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Portraits of Chinese Emperors in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* by Ilkhanid and Timurid Painters

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Abstract: Rashīd al-Dīn (ca. 1248-1318), a vizier active during the Ilkhanid dynasty (1258-1353), wrote the second volume of *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), a volume devoted to the world history including that of China, that contained not only texts but also portraits of Chinese emperors. Although previous studies have frequently cited these portraits as an evidence of a close Iran-China relationship during the Ilkhanid and Timurid dynasties (1370-1507), the portraits remained largely understudied. In this article, three existing copies of the Chinese history section of *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* were examined, including one in Arabic and two in Persian, to clarify Ilkhanid and Timurid painters' approaches to portraying these foreign rulers and to reconstruct the chronological order of when the portraits in the three manuscripts were painted. Although Rashīd al-Dīn claimed to have referred to a Chinese history book when composing the volume, it is apparent that the portraits in the Arabic Khalili manuscript were not illustrated according to real examples from a Chinese history book. Instead, the painter gave free reign to his imagination and made various mistakes in the style of the emperors' costumes and headdresses. The painter of the Persian manuscript, Hazine 1654, however, directly copied the portraits from the Khalili manuscript and added the missing parts on his own. The portraits in Hazine 1653 were copied from both the Khalili manuscript and Hazine 1654.

Keywords: Rashīd al-Dīn, Mongol, Iran, history, manuscript

When Rashīd al-Dīn (ca. 1248-1318), vizier to Ilkhanid rulers Ghazan (r. 1295-1304) and Öljeitü (r. 1304-1316), wrote the history of China as part of the Second Volume on world history[1] in the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles),

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1. The First Volume is dedicated to the history of the Mongols until Ghazan's reign. The Third Volume, which is said to be a book on geography, does not survive.

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he certainly made use of the "international" environment of the Ilkhanid court. The Ilkhanid dynasty (1258-1353) or the Hülegü *ulus* (state), was a West Asian territory of the Mongol Empire, extending from the southern part of Anatolia to Afghanistan with its political and cultural centers located in northwestern Iran. It was founded by Hülegü (r. 1258-1265), who was dispatched by his brother Möngke (r. 1251-1259), the fourth Great Khan of the Mongol Empire, to conquer West Asia. Another brother, Qubilai, was sent to defeat the Southern Song in China and in 1260 became the fifth Great Khan (r. 1260-1294), setting the capital of the Empire in Dadu, present-day Beijing. The Great Khans were simultaneously emperors of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) in China but they maintained their suzerainty over the entire Mongol Empire, with the Ilkhanid dynasty in West Asia always subordinate to them.

Thus, during the Ilkhanid period, West Asia enjoyed a strong relationship with China politically, economically and culturally. In the preface of the Chinese history, Rashīd al-Dīn states that a book on Chinese history was brought by two Chinese scholars to Ghazan's court and that he followed its descriptions while writing (see below).[2]

In this paper, we will discuss three notable copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history that exist today, one of which is an incomplete copy of the Arabic translation that survives from the Ilkhanid period. It is inscribed with the date 714/1314-1315 and is now preserved in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London (MSS 727).[3] It is accompanied by portraits of Chinese emperors all the way to the Song (960-1279) and Jin (1115-1234) dynasties but it has no preface, and is also missing the first ten dynasties, as well as several later dynasties. The other two manuscripts contain

2. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1971), pp. 19-26; Honda M. 本田実信, "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Chinese History* ラシード・ウッディーンの『中国史』," in Honda M., *Studies on Histories of the Mongol Era* モンゴル時代史研究 (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press 東京大学出版会, 1991), pp. 397-403; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh* (Tehran: Iran University Press, 2000), pp. 83-91; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯 (Beijing: Kunlun Press 崑崙出版社, 2006), pp. 119-127; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)* (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 2006), pp. 5-12. The scholars' names are Lītājī and K.msūn (the short vowel between the letters "k" and "m" is unknown). The Chinese characters for their names are uncertain.

3. The entire folios are reproduced in S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London: the Nour Foundation, 1995); all the folios of Chinese history are reproduced in K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*; all the painted folios are reproduced in B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* (London and Boston: Faber & Faber Limited, 1978).

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complete Persian texts of the Chinese history, with Timurid (1370-1507) illustrations, and can be found in the Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul. One is Hazine 1653, with the date of late Jumādā II 714/early October 1314, but its Chinese history appears to have been both transcribed and illustrated by Timurid hands, at the time when court historian Hāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 1430) supplemented the missing parts of the manuscript for Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh (r. 1409-1447) in 829/1426-1427 in Herat, Afghanistan.[4] The second Persian manuscript is Hazine 1654, whose text is dated 3 Jumādā I 717/14 July 1317, with the Chinese history transcribed during the Ilkhanid era and later accompanied by Timurid illustrations.[5]

A directive supplementing the endowment deed dated 1 Rabī‘ I 709/9 August 1309 of Rab‘-i Rashīdī, Rashīd al-Dīn’s pious foundation near Tabriz in northwestern Iran stipulates that two complete sets of Rashīd al-Dīn’s books, including the *Jāmi‘ al-tavārīkh*, were to be transcribed, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, at the scriptorium of Rab‘-i Rashīdī every year. When they were ready, the copies were to be collated carefully with the master copy and distributed to an Arabic-speaking and a Persian-speaking city, respectively.[6] However, Rashīd al-Dīn was executed in 1318,

4. All the folios with Chinese history are reproduced in K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*. For the study on the compilation of this manuscript by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, see Otsuka O. 大塚修, “Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū’s Historiographical Enterprise Reconsidered: With a Special Reference to the Revised Edition of the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārīkh* ハーフィズ・アブルーの 歴史編纂事業再考－『改訂版集史』を中心に－,” *The Memoirs of Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia* 東洋文化研究所紀要, 168 (2015), pp. 32-76. Also see R. Ettinghausen, “An Illuminated Manuscript of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū in Istanbul. Part I,” *Kunst des Orients*, 2 (1955), pp. 30-44, and S. G. İnal, “The Fourteenth-Century Miniatures of the *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh* in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, Hazine Library No. 1653,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan (1965) for the paintings of this manuscript. The current binding contains incorrect collations in Chinese history between ff. 397-405. In K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, the order of the folios has been corrected and the folios have been renumbered. For the convenience of readers, I follow Jahn’s folio numbers in this paper.
5. See S. G. İnal, “Some miniatures of the *Jāmi‘ al-Tavārīkh* in Istanbul, Topkapı Museum, Hazine Library No. 1654,” *Ars Orientalis*, 5 (1963), pp. 163-175; M. R. Ghiasian, “The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmi‘ al-Tawārikh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Preliminary Analysis,” *Iranian Studies*, 51:3 (2018), pp. 399-425 for the details of this manuscript.
6. See S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din’s Illustrated History of the World*, pp. 114-115 for the translation of the article by W. M. Thackston. See also S. S. Blair, “Patterns of Patronage and Production in Ilkhanid Iran: The Case of Rashid al-Din,” in J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert eds., *The Court of the Il-Khans 1290-1340* (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* XII) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 48-49; S. S. Blair, “Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium,” in L. Komaroff ed., *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 171-173.

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forcing the project to be suspended and his scriptorium eventually dissolved. It is unknown how many Arabic and Persian copies managed to be prepared before Rashīd's execution but the surviving manuscripts (including an Arabic copy) attest to the fact that the directive was being fulfilled.

However, Sheila Blair points out that the stipulation of the articles was "overly optimistic" because the paintings of the Arabic copy are simplified toward the end of the manuscript, indicating that the illustrators were under some time pressure, and some illustrations for the surviving Ilkhanid sections in Hazine 1653 and none of the illustrations except three in Hazine 1654 were ever completed, as can be seen by the frames left blank or filled with paintings only in later periods.[7] In other words, Rashīd's project probably did not go well especially due to the slow illustrating process.

The exotic, seemingly very Chinese portraits of emperors in these three manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history have been often cited as evidence of an Iranian-Chinese relationship during the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods, but the portraits themselves have not been studied fully. This paper examines the details of representation with respect to the historical texts, in order to clarify the particular circumstances of the painters and their approaches to the portrayal of these foreign rulers. For example, were the painters able to refer to Chinese sources as Rashīd al-Dīn himself was for his text? Furthermore, the iconography of the emperors in these three manuscripts will be compared to determine how they are related, i.e., to see which illustrations were copied from which, and whether Hazine 1654 actually came before Hazine 1653, in terms of the Chinese history illustrations.

I. The Arabic Copy in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 727

The Arabic copy preserved in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, MSS 727 (hereafter, the "Khalili manuscript") consists of fifty-nine folios measuring

Akio Iwatake suggests that the date of the directive was the same as the endowment deed itself, i.e. 1 Rabī' I 709/9 August 1309. See Iwatake A. 岩武昭男, "The Directive to Produce Copies of Manuscripts, Supplementing the Endowment Deed of Rab'-i Rashīdī ラシード ワクフ文書補遺写本作成指示書," Department of Oriental History at Kwansei Gakuin University ed. 関西学院大学東洋史学研究室編, *Culture and Society in Asia* アジアの文化と社会 (Kyoto: Horitsu Bunka Sha 法律文化社, 1995), p. 289. I thank Dr. Osamu Otsuka for calling my attention to Iwatake's discussion.

7. S. S. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," p. 180.

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435 x 300 mm with its text border measuring 370 x 255 mm.[8] The manuscript is dated 714/1314-1315 on f. 41b. It is part of the Second Volume of the only surviving Arabic copy prepared according to Rashīd's articles in March 1314, and originally comprised a single manuscript together with another part now preserved in the library at the University of Edinburgh (MS Arab 20).[9] The Khalili manuscript contains twenty illustrations (excluding the figures in the Chinese history). The Chinese history spans ff. 9b-18a, including eighty pictures of human figures.

