Metalwork

Of the history of metalwork in Central Asia in our period we can as yet offer only a very patchy picture. The mid-sixteenth to the nineteenth century is known as the ‘late period’, whose material culture has sparked very little interest among researchers. Following exhibitions of ‘Muslim art’ in the early decades of the twentieth century, it became clear that the peaks of artistic development in most of the Islamic countries had been passed well before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and it is the earlier period that has mainly attracted the attention of scholars.

Here it is necessary to draw attention to the importance of accurate attribution of artefacts – that is, the objective determination of the time and place of their creation – since all
historical conclusions depend upon the degree of accuracy with which the determination is achieved. The problem of attribution is unfortunately far from being solved. While a reasonable framework of attributions has been established for Persian metalwork – copper-ware and bronze- (or brass)ware – produced from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, many other nineteenth-century items still await study. The same can be said of metalware from nineteenth-century Transoxania, although some scholars have studied the subject.

Museum collections are of little help in determining when and where an object was made. Their original provenance is often undocumented and the catalogues often do not even mention the time and place at which a particular item was first acquired. As to the dates of manufacture, they are hardly ever inscribed on the objects themselves in our period (sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century), though such inscribed dates are quite numerous in the later part of this period. These late dates can still help to build a chronological sequence establishing the development of ornamentation and some traditional techniques used by coppersmiths in different regions. The two factors in their turn can be used to determine the possible origin of the products of each particular group or school.

Copperware and bronze- (or brass) ware

IRAN

The period from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century in the history of copper and bronze (or brass) production in Persia has been studied unevenly. Two stages of production can be distinguished: the first extends from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century, and the second, from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century. The second stage has the following characteristics: First, new types of artefacts appear and old types, which were characteristic of the first stage, disappear. Second, silver and gold inlay disappears. In the nineteenth century there are attempts to make objects with inlay work, but for the most part these are found in the second half of the century. Third, the replacement of Arabic by Persian inscriptions is further extended: only Arabic verses in honour of Ali, blessings sought from the imams and the owner’s name remain. The blessings are found only on socalled ‘magic cups’, while in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, they are inscribed on a very wide variety of objects. Inscriptions from the Qur’an in the second stage are also written on ‘magic cups’. Among the inscriptions, Persian verses predominate. Couplets from the great classical poets of Persia are inscribed,

1 This double definition must be kept because no analysis of the structure of the alloy has been carried out in the case of many artefacts and a definite distinction between bronze (copper plus tin) and brass (copper plus zinc) is not always possible.
although sometimes samples from the works of contemporary poets are also found. About 100 fragments of poetry unknown in the first stage have been identified on objects from the second stage.

Fourth, the script used for the inscriptions changes. In objects from the first stage, inscriptions are made, as a rule, in the *naskh* or *suls* (*thuluth*) cursive scripts (varieties of Arabo-Persian scripts). From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards the less condensed *nasta‘liq* script, developed in the fifteenth century for writing Persian, begins to predominate and continues until the present time. *Suls* and *naskh* are found only in inscriptions in Arabic.

Fifth, the arrangement of the inscriptions in the cartouches on artefacts changes. In the first stage, the words of the inscription fill the entire space of the cartouche, leaving no gaps between letters. From the middle of the sixteenth century, inscriptions as a rule are more spread out along the line and elements of floral decoration appear between words and letters. The tendency for ornamentation to occupy the background of inscriptions intensifies in the seventeenth century, when the background is filled by twisting stems with leaves and flowers.

Sixth, a change in style of ornamentation occurs: several new compositions involving floral ornamentation appear and continue into the nineteenth century. On objects from the second stage, images of animals and people can be seen. These are practically non-existent on works from the fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century. There are, of course, exceptions, but they amount to fewer than a dozen.

A characteristic of Persian artisanship is the work in the background to ornamentation and inscriptions. It first appears in the fourteenth century. On all objects from the first stage, the background is worked in cross-hatching with perpendicular strokes. On copper objects it is thicker and cruder, while on bronze (or brass) objects with inlay, it is very thin or fine.

In the mid-sixteenth century, the background begins to be worked in hatching – in other words, the perpendicular strokes disappear. Obviously this speeded up the manufacture of an object. In the second half of the sixteenth century, we find objects on which the background to ornamentation and inscriptions is both cross-hatched and hatched. Cross-hatching disappears completely in the 1590s (this is demonstrated by a large number of accurately dated objects). On all objects from the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, the background is worked exclusively in hatching. This change helps us to date works from the second stage.

