha*, as a sign of high social rank, first appeared in the Ilkhanate in Iran and from there spread to other states of the Mongol Empire. The wives of the rulers, their sons and daughters also had the right to wear jigs.

The Moghul khans on the miniatures of the *muraqqa* ' *Taṣāvīr-i salāṭīn-i Kāshghar* are depicted in two types of headgear. The first type is a crown. Theirs are framed headdresses with a red or blue cap, richly decorated around the lower circumference with petal-shaped segments, obviously made of gold; the crowns are adorned with a golden pommel with a jig of white feathers; the front part of the crown is decorated with a jig in the form of a single motley feather with a brooch clasp. The second type is a blue bell-shaped hat with a white turban (*Table 1*), which is decorated with a jig in the form of a white feather with a brooch clasp in front (in the centre or on a side). We assume that the type of headgear depends on the status of the portrayed ruler.

Table 1

No.	The Depicted Khan	Khan's Signature (Motto ?)	Type of Headdress	Form of Headdress	Status of the Depicted Person
1.	Sulṭān Şūfī- <u>kh</u> ān	His Highness the Senior Sultan	A crown with a red cap, decorated with two jigs of different types		Very high
2.	Ra <u>sh</u> īd- <u>kh</u> ān b. Aḥmad- <u>kh</u> ān	[He, who] over- comes the Adversity	A crown with a red cap, decorated with two jigs of different types		Very high

No.	The Depicted Khan	Khan's Signature (Motto ?)	Type of Headdress	Form of Headdress	Status of the Depicted Person
3.	Isanbuqū- <u>kh</u> ān	Lord of the People	A white turban over a blue cap with a jig in the front and in the centre		High
4.	<u>Sh</u> īr-Muḥammad- <u>kh</u> ān	Imperious and powerful	A white turban over a blue cap, decorated with a jig on the right side		High
5.	Aḥmad- <u>kh</u> ān, or Lanjī- <u>kh</u> ān	Strong (in striving) for perfection	A crown with a blue cap, decorated with two jigs of different types		Very high
6.	Sulṭān-Maḥmūd- <u>kh</u> ān	His Gracious Maj- esty	A white turban over a blue cap, decorated with a jig on the left side		High
7.	Naq <u>sh</u> -Jahān- <u>kh</u> ān	From the sultans-ancestors	A crown with a red cap, decorated with two jigs of different types		Very high
8.	<u>Sh</u> am'-i Jahān- <u>kh</u> ān	Depicted in all his might	A crown with a red cap, decorated with two jigs of different types		Very high

In medieval Muslim art, the monarchs with a very high status were usually depicted in a hat with a crown and several types of jigs: for example, the legendary Persian kings Bahrām Gūr and Afrāsiyāb, Amīr Tīmūr, the Safavid Shāh Ismā'īl, etc. Characters with a lower status were depicted in a cap with a turban and a jig. That is, there was an artistic canon of depicting rulers in accordance with their status and the realities of that time.

Judging by the iconography of the Moghul khans in the considered *muraqqa* and especially by the image of status headdresses, Sulṭān Ṣūfī-khān (*plate 2*), Rashīd-khān b. Aḥmad-khān (*plate 3*), Aḥmad-khān (Lanjī-khān) (*plate 6*), Naqsh-i Jahān-khān (*plate 8*) and

<u>Sh</u>am'-i Jahān-<u>kh</u>ān (*plate 9*), depicted with a crown and two types of jigs made of white and variegated feathers, were the rulers of very high status. It can be assumed that Sulṭān Ṣūfī-<u>kh</u>ān was given a higher status iconographically, since he was the customer of this album of miniatures. And Isanbuqū-<u>kh</u>ān (*plate 4*), <u>Sh</u>īr-Muḥammad-<u>kh</u>ān (*plate 5*) and Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-<u>kh</u>ān had a lower status, as they are depicted in a turban, on which only one jig is attached, in the form of a brooch clasp with a feather. This is probably because <u>Sh</u>īr-Muḥammad-<u>kh</u>ān recognized the suzerainty of the Timurids, lost many battles, and his power was contested by his nephew Uways-<u>kh</u>ān. Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-<u>kh</u>ān, although he seemed

to be higher in rank than his brother Aḥmad-khān, was considered a weak ruler and a bad commander. As for

Isanbuqū-<u>kh</u>ān, then, during his long reign, the central power in Mughūlistān significantly weakened.