While the Persian text of Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history begins with Pangu 盤古, creator god of the Chinese myth, and ends with the Song and Jin dynasties, the unique surviving Arabic text of the Khalili manuscript is incomplete.[10] The Chinese history of the Khalili manuscript starts with the end of the Xia 夏 dynasty (ca. 21st to 17th centuries B.C.E., or the tenth dynasty of Rashīd's Chinese history) on f. 9a, then goes on to include the first emperor Cheng Tang 成湯 of the Shang 商 dynasty (or Yin 殷 dynasty, ca. 17th to 11th centuries B.C.E., eleventh dynasty) also on f. 9a **(Fig. 1)**, rulers up to the eleventh emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779 C.E.) of the Tang 唐 dynasty (619-779, twenty-ninth dynasty) on f. 16b **(Fig.5)**, seven emperors of the Northern Song 北宋 dynasty (960-1127, thirty-sixth dynasty, first part, according to the Persian text but the ordinal numbers of dynasty and part are missing in the Arabic text) from the third emperor Zhenzong 真宗 (r. 997-1022) to the ninth emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1125-1127) and five of the seven emperors of the Southern Song 南宋 (1127-1279, thirty-sixth dynasty, second part, according to the Persian text) from the third emperor Guangzong 光宗 (r. 1189-1194) to the ninth emperor Shaozhu 少主 (or Prince of Wei 衛王, r. 1278-1279) on f. 17a **(Fig. 6)**, and nine emperors of the Jurchen 女直 dynasty of Jin 金 from the first emperor Taizu Min 太祖旻 (r. 1115-1123) to the ninth

8. For facts on the manuscript, see S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 16.
9. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, pp. 16-36. For the part in the University of Edinburgh, see D. T. Rice, & B. Gray, *The Illustrations to the 'World History' of Rashīd al-Dīn* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976).
10. See K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*; Honda M. 本田実信, "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Chinese History* ラシード・ウッディーンの『中国史』," pp. 387-404; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl-Allāh*; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯; Rawshan, M., *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)* for the text of the Chinese history.

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Shaodi Shouxu 少帝守緒 (or Aizong 哀宗, r. 1223-1234) on f. 17b.[11] As far as the Arabic text survives, it is a faithful word-by-word translation of the Persian text.

The general format used to present a dynasty in the Khalili manuscript is as follows unless multiple dynasties coexist **(Fig.1)**. The heading of a dynasty is confined within a central column narrower than the full text frame and is divided into three sections. The first section at the top, starting with the word *al-ṭabaqa* (literally "class" to mean "dynasty") in black bold letters on the first line, contains facts on the particular Chinese dynasty, such as its ordinal number, the name of its founder, the ordinal number of the founder's Chinese rulership, the number of "offspring" (i.e. the number of rulers in the dynasty, including the founder), and the number of years the dynasty lasted. The next two lines in the same first section, starting with the word *tabi'a* in black bold letters (literally "responsibility," probably meaning "reign"), give the number of reigning years of the founder himself. The middle section is occupied by a portrait, which may be that of the founder whose information is given directly above. The third and bottom section has the details of the *tabi'a* of his offspring,

11. When compared with the Persian text, it is apparent that much is missing between ff. 16 and 17 of the Khalili manuscript: the Tang emperors from the twelfth emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779-805), the entire Later Liang 後梁 (907-923), Later Tang 後唐 (923-936), and Later Jin 後晉 (936-946) dynasties, the second emperor of the Liao 遼 dynasty Yelü Deguang 耶律德光 (or Taizong 太宗, r. 926-947), the Later Han 後漢 (947-950) and Later Zhou 後周 (951-960) dynasties (thirtieth to thirty-fifth dynasties of Rashīd al-Dīn's Persian text), and the first two Song emperors Taizu 太祖 (r. 960-976) and Taizong 太宗 (r. 976-997). B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript*, p. 29, No. 16 uses the word "omitted" to describe these missing dynasties and emperors. Certainly, the catchword on f. 16b **(Fig. 5)** accords with the first word on fol. 17a **(Fig. 6)**. This catchword, "Jīnzūn," denotes Zhenzong, the third emperor of the Northern Song who appears on f. 17a but not "Dīzūn," the twelfth Tang emperor Dezong who historically succeeded the last emperor written on f. 16b and is mentioned as such in the Persian text. Was the omission of the history spanning about two hundred years due to a mistake in transcription or a lacuna? It is difficult to distinguish the hands of the text and the catchword but they seem different at least to the current author. If so, the catchword may have been added later than the production of the copy, when the lacuna containing the missing history had already occurred. As will be discussed later, this lacuna would have occurred before the early fifteenth century. On the other hand, an apparent mistake by the scribe of the Khalili manuscript is observed on f. 17a **(Fig. 6)**, where seven Northern Song emperors and five Southern Song emperors are listed without interruption on a single page. The heading of "the second part" of the Song dynasty (Southern Song) and the first and second Southern Song emperors Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127-1162) and Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162-1189) present in the Persian copies are missing from the Khalili manuscript. Such a careless scribe may have omitted a few pages without realizing it. A further careful examination is required to decide whether the omission occurred because of a lacuna or a scribe's mistake.

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with the number of offspring and the combined number of years in their reigns (both excluding the founder's). The letters of the heading, except for the words in bold, are written in alternating colors of red and black. After the heading, the text frame returns to the normal width but is subdivided into smaller squares to contain each ruler's order (starting with the second ruler as the "first"), the name and the number of reigning years. Then, a special account of the dynasty is written in the ensuing section.

In general, three portraits are inserted for a dynasty: the founder in a frame in the second section of the dynasty heading, and two people in tall frames on either side of the heading. Exceptions to this three-portrait format are the Warring States (f. 10b, thirteenth dynasty) **(Fig. 2)** and the Three Kingdoms (f. 12b, twentieth dynasty), where respectively seven and three rulers are depicted side by side. The portraits of the emperors of Western Liang 後梁 (or 西梁, 555-587, twenty-sixth dynasty) and Chen 陳 (557-589, twenty-seventh dynasty) of the Southern dynasties, on ff. 14b-15a **(Figs. 3-4)**, are laid out irregularly as will be discussed later. No portrait is painted from the Five Barbarians 五胡 (304-439) nor the Northern dynasties (439-589), being considered "*al-ṭā'ifa*" (literally "party," indicating petty kingdoms) by Rashīd al-Dīn and the Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618, twenty-eighth dynasty) on ff. 15b-16a. By contrast, the portraits of all the listed emperors of the Tang, Song, and Jin dynasties are painted in individual frames on ff. 16b-17b **(Figs. 5-6)**.

It is reasonable to think that the portrait painted just below the information of a founder in the heading is meant to be that of the founder, and that each portrait within an individual frame of the Tang, Song, and Jin dynasties represents the emperor whose name is written above it. The standing figures painted on either side of a founder in a heading, however, cannot be identified. It has been suggested that they are courtiers or ministers attending the emperor in the center, as seen on the scroll of the Thirteen Emperors attributed to Yan Liben 閻立本 (ca. 600-673) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 31.643.[12] However, these "attending" figures sometimes wear *mianguan* 冕冠, the official crown for emperors surmounted by a quadrangle board with strings of beads called *liu* 旒 hanging from the front and back, while the emperor figures are often depicted wearing either a black cloth headdress with two wings called *putou* 幞頭, which is usually worn by officials, or a simple cloth hood called *pashou* 帕首. Blair suggests that the painter "did not understand the original iconography and confused

12. B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript*, p. 26 ff. and S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 67.

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details of dress and pose." [13]

Were they really meant to be attendants? The tall frames used to contain the figures were margins of the heading column made narrower to stand out from the text body and the scribe intended them to be blank. This is clear from the headings of the Five Barbarians, the Northern dynasties, and the Sui dynasty without the founders' portraits on ff. 15b-16a, where blank margins on both sides of the headings consistently exist. Nevertheless, the painter of "attendants" did not recognize the margins as they were but misunderstood them to be spaces for paintings.

The painter's misunderstanding of the spaces left by the scribe happens elsewhere, and sometimes, conversely, the painter did not provide the necessary illustrations. For example, the long blank space above the seven portraits of the Warring States is reserved for the portraits of the fourteen rulers of the Spring and Autumn period (770-403 B.C.E., thirteenth dynasty) on f. 10b **(Fig. 2)** but the painter did not understand that the fourteen "words" written in black ink above the space were the names of rulers to be painted and mistakenly left the space unpainted.[14]

In the case of the Song 宋 (420-479, twenty-third dynasty) of the Southern dynasties on ff. 13b-14a, the heading extends over two facing pages and has four marginal spaces. The painter painted four standing "attendants," one in each of the four margins in addition to the founder portrait within the heading.[15]

The description of the Western Liang dynasty starts at the bottom of f. 14b **(Fig. 3)**. Since there was not enough height left for a normal heading, the scribe decided to

13. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 67.

14. In Hazine 1653, eight portraits are added for this period by a Timurid painter on f. 400b. Although fourteen names are given in red, they are written in two lines without spaces and they look to be only eight names. In Hazine 1654, fourteen names are given in red with ample spacing to be recognized individually but there is not enough space for the portraits of the Spring and Autumn periods and of the Warring States on f. 262b.

15. The founder portrait at the top of f. 14a is that of Gaozu 高祖 (Wudi 武帝, r. 420-422) of the Song dynasty and the one at the bottom is that of Taizu Xiao Daocheng 太祖蕭道成 (r. 479-482) of the Southern Qi 齊 dynasty (479-502, twenty-fourth dynasty). B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript*, p. 28, no. 13 incorrectly identifies the top as Xiao Daocheng and the bottom as Gaozu 高祖 (r. 502-549) of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-549, twenty-fifth dynasty). This discrepancy in B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript* trickles down to the top on f. 15a. These wrong identifications are repeated in S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 67. Nevertheless, Blair rightly points out the painter's mistake in painting the "attendants" twice on ff. 13b-14a (S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 68).