While the dating of objects from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century is relatively straightforward, and dates are accurate to within 50 or even 25 years, the determination of their origin remains highly problematic. This question has particular
relevance within the frame of the present volume as only one part of Iran – the province of Khurasan – is included within the area defined as ‘Central Asia’. There is almost no seventeenth–eighteenth-century metalwork that can be indisputably linked to towns in Khurasan. There is however a *rubâ‘ī* (quatrain) found on six copper vessels of similar shape made in the seventeenth century, which indirectly indicates Mashhad as the place of origin (Fig. 1). Although the shapes are similar, the ornamental decoration on each of the six objects is very different and this raises doubts. However, until proved otherwise, one can presume that these six copper objects were made in Mashhad in the seventeenth century.

No reference has been traced in the historical sources to metal production in Khurasan between the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. Names of master coppersmiths in this period with a *nisba* (gentilic name) linked to Khurasan are virtually unknown. The only exception is a certain Husayn Herawi, who made a bronze money-box in Sha‘ban 959/ July–August 1552. This money-box is in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran (inv. 20139). His *nisba* implies that his family (or he himself) came from Herat, but does not necessarily mean that he worked there.

The causes of the collapse in metalware production are not known but perhaps the turbulent political events of the eighteenth century – the fall of the Safavid dynasty in Persia, the brief rule of Nādir Shāh (1736–47) (see below) and the struggle following his murder in 1747 – brought about a decline of urban life, dramatically reducing the use and production of metalwork. Effects of these events are reflected in the objects themselves: the technical processes are simplified. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, the background to the ornamentation and inscriptions is no longer worked in hatching; it is punched. This clearly speeded up the production process, but also simplified it. In other words, objects from the Safavid period can be distinguished from those of the Qajar period by the background provided to ornamentation and inscriptions. Such changes demonstrate that a new stage in the history of metal production in Persia had begun in the late eighteenth century. As in the middle of the sixteenth century, one sees the appearance of new types of artefacts and the disappearance of old ones. A rough calculation shows that out of 50 types of artefacts known from the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth, only 12 or so remain by the nineteenth century.

Preliminary observations on the sixteenth-century inscriptions on metalwork show that the most common script was *nastel‘īq* and the quality of execution was significantly inferior to that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As noted before, *nastel‘īq* was only used for Persian inscriptions. Of nearly 100 texts now known on objects from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth, only 11 were still used on nineteenth-century
objects. Inscriptions in Arabic are found rarely, mostly, as mentioned above, on ‘magic cups’.

There are marked changes in ornamentation. Elements of floral ornamentation found in the Safavid period are either absent in nineteenth-century objects or they are treated differently. On the other hand, by comparison with the earlier period (the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century), images of people, animals and a variety of fantastic creatures become more common, being, indeed, the typical decorative elements in the nineteenth century. Sometimes even European subjects such as the Madonna and Child, or horsemen in European dress can be seen on metalwork, for instance those signed by Muhammad Hakkāk (Fig. 2).  

All these changes mean that a new phase in the history of metalwork in Persia began in the second half of the eighteenth century, but it is difficult to determine when it ended. It is not certain that its end coincided with the fall of the Qajar dynasty in 1925.

The role of Khurasan in the nineteenth century remains problematic. Western and Russian travellers write about copper and bronze metalware in central Persia (Qazvin, Kashan, Isfahan, Shiraz) as they did during the Safavid period, but they do not mention any of the towns in Khurasan. It is only in the second half of the nineteenth century that

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2 See Ivanov, forthcoming.
Shahrud is referred to with 5 coppersmiths and Herat with 15 workshops. It is thus difficult to determine whether copper and brass (or bronze) objects were produced in Khurasan towns in the first half of the nineteenth century. It would be premature to assume that the nineteenth-century metalware kept in museums in eastern areas of Iran and western Afghanistan was actually made in these regions, as these objects may have been brought from elsewhere.

AFGHANISTAN

The boundaries of modern-day Afghanistan were only finally determined in the second half of the nineteenth century. Until the 1850s, eastern Khurasan with Herat at its centre was considered part of Iran in all respects. As to the other parts of Afghanistan, nothing is known about the production of metalware in provinces to the south of the Hindu Kush from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. Misgars (coppersmiths) were active in the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries in Kandahar and Kabul, but the works of these craftsmen are so far unknown. Names of artisans with nisbas from cities south of the Hindu Kush have not so far been recorded.