Conclusion

Thus, eight Kashgar rulers have been depicted on the miniatures of this muragga'. These are five khans of Mughūlistān (Eastern Chaghatay Khanate) and two rulers of the Moghul state (Mughūliya). Şūfī-sultān was the customer of the *muragga* '. A comparison of the weapons depicted in the miniatures with pictorial and museum analogues shows sufficient reliability of the image. From the analysis of the headgear, we can conclude that the portrayed khans had different status, at least from the point of view of the customer. The iconographic analysis provides for additional information about the Moghul khans. For example, judging by the portraits, Sultan and Aḥmad-khān, not his older Sulţān-Maḥmūd-khān (as follows from written sources), was the supreme ruler of Mughūlistān. It should be considered that the album was created almost by the contemporaries of these khans, who knew the historical situation in Mughūlistān of that period.

In our opinion, the published album of miniatures (muraqqa') is also of great importance for the history of medieval costume in Central Asia. Information on the costume in written sources of the 9th—10th/15th—16th centuries (for example, in Bābur-nāma), for the most part, is not very specific; such information was probably considered non-significant. That is why such albums are important iconographic sources.

Summarizing, we can say that all the costumes in the portraits of the sultans of Kashgar are made in the same artistic manner and symbolic tradition. They are quite consistent with the traditional ethnographic costume complex: an overcoat such as a caftan-type robe, a tunic shirt, trousers, and a headgear. However, in this case, two robes are worn over the shirt (?). With a general unity of style, three costume groups stand out. The first group is characterized by the presence of folding sleeves in the unbelted upper robes (overcoats) (Ṣūfī-sulṭān (plate 2), and 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān (plate 3)). The sec-

ond group is characterized by a belted and buttoned upper robe with short sleeves over a longer underrobe or a shirt with long sleeves (Isanbuqū-khān (plate 4), Shīr-Muḥammad-khān (plate 5),Naqsh-Jahān-khān (plate 8), and Sham'-i Jahān-khān (plate 9)). The third type of suit is military one. It is characterized by the presence of wide trousers or pants (Aḥmad-khān (plate 6) and Sulțān-Maḥmūd-khān (plate 7)). It is not entirely clear whether there is a kind of a short shoulder clothing (like *nīmcha*), or these are the same robes (or an overcoat and a shirt) tucked into the trousers. It is important to note the swinging nature of the clothes and the presence of buttons on some robes. The costumes depicted in the miniatures are a logical continuation of the Horde costume; clothing with folding sleeves has been known among the Mongols since the 10th century [33].

The colour scheme of the costumes is varied and consists of pure bright colours: red, green, black, blue, and white. Shoulder clothing has a decor, in miniatures made in yellow. We believe this is gold embroidery (attached embroidery). The overcoats may have been made of dense silk fabric of the *kamka* (Damask) type, the most common at that time. Smooth dyed silks (satin, etc.), brocade and velvet were also typical for this period [34], and white cotton was also well known [35].

It is noteworthy that all the Moghul khans are depicted as young or youthful. Youthfulness as a visual artistic device has an ideological message: the ruler is promoted as a physically strong person ready to reign. All rulers are depicted as stately and slender, with harmoniously developed figures and without excess weight.

Portraits are characterized by a peculiar understanding of realism, with a certain convention of drawing and "etiquette" in the presentation of the image [36]. Here is an attempt to convey the ideal image of a sovereign ruler, and to emphasize the idea of the sacredness of supreme power.