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widen the column for the last two lines, which refer to the founder on the right and the offspring on the left. On the next page, the scribe left a blank space for the founder's portrait on the right and wrote the names of the second and third rulers on the left at the top **(Fig. 4)**, to correspond with the information written on the previous page. The painter correctly painted the founder portrait in the space on f. 15a but he also put two "attendants" in the marginal spaces on both sides of the heading on f. 14b.[16]

The scribe follows the same irregular format of the Western Liang for the history of the Chen dynasty, which starts from the middle of f. 15a **(Fig. 4)**. After the narrow central heading of the first section, the scribe placed the information on the founder on the right and the offspring on the left. In the next lines the scribe left a space for the founder's portrait on the right and wrote the names and lengths of the reigns of the four succeeding rulers on the left. However, the painter did not understand the arrangement the scribe intended and painted two standing figures instead of the Chen founder.[17] Even the artist who ruled the frames did not understand the intended format and there seems to be some confusion on his part here as well, as can be seen by the superfluous vertical lines.

All these mistakes imply that the painter of the Khalili manuscript did not copy portraits from a master copy of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* (if it existed) but that he painted them on his own. His policy toward painting portraits in the Chinese history is clear: when he thought spaces were large enough for portraits, he simply filled them, whether they were frames intended for the founder portraits or just leftover margins. He painted standing figures in tall spaces and seated or reclined figures in wide spaces but left blank those spaces he judged were not large enough. The scribe, on the other hand, intended only the spaces within the narrow, centered headings to be painted with portraits (except for some cases discussed above) but the painter mistakenly believed that the tall margins besides the headings were also for portraits. The painter did not distinguish between the central figures and the figures on the sides as, say, rulers and attendants, but simply varied the postures and colors of the costumes to avoid monotony in a long succession of portraits. The headdresses were also selected at random, except the figures regarded as sets (such as the standing pairs in the margins)

16. This irregular placement of portraits is first noted by S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 68.
17. B. Gray, *The World History of Rashid al-Din: A Study of the Royal Asiatic Society Manuscript*, p. 29, no. 15 wrongly identifies the figure at the top of f. 15a as the founder of the Chen dynasty, Wudi Gaozu 武帝高祖 (r. 557-559) and the two standing figures below as ministers.

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were given matching headdresses. Probably the painter just filled blank spaces with Chinese-emperor-like figures.

The painter also appeared to give little thought to historical accuracy, as can be seen in other mistakes in the representation of Chinese emperors. For example, the second figure in the right column of the Tang dynasty on f. 16b **(Fig. 5)** is inscribed with the name "S.n T.n Khwānkū Fū," which can be identified as Zetian Huanghou Wu 則天皇后武 (or Wu Zetian 武則天, r. 690-705), empress of the third ruler Gaozong 高宗 (r. 650-683) and the famed, sole female ruler in Chinese history.[18] Even though the Arabic text above the portraits specifically states that a portrait of each emperor follows in the history book, she is represented as a male figure with a moustache and a beard. Another misrepresentation is "Shūjū," the last emperor of the Southern Song on f. 257a **(Fig. 6)**, who can be identified as Shaozhu, the eight-year-old who committed suicide in 1279 with his general Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫 (1236-1279) when they were defeated by the Mongols.[19] This is a well-known tragedy in Chinese history but Shaozhu is depicted with a moustache and a beard. At the very least it can be said that the painter was not interested in the realistic portrayal of these two figures. In other portraits too, the inaccurate representations of Chinese costumes make us think that the portraits were not copied at all from a Chinese book.

Furthermore, while the text sometimes introduces episodes or describes the appearance or character of the emperors, the painter does not seem to have reflected them in his paintings. It is as if he did not read the text at all. If the painter's approach to the portraits of Chinese emperors was such, why were figures painted in Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history?

In the preface preserved only in the Persian text, Rashīd al-Dīn gives details of the Chinese history book to which he referred. It was a reliable and well-known printed book authored by three famous scholars (*ḥakīm*): Fūhīn *khūshang* from the city of Tāy ʻĀn Jū, Fīkhū *khūshang* from the city of Fīn Jū, and Shīkhūn *khūshang* from the city of

18. Her reign is reported to be twenty-one years by Rashīd al-Dīn but this may also include the reign of Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684), Wu Zetian's son, who was deposed by Zetian less than two months after his enthronement, and that of Ruizong 睿宗 (r. 684-690), another son of Zetian's, who was her puppet. Neither of these two emperors is mentioned in Rashīd al-Dīn's text.

19. Rashīd al-Dīn's text says that Shaozhu himself offered the throne of China to the Great Khan and allied himself with him. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, p. 67; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmiʻ al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl-Allāh*, p. 152; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmiʻ al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, p. 177; M. Rawshan, *Jāmiʻ al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, p. 69.

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Lāwkīn.[20] The *khūshang* or *heshang* 和尚 were Buddhist priests, or according to Rashīd al-Dīn, "*bakhshī*," the Persian term used to denote Buddhist scholars especially during the Ilkhanid and Timurid periods, derived from the Chinese word *boshi* 博士 meaning "scholar."[21] The book was written during the reign of J.n Līwān (possibly Chenliuwang 陳留王, the fifth ruler of the Wei 魏 dynasty, r. 260-265).[22] In the description of the first dynasty, which is also missing from the Khalili manuscript but recorded in the Persian copies, Rashīd al-Dīn writes, "It is a custom of the Chinese people in a history [book] that they put a portrait (*ṣūrat*) above the name for every ruler who had gained recognition. We follow this tradition and portray those who are portrayed in the book in the same way they appear [in the book]."[23] Rashīd al-Dīn bothered to explain the handling of portraits in a historical book here probably because he was not familiar

20. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn,* pp. 24-26; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, pp. 87-91; Honda M. 本田実信, "Rashīd al-Dīn's *Chinese History* ラシード・ウッディーンの『中国史』," pp. 399-403; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, pp. 124-127; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, pp. 8-11. So far, the identifications of the authors or the title of the book have not been conclusive. Wang Yidan and Noriko Miya suggest the provenances of the authors and the books. See Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, pp. 185-186; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, pp. 88-90, 124; Miya N. 宮紀子, *The Knowledge in the East and the West during the Mongol Period* モンゴル時代の「知」の東西 (Nagoya: The University of Nagoya Press 名古屋大学出版会, 2018), v. 2, pp. 918-919.

21. P. Jackson, "Bak̲šī," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, III/5, pp. 535-536; an updated version is available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/baksi-a-buddhist-lama (accessed on 3 March 2018).

22. All the editors or translators of the preface of Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history agree with the identification of this ruler, who is also mentioned in Rashīd al-Dīn's text in the history. Miya questions this identification because Rashīd al-Dīn would have also referred to other, more recent books if this particular history book were written as early as in the third century. She suggests the possibility that this was a misspelling of a Jin ruler. See Miya N. 宮紀子, *The Knowledge in the East and the West during the Mongol Period* モンゴル時代の「知」の東西, v. 2, p. 918.

23. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, p. 27; Wang Yidan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, pp. 93-94; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, p. 129; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, p. 14.

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with this custom.[24] In the Persian copies of Hazine 1653 and 1654, each name of the ten rulers of the first dynasty is followed by a standard phrase meaning "his portrait is like this" (the precise wording is varied).[25] The rulers of the second dynasty are divided into two categories by Rashīd al-Dīn according to portraiture: the first category is Fuxi 伏羲 and his sister Nüwa 女媧, whose portraits exist in the Chinese book, and whose reigns are known; the second category comprises the fourteen rulers after Fuxi and Nüwa, whose portraits do not exist and whose reigning years are uncertain. Further, for the third and fourth dynasties, Rashīd al-Dīn mentions only two portraits, of Shennong 神農 and Xuanyuan 軒轅 (Huangdi or Yellow Emperor 黃帝), stating that portraits of their offspring were not produced in the Chinese book.[26] From the fifth dynasty onwards, there is no mention of portraits in the text until the Tang dynasty.

As far as the text goes, Rashīd al-Dīn clearly testifies to the existence of portraits at least to the fourth dynasty in the Chinese history book he consulted and even distinguishes rulers with portraits from those without. But unfortunately, the folios containing these early dynasties are missing from the Khalili manuscript and therefore there are several questions unsolved: was the painter of the Khalili manuscript able to copy the portraits in the Chinese book for the first four dynasties to which Rashīd al-Dīn himself referred? Did the painter produce any portraits of the emperors after the fifth dynasty? Furthermore, if the Chinese book with portraits was written during the Wei dynasty (220-265, one of the Three Kingdoms to which Rashīd al-Dīn refers as the twentieth dynasty) as Rashīd al-Dīn claims in the preface, the sources for the history after said dynasty may be different and we do not know whether they contained portraits. Though Rashīd al-Dīn intended to follow the format of the Chinese history

24. The portraits of nine Greek physicians are shown side by side in two copies of *Kitāb al-diryāq* (Book of Theriac) of Pseudo-Galen, probably produced in northern Iraq, one dated to 595/1199 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, arabe 2964, pp. 34, 31, 32 [in the correct order of pages]) and the other datable to the mid-thirteenth century (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, A.F. 10, f. 3b). Such portraits are not known from copies of other books but it is difficult to say whether these two copies of the same book were exceptional. At the very least no other historical book with portraits has survived from the Islamic regions.