See Tumanovich, 1989, p. 64.

On these attributions, see Melikian-Chirvani, n.d., pp. 312–14.

TRANSOXANIA

The territory to the north of the Amu Darya (Oxus) was part of the Shaybanid kingdom in the sixteenth century and subsequently, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of the Janid (Astarkhanid) kingdom. The history of copper- and bronzeware in this territory from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century remains unclear. This is because until now we have been unable to bring to light, or to identify, objects which could have been made in this region.\(^6\) Undoubtedly they must be different in some way from Iranian objects of the same era. Collections in major museums of the region do not contain such items. Written sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century give very little indication of the existence of centres of metalware manufacture. The present author is aware of only three such mentions: (a) in a waqf (religious endowment) document of Khwāja Ahīr (no later than 1490) there is a reference to a ‘coppersmiths’ bazaar’ in Samarkand.\(^7\) Whether this bazaar was large or not is unknown; (b) in documents of the Juybārî shaykhks (midsixteenth century) a ‘coppersmith’s shop’ in Qaraqul (near Bukhara) is mentioned;\(^8\) and (c) a certain Muhammad Quī Bāy Beg misgar (coppersmith) is mentioned in connection with the sale of land in the village of Kan-i Gil near Samarkand in 1086/1675.\(^9\) The seventeenth-century poet from Transoxania, Saido Nasafī, also wrote a qasīda (eulogy) in honour of a certain tashtgar,\(^10\) the word designating a maker of large copper basins. It should be stressed that the fact that metalware was used in daily life at the time does not mean that all the objects were necessarily made in Transoxania.\(^11\)

The eighteenth century was also a difficult period in the history of Transoxania and urban life declined considerably. Economic recovery, however, came at the end of that period, and in the nineteenth century copper and bronze (or brass) production was already well developed. There is evidence to this effect from historical sources and artefacts exist with the names of their makers. Coppersmith nisbas point to different towns in the region:

\(^6\) When, in 1972, the author of this chapter defended a dissertation on Iranian copper- and bronzeware of the second half of the fourteenth century to the second half of the eighteenth century, not a single object made in Transoxania in the sixteenth–eighteenth century was known; and to this day, no such works have been found. Other authors support this opinion; see Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986a, pp. 36–7.

\(^7\) Samarkandskie dokumenty XV–XVI vv, 1974, p. 245.

\(^8\) Ivanov, 1954, p. 286.

\(^9\) National Library of Russia (St Petersburg), Manuscript Department, document F. 940, No. 4.

\(^10\) Mirzoev, 1956, pp. 64, 86, 138, 141.

Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand, Karshi (Qarshi), Shahr-i Sabz, Ura-tepe, Kokand (Khoqand) and Tashkent. While there are not very many names of craft workers with nisbas, and nothing is known as yet of the biographies of those who worked in the first half of the nineteenth century, material is now available for some fruitful research on this ‘late period’, which, as mentioned previously, has so far attracted only limited attention.

Production techniques, however, have been well described and attempts have been made to produce a typological description of objects and a definition of their uses. Systematic analysis of the decoration and ornamentation of objects is only beginning, but some regional differences in both the form of objects and their decorative ornamentation have already been noted.

It was mentioned above that typical Persian ware from the second half of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth has a hatched background to the ornaments and inscriptions, while from the middle of the eighteenth century, the background is punched, a tradition which continued in Persia throughout the nineteenth century. Contrary to this tradition, on the overwhelming majority of nineteenth-century copper and brass objects correctly attributed to Transoxania, the background remains hatched, but often in different directions. This leads one to think either that there was a strong Persian influence on production in Transoxania from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century, or that craft workers emigrated there from Persia during the troubled years of the eighteenth century. As for the shapes of objects from Transoxania in the nineteenth century, they are very