Notes

- 1. Given the large volume of the article with illustrations, it has been divided into two parts. For the first part see: Atygayev et al., 2024. Please refer to the first part of the article for a description of the *plates 2*—6.
 - 2. Akimushkin, 2004: 263, 265.
 - 3. Barthold, 1963: 89.
 - 4. Bābur, 1992: 82.
 - 5. Dughlāt, 1999: 213.
 - 6. Pishchulina, 1977: 270.
 - 7. Dughlāt, 1999: 147.
 - 8. Ibid.: 193; Akimushkin, 2004: 265.
 - 9. Dughlāt, 1999: 90.
 - 10. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 161.
 - 11. Pishchulina, 1977: 99.
 - 12. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 161.

- 13. Ibid.: 161; Pishchulina. 1977: 100.
- 14. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 110, 144.
- 15. Yazdī, 2008: 257.
- 16. Dughlāt, 1999: 90.
- 17. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 110—111.
- 18. Ibid.: 144.
- 19. *Ibid*.: 110—111.
- 20. Ibid.: 146, Yazdi, 2008: 257.
- 21. Pishchulina, 1977: 93.
- 22. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 121.
- 23. Pishchulina, 1977: 93.
- 24. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 121.
- 25. Pishchulina, 1977: 93.
- 26. Romodin (ed.), 1973: 121.
- 27. *Ibid*.

- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Ibid.: 161.
- 30. Tanysh, 1983: 94.
- 31. Budagov, 1869, vol. 1: 437.
- 32. Russian tsars and Cossack hetmans also wore jigs. Since jig was a sign of power of Muslim rulers (sultans), in Russian it was called *sultan*. Through the Great Mughals, jig spread to India, and through the Turks, under the name *egrette*, to Europe. In the 15—18th centuries jig was worn by Mughal

emperors, Indian rajas, Polish hetmans, Romanian and Hungarian kings, and high-ranking nobles of these countries. The emperors' jig differed in size and decoration; in addition, emperors wore two or three jigs at a time. Kazakh khans and sultans also wore the jig as a sign of their high dignity (*plate 7*).

- 33. Khripunov, 2016: 84—95.
- 34. Krupa, 2019a: 141—170; eadem, 2019b: 128—142.
- 35. Eadem, 2011: 282-288.
- 36. Gyul', 2021: 171—175.

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Illustrations

Back cover:

Plate 2. Unknown artist. Portrait of Sulṭān Ṣūfī-khān from Taṣāvīr-i Salāṭīn-i Kāshghar ("Portraits of the Sulṭāns of Kashgar"). Kashgar (?), end of 10th/16th century. Termeh paper, leather binding, 23.7×14.9 cm, 5 fols. Malek National Library and Museum (Tehran), call No. 5927, fol. 2. Courtesy of the MNLM.

- **Plate 3.** Unknown artist. Portrait of Ra<u>sh</u>īd-<u>kh</u>ān b. Aḥmad-<u>kh</u>ān from the same MS, fol. 2a. Courtesy of the MNLM.
- **Plate 4.** Unknown artist. Portrait of Isanbuq \bar{u} - \underline{kh} \bar{a} n / Isan-Bu \underline{gh} \bar{a} - \underline{kh} \bar{a} n from the same MS, fol. 3. Courtesy of the MNLM.
- **Plate 5.** Unknown artist. Portrait of <u>Sh</u>īr-Muḥammad-<u>kh</u>ān from the same MS, fol. 3a. Courtesy of the MNLM.
- **Plate 6.** Unknown artist. Portrait of Aḥmad-<u>kh</u>ān, or Lanjī (Lan<u>ch</u>ī, Alan<u>ch</u>ī?)-<u>kh</u>ān from the same MS, fol. 4. Courtesy of the MNLM.
- Plate 7. Unknown artist. Portrait of Sulṭān-Maḥmūd-khān from the same MS, fol. 4a. Courtesy of the MNLM.
- **Plate 8.** Unknown artist. Portrait of Naq<u>sh</u>-i Jahān-<u>kh</u>ān from the same MS, fol. 5. Courtesy of MNLM.
- **Plate 9.** Unknown artist. Portrait of <u>Sham</u>'-i Jahān-<u>kh</u>ān from the same MS, fol. 5a. Courtesy of the MNLM. The portrait is dated 773/1371.