25. In Hazine 1654 the ninth emperor is not represented, in spite of this phrase, due to lack of space.

26. For Rashīd's mention of portraits of rulers of the second to fourth dynasties, see K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, pp. 29-31; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓl-Allāh*, pp. 96-99; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, pp. 131-133; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, pp. 17-20.

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book with portraits of rulers, it is clear that the portraits surviving in the Khalili manuscript were not painted from Chinese originals. They are all inventions by the painter at Rab'-i Rashīdī, who filled sufficiently large spaces with Chinese-like figures.

The question now turns to how these Chinese figures were represented by Rashīd al-Dīn's painters. The costumes these figures wear are all long robes with long sleeves. The robes do not have side slits or openings. The necks are either loose round necks or suit collars, with two pieces of cloth sewn into the center of their chests. Sometimes the clothes worn under the outer long robes are visible from the hems or sleeves. Some figures wear gold belts at the waist. Their footwear is black boots with pointed toes. Three headdresses can be distinguished as discussed above but there seems to be no relationship between the type of headdress and the other elements in the costumes. The robes are so simple and clumsy that they look like those worn by officials rather than by emperors.

About half of the robes have gold embroidery made to look like Chinese gold clouds consisting of a number of horizontal lines across the chest. Blair suggests that these are Mandarin squares (*buzi*, 補子), square pieces of embroidered cloth worn on the chest by Chinese officials from the Yuan dynasty.[27] However, the patterns are embroidered directly on the robes and there are also similar embroidered patterns on the sleeves. Therefore, they are most probably not Mandarin squares.[28] In addition, as Blair points out, these designs are also painted on the costumes of non-Chinese peoples in the Arabic manuscript and thus do not signal the Chinese ethnicity of a figure immediately.

At the very least, the costumes and headdresses of Chinese figures are specific to them, and they are not observed on the other two types of male costumes painted in the Khalili/Edinburgh manuscript, the Arab and Mongol costumes. Those worn by important prophets such as Jacob, Moses, David, Christ, and Muḥammad are Arab-type costumes: long robes with a front opening, an open neck, a turban, and a pair of black boots with pointed toes. The prophets sometimes wear large shawls covering their heads. In the sections of the Jewish history and the entire history of Persia from the ancient period to the tenth-to-twelfth centuries, most of the figures wear Mongol-type

27. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 67.
28. The use of Mandarin squares is observed on the costumes of figures in the so-called "Small *Shāhnāma*" manuscripts. See, for example, R. Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran," in L. Komaroff and S. Carboni eds., *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), Fig. 176.

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costumes, crowns or Mongolian headdresses (but sometimes also turbans), outer robes with short sleeves, suit collars and two side slits. The inner robes are long-sleeved and they are visible from under the sleeves and slits of the upper robes. Their footwear is again black boots with pointed toes. The costumes worn by the Chinese figures are obviously differentiated from these Arab and Mongol costumes, having long robes with long sleeves without openings or slits, and three distinct types of headdresses as discussed above.

Only some figures in the history of India such as those on ff. 34a and 37b, are depicted with Chinese costumes although they are sometimes bare-footed.[29] The painter may have selected the same type of costume for the Chinese and the Indians because he believed that they belonged to a different ethnicity from the Jews and Arabs (Arab-type costumes), and the Persians, Mongols, and Turks (Mongol-type costumes). He may also have believed that the Chinese and the Indians were rather akin. This unusual understanding of the ethnicities by the painter indicates that he was not really familiar with either of these peoples.[30]

The black boots with pointed toes is found with all three costume types. These boots were known to be worn by Turks and Mongols in West Asia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and, in fact, almost all the figures painted in illustrated manuscripts surviving from the Ilkhanid period have these boots. The painter simply painted the footwear with which he was familiar, regardless of perceived ethnicity (and type of costume) of the figures.

Another characteristic of the Chinese figures in the Khalili manuscript is that all are full-length portraits. Even when the frames are too wide or too short and are not suitable for full-length portraits, the painters tried to fit the figures within the frames by giving them reclined or seated postures. This insistence upon representing figures from head to foot is quite different from the Chinese tradition of portraits in printed books, which have either a full-length portrait in an ample tall frame on a single page or a bust portrait shown on one page.[31] The latter was more popular because facial features could

29. Jonah on f. 59a wears a long robe with a round neck but is without a headdress. Since only the upper body is represented, it is impossible to decide his costume type.

30. However, Indian and Tibetan female figures are differentiated in the paintings on f. 22a although the buildings look alike.

31. Xu Xiao-man & Wang Fu-kang 徐小蠻、王福康, *History of Chinese Old Illustrations* 中國古代插圖史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2007), pp. 285-293. See also pp. 63-68 for illustrations of printed books on history.

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be represented in detail. The famous portraits of the Yuan emperors and empresses in the album preserved in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, are all painted in this bust format[32] but such a format did not occur to our painter of the Khalili manuscript.

In spite of Rashīd al-Dīn's stated intention to insert portraits of emperors in his Chinese history following the Chinese tradition, the painter of the Arabic manuscript was not able to copy any Chinese portraits, at least for the portion of the manuscript surviving today, and the painter had to create portraits on his own. Since no reader could tell whether these portraits were realistic in an Arabic-speaking city where this copy was to be distributed, it was enough for the figures to appear Chinese. The painter may have had some acquaintance with Chinese people and their costumes because a certain number of Chinese were present at Ghazan's court. Or, he may have been able to consult printed books with illustrations on other subjects, for ideas regarding Chinese costumes, without knowing what actually constituted an emperor's costume.

As to the painter's ethnicity, it is difficult to find any clues in the representations. Throughout the Arabic copy, including the Jewish, Islamic, Persian, and Indian histories, he painted the illustrations in a coherent style, possibly working together with his colleagues. His style is especially unique in that he added silver highlights on the sheen of drapery, the whites of the eyes, and nose ridges. This special treatment is not seen in other contemporary manuscript illustrations and was not repeated in later productions. The light coloring, the limited palette, and the small use of gold are also among characteristics of the paintings of this style but other copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* attributed to the production at Rab'-i Rashīdī also have similar colorings. The limited use of pigments may have been due to the scriptorium's policy regarding the expense of pigments to be used in the production of secular texts.[33]

On the other hand, while the illustrations of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*[34] (dispersed), ca. 1330s, are painted in thick colors and lack silver highlights, some

32. For example, Chen Yun-ru 陳韻如, ed., *Elegant Gathering of the Princess: The Culture of Appreciating and Collecting Art at the Mongol Yuan Court* 公主的雅集—蒙元皇室與書畫鑑藏文化特展 (Taipei: National Palace Museum 國立故宮博物院, 2016), cat. nos. 28 and 29.

33. Blair points out a clear distinction between the manuscripts of the Qur'ān and the other texts prepared for Rashīd al-Dīn. See S. S. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," p. 177.

34. For this manuscript, see O. Grabar & S. S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol* Shahnama (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980) and R. Hillenbrand, "The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran."

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paintings show figures with similar facial features as those seen in the Arabic copy[35] and reuse compositions found in same, as has been pointed out by Blair.[36] Since the illustrations of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma* are considerably faithful to the Persian text,[37] their painters may have been able to read the text.

In the endowment deed of Rab'-i Rashīdī dated 1 Rabī' I 709/9 August 1309, a painter (*naqqāsh*) with the Turkic name Qutlugh Buqa is listed.[38] According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (1244–1323), a librarian and historian at the Maragha observatory, a painter named 'Afīf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kāshī or Muḥammad ibn al-'Afīf al-Kāshī illustrated for Rashīd al-Dīn.[39] From his *nisba* indicating the town of Kāshān in central Iran, he was most likely Iranian. Whatever the historical sources testify, at this point it is impossible to say whether the Turkic or the Iranian painter, or anyone else, was associated with the Khalili manuscript.

The Khalili manuscript was undoubtedly one of the great steps in the history of Arabic and Persian manuscript production. This was the first Chinese history introduced to the peoples in West Asia. In addition, it is illustrated with portraits of Chinese emperors although they were imaginative. The painter tried his best to represent figures who "looked Chinese" according what he knew or surmised of the foreign culture. The costumes of the figures can be recognized as Chinese enough, even to modern readers, and the painter's efforts are well-rewarded.

II. Hazine 1654: One Persian Copy in the Topkapı Palace Library

Hazine 1654 consists of 352 folios measuring 557 x 327 mm with its text border

35. For example, the illustration of "Ardashīr with his wife, who throws down the cup of poison," now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington D.C. S1986.106.
36. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, pp. 92-93.
37. For the relationship between the illustrations and the text of the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*, see T. Masuya, "Visualization of Texts: Scenes of Mourning in the Great Mongol *Shāhnāma*," *Orient*, 52 (2017), pp. 5-20.
38. S. S. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," p. 178.
39. A. Ivanov, "The Name of a Painter who Illustrated the *World History* of Rashid al-Din," in R. Hillenbrand ed., *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honour of Basil W. Robinson* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), p. 148; S. S. Blair, "Calligraphers, Illuminators, and Painters in the Ilkhanid Scriptorium," pp. 171, 178-179.

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measuring 342 x 244 mm, and it is dated 3 Jumādā I 717/14 July 1317 on f. 352a.[40] It contains 125 illustrations, 108 human figures in the Chinese history, and 304 human figures in the Frankish history. Only three illustrations are Ilkhanid (ff. 5a and 5b); all other illustrations and figures were added in later periods. Some fifty clumsy but original illustrations are in a style resembling that of the Muzaffarids, with figures wearing white Timurid headdresses with blue brims (ff. 7a-20b, 170b-218a, 226a, 233b), and the rest are Timurid paintings.[41] The Chinese history spans ff. 252b-272b and all the figures are painted in the Timurid style. The Persian text is complete and includes all the sections missing from the Khalili manuscript.