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12 Shamansurova, 1965, pp. 62–5. In the mid-nineteenth century there were 38 coppersmiths in Khiva; see Dzhabbarov, 1971, pp. 86–7.
14 Abdullaev, 1972, pp. 252–68 (this article does not give scholarly attributions of objects). In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were 31 coppersmiths’ workshops here. See Faiziev, 1979, p. 43.
15 A brass cup made by Yusuf Shahrisabzi is in a private collection in St Petersburg.
16 There were five coppersmiths there around the middle of the nineteenth century; see Mukhtorov, 1998, p. 144.
17 In 1841 a certain Hajji Qalandar, a misgar, was active in Kokand (see Beisembiev, 1985, p. 39). In the Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg there is a brass cauldron, made by Mirza Qalandar-Usta misgar. On a variety of objects from Kokand in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Borochina, 1991, pp. 44–7.
18 In Iski-Miskarliq, a district of Tashkent in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Mallitskiy, 1927, pp. 115, 118.
19 The following works may be noted: Kornilov, 1932; Sergeev, 1960; Abdullaev, 1974; Westphal-Hellbush and Bruns, 1974 (it should be noted that numbers 95, 96, 114, 116, 117, 119 and 123 in the album are clearly the work of Iranian craftsmen of the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth century; mortar no. 124 was made in Khurasan in the twelfth century; and two objects – 111 and 120 – are Iranian, but of nineteenth century); Voitov, 1986, pp. 41–65; Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986a, pp. 37–41.
different from Persian objects of the same period. The same can be said of plant ornamentation. Living creatures are rarely depicted in Transoxanian ware of the nineteenth century, while they appear in great numbers on Persian ware. Inscriptions (with the exception of the names of the craft workers) are rarely found on objects from Transoxania, while in Persia they are very often used to decorate metalware.

The most common items of nineteenth-century metalware in Transoxania are small jugs for boiling water (chāyjūsh, i.e. tea boiler) whose shape differs according to where they were made, large water jugs with rounded bodies, jugs with a flared brim and ewers (āftābas) which are typical of Khiva (Fig. 3). A wide variety of teapots, samovars, hookahs, cups and basins was also made. It is still difficult to decide whether significant changes in copperware production took place in this region in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the markets received great quantities of Russian factory-made goods.
XINJIANG AND WESTERN CHINA

To all appearances, the production of copperware was developed in western Xinjiang (East Turkistan), as nisbas from Yarkand (Yarqand) and Kashghar appear among names of craftsmen. Objects bought in East Turkistan are similar in shape to nineteenth-century Transoxanian ware. This is entirely understandable since Transoxania was a major centre of metal production in the nineteenth century. But whether there was any difference in the ornamentation of objects between Xinjiang and Transoxania remains to be determined.

Nothing is known about pre-nineteenth-century objects in this region. There were links with Chinese art, but they have yet to be established. Contacts already existed in the seventeenth century, but it remains unclear what form they took in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

INDIA

The Indian subcontinent has a centuries-long tradition of metalwork. The publication of Zebrowski’s book makes the task of this survey easier, as it covers the period during which the Great Mughals (1526–1858) ruled over most of the territory. The objects take many original forms that are unknown among Iranian and Transoxanian ware. The ornamentation of vessels is also original, although many bronze (or brass) objects have relatively little ornamentation, which distinguishes them from works from other regions. It is true that most of the objects that have appeared in the literature date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the nineteenth century is barely represented.

Objects with Shi'ite inscriptions should be ascribed to Hyderabad (Deccan) or Oudh (Awadh) ownership. They show a link with Persia not only through these inscriptions, but

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21 Two craftsmen are known: (1) Mullā Ahmad Yarqandī, cup no. E-3300 in the collection of the Museum of the History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan, in Tashkent, see Abdullaev, 1974, no. 44 (no reproduction and description); (2) Mullā ‘Abd-Nāṣir Yarqandī, a copper box with a lid (see Sarre, 1906, no. 91). The attribution of the wares to the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries and to East Turkistan is questionable.

22 Three craftsmen: (1) Ustād Bābā Kāshgarī, who made a tin-plated copper jug in 1255/1839–40 which is kept in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St Petersburg; (2) Ustād Ayyūb Kāshgarī, who made a jug, or chāyjūsh, in 1266/1849–50 which is in the Museum of Western and Eastern Art in Kiev; and (3) Fulād-Khwāja Kāshgarī, who made a tin-plated copper jug, now in the Museum of Ethnography in St Petersburg. This jug is not dated, but may be ascribed to the nineteenth century.

23 Three jugs with highly original ornamentation, quite different from the ornamentation on Transoxanian ware, were recorded in the album of F. R. Martin and attributed to ‘Eastern Turkistan’ (see Martin, 1902, Pl. 68), but this annotation clearly refers to the place of purchase. It remains difficult to judge when they were made.