Most of the portraits of the Chinese figures in Hazine 1654 are lightly colored and have close affinities in posture and costume with those of the Khalili manuscript. Due to the difference in the positions or shapes of the portrait spaces, the same portrait is sometimes assigned to different emperors in the two manuscripts. For example, the portrait of the Western Han 西漢 (206 B.C.E.-8 C.E.) emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202-195 B.C.E) in the Khalili manuscript (sixteenth dynasty, f. 251a) is shown to be Bawang 霸王 (Xiang Yu 項羽 of Chu 楚, r. 206-202 B.C.E.) in Hazine 1654 (fifteenth dynasty, f. 263a), who is not represented in the former. The portrait on the right on f. 14b, among the three Western Liang portraits in the Khalili manuscript (twenty-sixth dynasty, ff. 14b-15a), is shown as the Western Liang emperor Xuandi 宣帝 (r. 555-562 C.E.) in Hazine 1654 (f. 266b), and the emperor on the left is shown as the Chen emperor Wudi Gaozu 武帝高祖 (r. 557-562) in Hazine 1654 (twenty-seventh dynasty, f. 266b).

The question here is whether the painter of Hazine 1654 copied the Khalili manuscript or any other manuscripts. The portraits of the Song dynasty are key to this problem. The Khalili manuscript is missing the first two emperors of both the Northern and Southern Song dynasties, due to an omission by the scribe (or possibly, a lacuna) of rulers from Dezong of the Tang dynasty to the second emperor of the Northern Song, and the beginning of the Southern Song. On f. 17a of the Khalili manuscript **(Fig. 6)**, the portraits are laid out in two columns: seven emperors of the Northern Song (third

40. For detailed facts on the manuscript, see S. G. İnal, "Some miniatures of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in Istanbul, Topkapı Museum, Hazine Library No. 1654," pp. 163-175, and M. R. Ghiasian, "The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Preliminary Analysis," pp. 399-425.

41. Mohamad Reza Ghiasian classifies the paintings of Hazine 1654 into six major groups in M. R. Ghiasian, "The Topkapı Manuscript of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* (Hazine 1654) from Rashidiya to the Ottoman Court: A Preliminary Analysis," pp. 399-425, where he attributes the clumsy style to the fourteenth-century Jalayirids.

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to ninth emperors) are on the right and five emperors (third to ninth emperors, with the omission of the seventh and eighth emperors as in the Persian text) of the Southern Song on the left. However, in Hazine 1654, the portraits of the first four emperors of the Northern Song (f. 270b) **(Fig. 7)** are the same as those in the top horizontal row of f. 17a, that is, the third and fourth emperors of Northern and Southern Song in the Khalili manuscript. The fifth to eighth Northern Song emperors of Hazine 1654, in turn, are the fifth and sixth emperors of Northern and Southern Song, that is, the second row of the Khalili manuscript f. 17a. The portraits of the first and second Southern Song emperors in Hazine 1654, which are absent in the Khalili manuscript, are substituted by those of the third and fourth Northern Song emperor of the Khalili manuscript, that is, the same images as the first and second Northern Song emperors of Hazine 1654.

This fact implies that the painter of Hazine 1654 copied a manuscript in which the portraits of the first and second emperors of Northern and Southern Song were missing and those of the third and fourth emperors of the two dynasties were painted in a horizontal row just as in the Khalili manuscript. It is therefore most likely that the portraits of the Khalili manuscript were directly copied by the painter of Hazine 1654 and that the Khalili manuscript was already missing the section of the early Northern Song at the time of copying. Hazine 1654 also contains the portraits from Dezong of the Tang dynasty to Zuangzong 莊宗 (r. 923-926) of the Later Tang 後唐 dynasty (923-936, thirty-first dynasty) which are absent from the Khalili manuscript. The postures of some figures look original but others are copies or reversed copies of the portraits of the Tang and Song emperors in the Khalili manuscript. It seems that these portraits were based on existing Khalili portraits and reimagined by the Hazine 1654 painter, rather than copied from another manuscript with a complete set of portraits. In other words, the Khalili manuscript probably also lacked these sections at the time of copying.

Hazine 1654 further includes an illustration representing Hülegü's court and portraits of the early mythological emperors of the first to tenth dynasties, which are not preserved in the Khalili manuscript.

The painting on f. 253b **(Fig. 8)** is an illustration of Hülegü's court mentioned in the text. It shows an outdoor court where crowned Hülegü is seated on a throne. Two Iranian or Arab scholars and a Chinese scholar are discussing the objects placed among them: a book on a bookstand, probably regarding a *zīj* or an astronomical chart, an astrolabe (the inscription on the object clearly states thus), and a kind of document in a file (that may represent Chinese writing). A number of Mongol courtiers with feather headdresses are attending. The Iranian scholar in a green robe is the celebrated theologian, philosopher, and astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (1201-1274)

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who is mentioned in the text to have been asked by Hülegü to build an observatory and produce a *zīj*, and to have learned Chinese astronomy. The solid coloring and the clumsy representation of the Mongol headdresses indicate that the painting is a Timurid original.

On f. 255b **(Fig. 9)**, six portraits of the first dynasty, from Pangu to Shetiji 攝提紀, are shown. All the portraits on f. 255b are thickly colored unlike the other portraits in this copy. The Persian text describes only the first to fifth emperors in detail:[42]

> Their states have been reported as follows. Pangu was the first king, with whom said [Chinese] history began. During his reign, there was no city or region and men were like other animals. Their food was weeds and they hid their private parts with tree leaves. When it was hot, they breathed heavily and the air became cool as a result and the wind rose. When they coughed or vomited, it was as if there were thunder and lightning in the air. And when they wanted the air to become warm they clapped their hands. Although there were women, they did not know how to lust after them or to have intercourse. Their breaths reached each other and a woman became pregnant. After that a child was born. Tianhuangshi 天皇氏 was the second king. His name is Tian and *huangshi* is a title [*laqab*]. In the ancient times, kings had the title *huangshi* and nowadays they call it *shi* 氏. This second king was a king of mankind but he had a body like a snake and ten heads like those of men. He had thirteen brothers. He lived in the same way as the first king. During his reign, they made calculations by tying knots in a branch of a tree or [a stem of] a weed and they understood by doing so. Dihuangshi 地皇氏 was the third king and had a similar body and ten heads. He had eleven brothers. And Renhuangshi 人皇氏 was the fourth king with one body and nine heads and he had nine brothers. The habits of these two were like those of the preceding kings. Wulongji 五龍紀 who was the fifth king and five other kings following him all lived in the same manner. During their reigns, trees with fruits were discovered

42. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, pp. 28-29; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, pp. 94-96; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, pp. 130-131; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, pp. 14-16.

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> and people began to eat fruit. When it was hot, they climbed trees and when it was cold they went into caves. At that time, they understood the conditions of the sun and a moon. Previously there was no fire-making and during that period they rubbed pieces of wood together so that a fire resulted. Previously they drank the blood of gazelles and after that period they made a stone warm with fire, put meat on it until it was cooked, and ate it. All of them during those periods were as have been described but the perfect human nature had not been recognized in them yet. After the aforesaid tenth king the rule of this dynasty ended and passed to another tribe.

The portraits of the first to fifth emperors accord with the description in the text. The first ruler Pangu is crowned but half-naked, wearing only undergarments made of straw or long-haired materials. His upper body is exposed, showing breasts like a female's. He carries a gold disk or ball in each hand although these disks are not mentioned in the text. The second to fourth rulers are snake-bodied and multi-human-headed. The numbers of the heads are as in the text. They have two hands each and are wearing gold collars. The fifth is half-naked with animal-skin undergarments. He is trying to make a fire with pieces of wood.

The current author has not been able to find Chinese images of Pangu, Tianhuangshi, Dihuangshi, Renhuangshi, or Wulongji, from or before the Yuan period. In one of the earliest surviving print books with images of ancient figures, the *Collection of Ancient Portraits and Captions* 集古像贊 published in 1536 during the Ming period, Pangu's bust portrait is shown as a figure with long hair, moustache, long beard, long nails, and two short horns.[43] He is in a cape made of straw or long hairy materials. Although the image is totally different from that of Hazine 1654, it is interesting that both figures are wearing something made of straw or a long-haired material. In addition, the caption above the Ming image says that he ruled the sun and the moon, which can be associated with the disks in the hands of Pangu of Hazine 1654.

Tianhuangshi, Dihuangshi, and Renhuangshi are legendary rulers rarely recorded in Chinese historical books. They are introduced by Sima Zhen 司馬貞 (679-732), a

43. Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之, *Collection of Portraits of Chinese Historical Figures*, volume of mythological and legendary figures 中国歷史人物大図典〈神話・伝說編〉(Tokyo: Yūshikan 遊子館, 2005), p. 3.

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Tang historian, in an addendum to the chronicles of the Three Sovereigns 三皇本紀 in the *Shiji* 史記 ("Records of the Grand Scribe") by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (135? B.C.E.-93? B.C.E.), as cited from an anonymous account.[44] In this version, Tianhuangshi has twelve heads and twelve brothers, Dihuangshi eleven heads and eleven brothers, and Renhuangshi nine heads and nine brothers but the shapes of their bodies are not specified. However, the iconography of human-headed and snake- or dragon-bodied figures has been known in Chinese art since at least the Han period, in the figures of Fuxi and Nüwa of the second dynasty.[45]

The captions of the seventh and eighth rulers are written at the bottom of f. 255b but their portraits are shown beneath the caption of the ninth ruler on f. 256a. Then, the caption and the portrait of the tenth ruler are placed in the center of the same page. Therefore, the portrait of the ninth ruler Ximingji 序命紀 is absent altogether due to lack of space, even though the text says "they have created his image in this way."[46] The sixth emperor Shetiji painted in thick colors on f. 255b **(Fig. 9)**, the seventh emperor Heluoji 合雒紀 and the eighth emperor Liantongji 連通紀 painted in light colors on f. 256a **(Fig. 10)**, are all clad in the same costume with a *mianguan*, a belt, and a *hu* 笏 (ritual scepter). A *hu* is not found among the portraits in the Khalili manuscript. The portrait of the tenth emperor Suirenshi 燧人氏 is a reversed copy of the figure on the left of the Shang dynasty (eleventh dynasty) in the Khalili manuscript (f. 249a) **(Fig. 1)**. The figures on f. 256a are standing in an outdoor setting among blooming trees and a rock with a hole.

44. Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 & Shanghai shudian 上海書店, eds., *Twenty-five Histories* 二十五史 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 & Shanghai shudian 上海書店, 1986), vol. 1, p. 362. The Chinese source(s) for Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history is a major question to be discussed but it is out of the scope of this paper.
45. Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之, *Collection of Portraits of Chinese Historical Figures*, volume of mythological and legendary figures 中国歷史人物大図典〈神話・伝説編〉, pp. 5-7. In the bust portraits of Tianhuangshi, Dihuangshi, and Renhuangshi in the *Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms* 三才図絵 by Wang Qi 王圻 (1529-1612) published in 1609, the bodies of all the figures are scaled and some look snake- or dragon-bodied. Nevertheless, all have a single head. See Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之, *Collection of Portraits of Chinese Historical Figures*, volume of mythological and legendary figures 中国歷史人物大図典〈神話・伝説編〉, p. 2.
46. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, p. 28; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, p. 94; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, p. 130; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, p. 15. The exact wording of Hazine 1654 is: "*ṣūrat-i ū chunīn sākhta and*."

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Fuxi and Nüwa of the second dynasty on f. 256b **(Fig. 11)** are seated on red benches among flowers and a blooming tree. Unlike the traditional Chinese iconography portraying them with snake bodies, they are represented in human shape. Fuxi is a male figure reading a scroll and Nüwa is a female drawing up her knee. According to the text, Fuxi created the shapes of written characters and invented how to calculate, draw up contracts, and write letters. Nüwa was his sister.[47] The two figures well represent the contents of the text.

The first emperor of the fourth dynasty, Xuanyuan, is portrayed on f. 257b **(Fig. 12)**. Rashīd al-Dīn's text is very detailed and the first half of the article is as follows:

> There was a demon (*dīv*) named Chiyou 蚩尤 in that period. Eighty demons constituted his entourage; he had a copper head and an iron forehead and ate rocks and sand. He brought great troubles to humans but no one was able to defy him. He had an ability to fly and no weapon had any effect on him. And this king [Xuanyuan] fought that demon for seven days and nights and devastated his entourage. So he [Chiyou] flew away and he was not caught. He [Xuanyuan] was saddened by this and got to sleep. In those days, there was no arrow or bow. He dreamed that he was going to a god's palace and saw a gatekeeper of heaven holding an arrow and a bow. He asked what they were for. He [the gatekeeper] told him of their purpose and showed him how to use them. The king thought that these weapons would be suitable to prepare against the demon. When he awoke, he remembered their shapes and made them as such and went to fight and shot [an arrow] and killed him [Chiyou]. People were freed from his wrongdoings.[48]

47. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, p. 29; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh*, pp. 96-97; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, p. 131; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, p. 17.

48. K. Jahn, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, pp. 31-32; Wang Yi-dan, *Tārīkh-i Chīn az* Jāmi' al-tavārīkh-*i Khwāja Rashīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh,* pp. 99-100; Wang Yi-dan 王一丹, *A Study and Collated Translation of Rashīd al-Dīn's* History of China *in* Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh 波斯拉施特《史集・中國史》研究與文本翻譯, pp. 133-134; M. Rawshan, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh (Tārīkh-i aqvām-i pādshāhān-i Khutāy)*, pp. 20-21.

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The illustration for the Xuanyuan episode consists of three figures. The tall one on the left must be Chiyou. He is bare-footed, bristled, bearded, and winged. Since his face has been smeared, it is difficult to see whether his copper head and iron forehead are represented. The figure in the center is Xuanyuan with an arrow and a bow. The figure on the right who is wearing an outer robe may be associated with an ensuing narrative on the invention of silk and sewing.

Xuanyuan is the first Chinese emperor recorded in the *Shiji*, where he is said to have battled with Chiyou and killed him.[49] In Chinese books after the Ming period, he is usually shown as an ordinary emperor without any notable attributes.[50] The appearance of Chiyou varies among old Chinese books and popular legends: he was a fierce giant with a copper head and an iron forehead as Rashīd al-Dīn tells it; he had an animal body, or two horns, or eight hands and eight legs, or a human body and an ox head, etc. He is also said to have made a variety of weapons including an arrow and a bow, so Chiyou is often interchangeable or easily confused with Xuanyuan when a god of battle in ancient China is mentioned.[51] Chiyou's image is rarely represented in Chinese art but one of the few surviving examples from the Western Han period is a figure with a head that cannot be identified as a human's or an animal's, an animal body, and a number of weapons.[52] Chiyou's ability to fly and Xuanyuan's dream have not been found among any Chinese sources.

It seems that the images of the early Chinese emperors in Hazine 1654 were created by a Timurid painter. Even though comparable images from the Yuan period do not survive, they are very different at least from the Chinese representations of the ensuing Ming period. The thick coloring of the paintings on ff. 253b and 255b indicates that they were not copied from the Khalili manuscript, where thinly colored paintings are dominant throughout. In addition, the illustration and portraits on ff. 253b-259b of Hazine 1654 are different from those of the Khalili manuscript in terms

49. Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 & Shanghai shudian 上海書店, eds., *Twenty-five Histories* 二十五史, vol. 1, p. 6.
50. Takimoto Hiroyuki 瀧本弘之, *Collection of Portraits of Chinese Historical Figures*, volume of mythological and legendary figures 中国歴史人物大図典〈神話・伝説編〉, pp. 10-11.
51. Yuan Ke 袁珂, *Chinese Ancient Myths* 中國古代神話 (Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company 中華書局, 1960), p. 112; Yuasa K. 湯浅邦弘, *God of Battle: Development of Ancient Chinese Military Science* 戦いの神：中国古代兵学の展開 (Tokyo: Kenbun Shuppan 研文出版, 2007), pp. 50-53.
52. Yuasa K. 湯浅邦弘, *God of battle: Development of Ancient Chinese Military Science* 戦いの神：中国古代兵学の展開, pp. 50-53.

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of the way the painting was handled; while the painter of the Khalili manuscript just filled large-enough spaces with Chinese-like figures, the painter of Hazine 1654 is trying to visualize the text. Furthermore, the appearance of flowers, trees, and rocks of strange shapes in the portraits is noticeable, especially in those sections missing from the Khalili manuscript and thus could not be copied; in other words, these motifs tend to appear in the paintings newly created by the Hazine 1654 painter. Therefore, at the time the paintings were added to Hazine 1654, the Timurid painter used the Khalili manuscript in its present incomplete state (at least for the Chinese history) for his model and filled the missing paintings with his own interpretation of the Persian text of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*.

As Güner İnal and Blair point out, some Timurid paintings in Hazine 1654, from sections outside the Chinese history, also seem to have been copied from the Edinburgh part of the Arabic copy.[53] This was possible because the two Ilkhanid copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, namely, the Arabic copy consisting of the Khalili and Edinburgh manuscripts and Hazine 1654, whose text was transcribed during the Ilkhanid period but was left mostly unillustrated, were probably once preserved at the same atelier in the early fifteenth century, as described below.

A series of peculiar paintings in the Muzaffarid style but with figures with Timurid headdresses may point to Hazine 1654's history in Shiraz. If this speculation is correct, the copy was taken from Tabriz, where Rab'-i Rashīdī was located, to Shiraz sometime during the fourteenth century, for example, when the Muzaffarids occupied Tabriz for short periods in 1357 and 1377, and the paintings in the Muzaffarid style were added to it soon after the Timurids arrived there in 1393-when the Muzaffarid painting style still remained but the Timurid headdress came to be known. Blair discusses an early copy of Volume One of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* on Mongolian history, which was available at the atelier of Timurid prince Iskandar Sulṭān (1384-1415) in Shiraz, where the right half of a double-page enthronement scene was copied in an anthology for this prince (Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Museum, Lisbon, L.A. 161, f. 260b).[54] It is possible that a copy of Volume Two, perhaps Hazine 1654, was also in Shiraz.

Then, in the early fifteenth century, the paintings in the Timurid style were added

53. S. G. İnal, "Some miniatures of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in Istanbul, Topkapı Museum, Hazine Library No. 1654," pp. 163-175; S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, pp. 99-100.

54. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 100.

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to Hazine 1654, with some illustrations copied from the Arabic copy. Whether the place of this final addition was Shiraz or another Timurid city such as the Timurid capital of Herat is an important question but should be analyzed carefully before a conclusion. Since the texts of Hazine 1654 have been remounted with borders, two cartouches on f. 1a have been retouched, and the seals on ff. 1b, 265a, and 352a have been intentionally damaged, it is extremely difficult to specify where the Timurid paintings were executed, but it can be surmised that there was a time when Hazine 1654 and the Arabic manuscript were in the same location.

III. Hazine 1653: Another Persian Copy in the Topkapı Palace Library

Hazine 1653 has two dates: late Jumādā II 714/early October 1314 and 829/1426-1427. It consists of 435 folios measuring 542 x 377 mm with their text borders measuring 311 x 232 mm.[55] It contains 114 illustrations including sixty-two from the Ilkhanid period. The Chinese history in this copy spans ff. 391b-410a, and this entire section, both its text and 116 figures, is a Timurid addition at the time when the manuscript was supplemented at Shāh Rukh's court in Herat. The questions again are how the images of the Chinese emperors were painted and also which copy was made earlier, Hazine 1654 or 1653.

An illustration of Hülegü's court is missing from Hazine 1653; only a large blank space is left in the beginning of the Chinese history on f. 392b. On f. 394b **(Fig. 13)**, nine portraits of the earliest Chinese emperors are shown with lightly colored paints. The postures and iconography of all of them are almost identical to those of Hazine 1654 with a few variations: the image of Wulongji is reversed and not only the lower body but also the upper body is covered with fur-like clothing; while Hazine 1654 is missing the figure of the ninth emperor, Hazine 1653 has the first nine emperors, showing the portrait of the tenth emperor in Hazine 1654 as its ninth. The figure of the tenth emperor on f. 395a **(Fig. 14)**, in turn, is identical with that of Fuxi of 1654, i.e. a figure with a scroll. "Fuxi" on the same folio is represented as a young or female figure without a moustache, beard, or scroll, seated on a red bench; "Nüwa," even though the

55. For the facts on this manuscript, see S. G. İnal, "The Fourteenth-Century Miniatures of the *Jāmi' al-Tavārīkh* in the Topkapı Museum in Istanbul, Hazine Library No. 1653."

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caption above the figure says “sister of Fuxi,” is a male figure with a moustache and a beard, and the posture drawing up a knee is identical with that of Nüwa in 1654.

It is clear that the portrait of Fuxi, the inventor of writing, was substituted for the tenth emperor, because the image of the tenth emperor in 1654 had been already used for the ninth. Then, “Fuxi” in 1653 was turned into a female (like Nüwa), and “Nüwa” into a male. These wrong representations of Fuxi and Nüwa were apparently caused by the copying of a manuscript in which the portrait of the ninth emperor was missing, just as in Hazine 1654. Thus, it is very likely that the painter of 1653 copied the portraits directly from 1654.

The earlier timing of the paintings in 1654 is also apparent from other figures: the paired representation of two emperors (the seventh and eighth) facing each other, with one extra figure in the bottom row on f. 394b of Hazine 1653 **(Fig. 13)**, looks better placed on f. 256a of Hazine 1654 **(Fig. 10)**, in which just the first two are represented and centered in a row. It appears that the paired composition of these figures was broken in 1653 because the captions forced the painter to put three portraits in the third row.

The three figures for the reign of Xuanyuan are almost identical in Hazine 1654 (f. 257b) and 1653 (f. 396a), but in Hazine 1653, Xuanyuan does not have an arrow and Chiyou is missing his wings. These losses indicate that the painter of 1653 did not read the text and did not realize that they were necessary for the narrative. Rather, he seems to respect the compositional balance of each portrait: he omitted flowers, trees, and rocks peculiar to Hazine 1654; for the portraits of seated Shaohao Jintianshi 少昊金天氏 with his nine standing offspring of the fifth dynasty on f. 396b, he moved the first emperor to the center of all the figures though he is placed on the far right as the earliest, on f. 258a of Hazine 1654.

The iconographies of the emperors from the late Tang dynasty to the early Song dynasty, which are missing from the Khalili manuscript, are almost identical in Hazine 1654 and 1653, and the 1653 painter seems to have copied Hazine 1654 faithfully.

On the other hand, the portraits for the thirteenth dynasty of the Spring and Autumn period and the Warring States exist on f. 400b in Hazine 1653 while they are missing entirely from Hazine 1654 (f. 262b). The 1653 painters copied seven figures of the Warring States from the Khalili manuscript (f. 10b) and added eight figures not found in the Khalili manuscript. As another example, the postures of the fifth and sixth emperors of the Tang dynasty in Hazine 1654 (f. 268b) **(Fig. 15)** are differentiated from those in the Khalili manuscript (f. 16b) **(Fig. 5)** but those in Hazine 1653 (f. 406b) **(Fig. 16)** are faithful copies of the Khalili manuscript. This indicates that the painter

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of Hazine 1653 gave priority to the iconography of the Khalili manuscript over that of Hazine 1654. There are some portraits original to Hazine 1653, such as those of the Western Han (f. 402a), the Three Kingdoms (f. 402b), Western Jin 西晉 (265-316, f. 403a), and the first three emperors of the Tang dynasty (f. 406a). These were probably created to fit the shapes of the spaces, which were different from the corresponding spaces in the other two copies.

Therefore, the painter of Hazine 1653 first consulted the Khalili manuscript. Then, when he came across a part missing in this manuscript, he used Hazine 1654 as a secondary source. He was well aware of the importance of the Ilkhanid paintings of the Khalili manuscript and made it his priority copy. In other words, it can be said from an art-historical point of view that the paintings of the Chinese history in Hazine 1654 were created earlier than those of Hazine 1653, that is, before 1426-1427 (the second date of Hazine 1653). Furthermore, it can be surmised that these three copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's Chinese history were all present at Timurid Shāh Rukh's court in Herat at the time when Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū was compiling his various collections of histories. In fact, Shāh Rukh's seal is stamped on f. 11a of the Khalili manuscript.[56]

In the Arabic manuscript, the portraits of the Chinese emperors that Rashīd al-Dīn decided to insert to mimic the format of the Chinese history book he used were realized only by putting imaginative Chinese figures created by the Ilkhanid painter. They were later copied and supplemented by Timurid painters. The possible existence of intermediate copies between the Arabic manuscript and the Persian manuscripts with Timurid paintings may not be totally eliminated. But as has been discussed, the Timurid copies reflect the special condition of the Khalili manuscript with its missing sections and it seems that each copied paintings directly from the Arabic copy. And at the point of the copying of the last of the three, Hazine 1653, all three copies were present at Shāh Rukh's court in Herat in the 1420s. It is almost a miracle that these three key manuscripts survive. But on the other hand, these copies have been preserved with care from dynasty to dynasty for their importance as illustrated history books authored by Rashīd al-Dīn. While the Arabic copy made its way to the Mughal court and was eventually brought to the United Kingdom,[57] both Hazine 1654 and 1653 became

56. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World*, p. 31, fig. 19.

57. S. S. Blair, "Patterns of Patronage and Production in Ilkhanid Iran: The Case of Rashid al-Din," in J. Raby and T. Fitzherbert eds., *The Court of the Il-Khans 1290-1340* (*Oxford Studies in Islamic Art* XII), pp. 33-36.

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the collection of the Ottoman sultans in Istanbul. This cherishing attitude by various dynasties towards the Ilkhanid copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* produced at Rab'-i Rashīdī may also have been applicable to the existing copies of Volume One on Mongolian history, which are also well-preserved in collections around the world.

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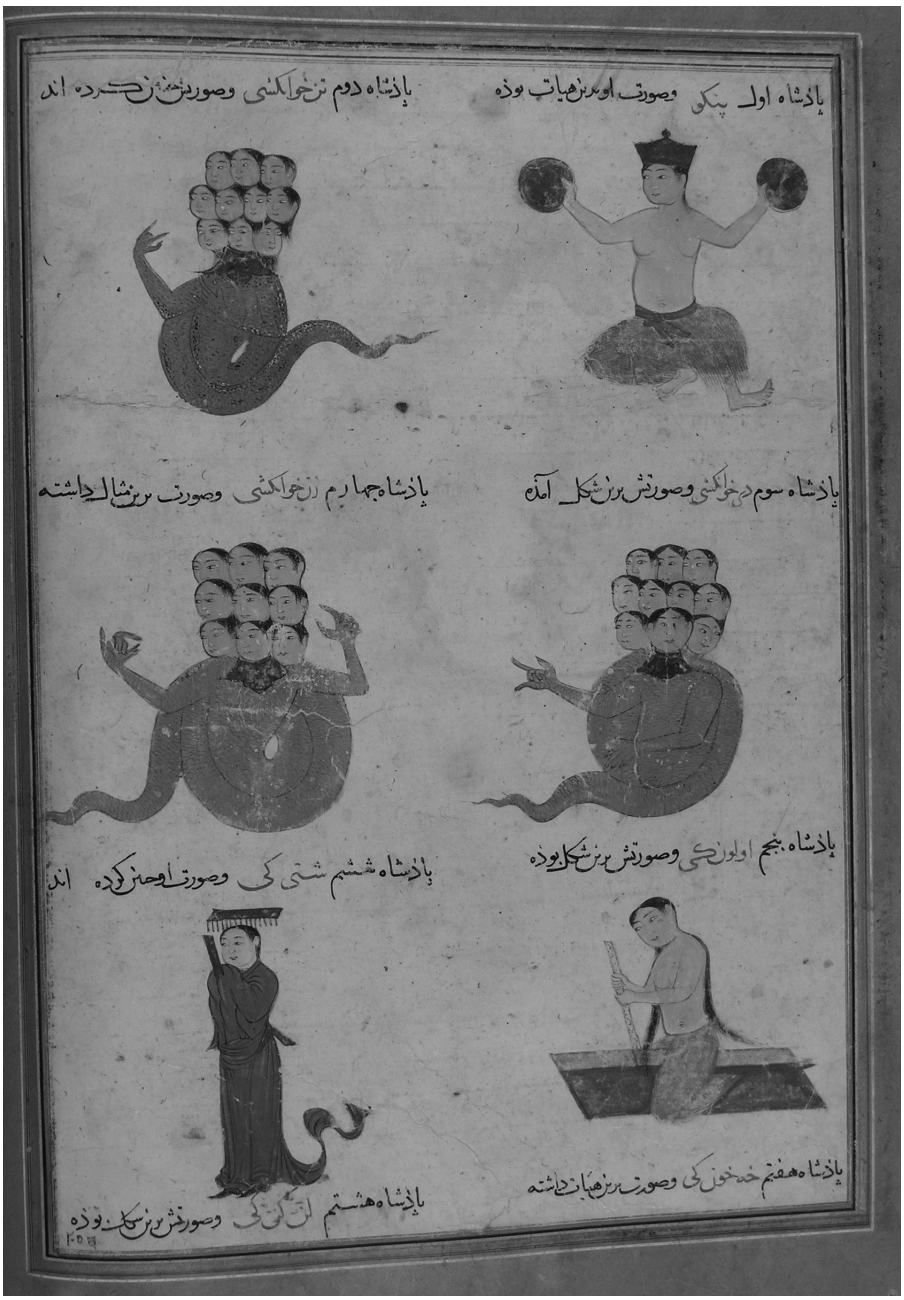


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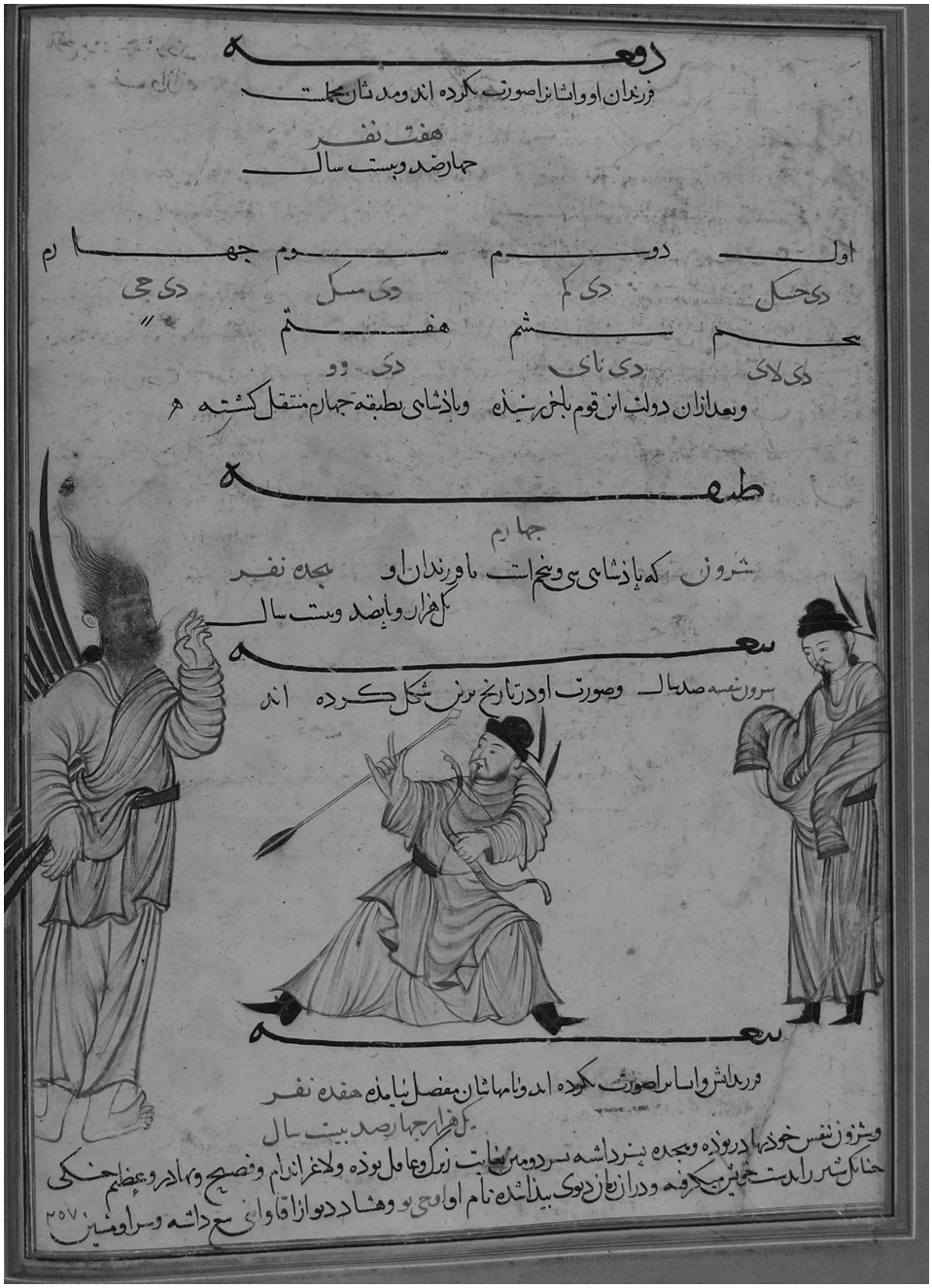


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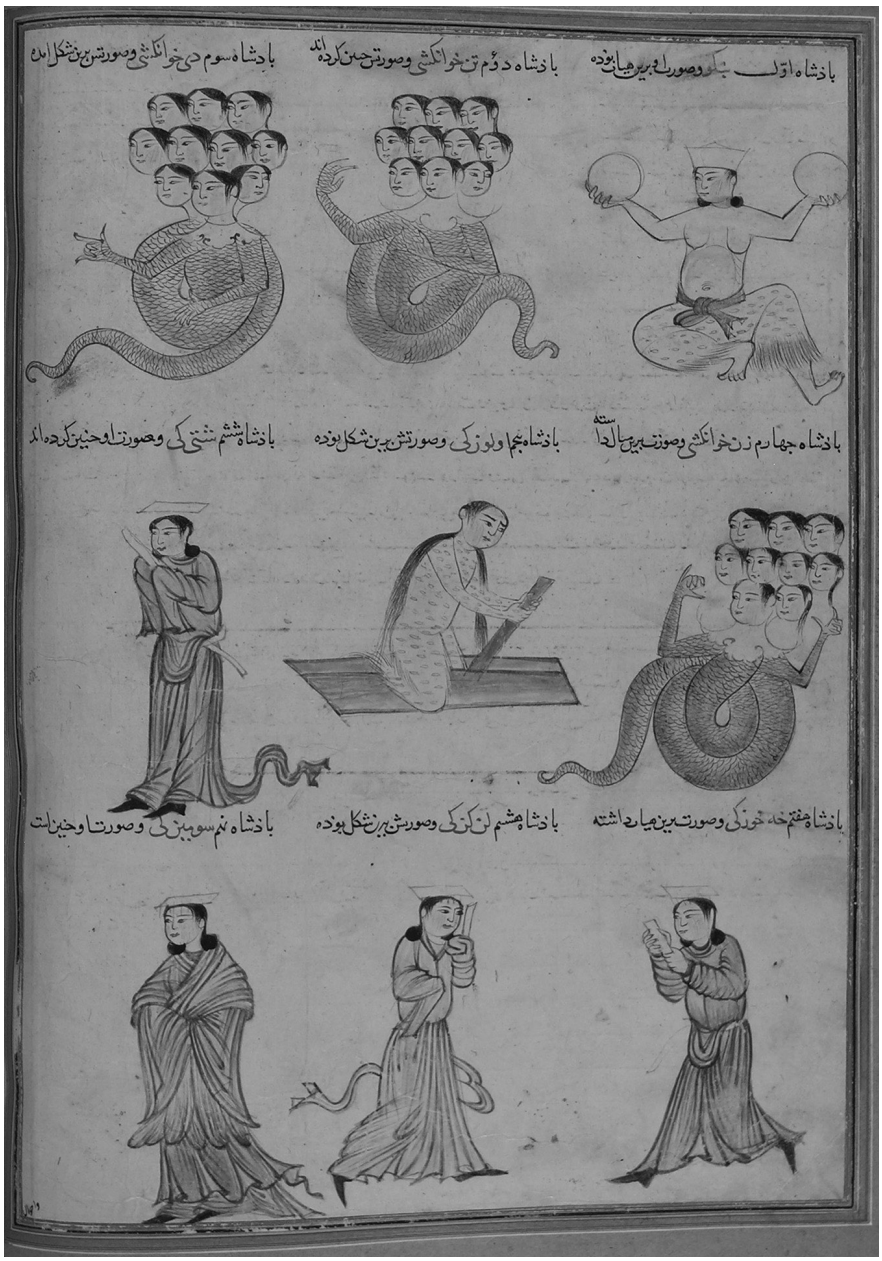


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伊兒汗及帖木兒畫家在《史集》中繪製的中國帝王像

桝屋友子

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拉施德丁（CA. 1248－1318）是活動於伊兒汗王朝（1258－1353）時期的大臣，他在合贊（R. 1295－1304）及完者都（R. 1304－1316）在位時撰寫了《史集》的第二卷，即世界史卷，卷中含中國史，除了文字之外，還附有中國帝王像。過去這些圖像常被用來佐證伊兒汗與帖木兒王朝（1370－1507）時伊朗與中國的密切關係，但針對帝王圖像本身，則尚未被視為主體研究。本文考察《史集》中國史部分的三個現存版本，包含一件阿拉伯文與兩件波斯文版本，試圖釐清伊兒汗與帖木兒畫家描繪這些外國統治者的方法，並重建三個版本之間圖像繪製的前後關係。據本文的討論，雖然拉施德丁聲稱此圖文參照的方式是參考中國史書而來，但KHALILI阿拉伯文抄本畫家顯然並非根據中國史書而畫，而是以對中國的想像為之，以致在帝王的服裝、冠冕等造型上有所錯誤。而波斯文抄本的HAZINE 1654之圖則直接來自KHALILI本，而對其佚失部分，自加想像補之。HAZINE 1653本則摹自KHALILI本和HAZINE 1654本。

關鍵詞：拉施德丁、蒙元、伊朗、歷史、手稿

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