25 See Zebrowski, 1997, which has a wide-ranging bibliography (pp. 360–4); see also Jones, 1996, pp. 708–10.
also in the characteristic hatching on the background to the ornamentation and inscriptions, which is typical of all Persian ware from the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. This process is clearly linked to the migration of the objects’ owners or makers: some cups 26 look entirely Persian in both shape and decoration, although they were made in India (this is evidenced by the larger twisting stems with flowers on the backgrounds; on seventeenth-century Persian works these stems and flowers are finer and thinner). The question of the links between Indian and Persian metalwork in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries must be pursued further. 27 In all likelihood, the provinces of Kashmir 28 and Punjab 29 were at the centre of these contacts. It was only in India that artefacts were made of bidri, an alloy with zinc predominate and little quantities of lead, copper and tin, inlaid with silver and brass (Fig. 4). 30 They continued to be produced in the nineteenth century.

Steelware

A variety of objects made of damask steel were produced in Persia during the Safavid period, but the role of Khurasan remains problematic. In Mashhad, the museum at the shrine of Imâm Rizā contains a group of artefacts of different shapes made by the craftmen ʿAbbās b. Sulaymān, Fayzullāh Shushtāri 31 and Kamālu’ddīn Mahmūd. 32 But the fact that these objects are now kept in this museum does not prove that they were made either in Mashhad itself or in some other towns in Khurasan or even elsewhere as seen in the nisba Shushtāri (from Shushtar, a town in south-western Iran). As usual, nothing is known of the careers of these craftsmen.

26 See Zebrowski, 1997, nos. 581–2. If we take the Iranian analogy into account, then both cups should be dated to a period no earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century, and not around 1600. While the later inscription on cup No. 581 bears the date 111, it is more logical to understand this as [1]111 or 1699–1700 and not [1]011/1602–3. There are many examples in which the initial digit representing 1000 was left out of the date, not an internal number.
27 See Melikian-Chirvani, 1994, pp. 54–81.
29 For the period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, four copper-smiths are known to have worked in Lahore. A tray made in Sialkot in the middle of the nineteenth century was published by Professor Scerrato: see Scerrato, 1971, pp. 13–25.
31 This craftsman also made a dagger blade for Shāh Sulṭān Husayn (private collection in the United States).
No eighteenth-century steel objects\textsuperscript{33} have been found so far and the same is true of the nineteenth century; the steel objects we know of are Isfahan ware from the second half of the nineteenth century,\textsuperscript{34} but there is nothing from the first half. The role of Khurasan again remains unclear.

Sixteenth–nineteenth-century steelware from other regions of Central Asia has not been studied.

Arms

IRAN

In the late Middle Ages, constantly racked by war, it would be logical to expect the manufacture of a large quantity of firearms and cold steel. But, oddly enough, when we study the period, we find that very few examples have come down to us from the Safavid period. There are no old (i.e. pre-nineteenth-century) blades in the treasury of the shahs.\textsuperscript{35} There

\textsuperscript{33} The objects in the Mashhad museum are dated to the late seventeenth–early eighteenth centuries. Some steel tips of banners (‘alam) have appeared at auction, dated to the same period, and that is all.

\textsuperscript{34} The history of the mysterious Haji ‘Abbās has been explained by Dr J. Allan. This craftsman worked in Isfahan and died there in 1380/1960–1 at the age of 95 (see Allan, 1994, pp. 145–7); see also Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 253, 277.

\textsuperscript{35} See Meen and Tashingham, 1968.
must surely be weapons from the Safavid period in Istanbul, but very few of the city’s museum collections have been published. The collections of the armoury in the Kremlin are better known; they include some sabres and daggers offered as gifts by the shahs to the Russian tsars in the eighteenth century.\(^{36}\) Individual daggers are scattered among various collections,\(^ {37}\) with some examples in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg (Fig. 5).\(^ {38}\)

Here again, the same question arises: which of the arms of the Safavid period can be attributed to Khurasan? If the scanty available information is brought together, we can infer that various types of arms were produced in Semnan, Mashhad, Tus, Herat and Khabushan (Quchân) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. All this information relates to cold steel. What kind of firearms were produced in Khurasan during this period and what they looked like remains unknown.

Quite a large number of nineteenth-century weapons of various kinds have survived to the present day, but, once again, it has been impossible to elucidate the role of Khurasan in their manufacture. Brief accounts by travellers are of little help. According to Ogordnikov, writing in the late nineteenth century, ‘Khurasan is no less famed for the manufacture of blades and cold steel in general than Kashan and Qum are for their steelware.’\(^ {39}\) Herat sabres apparently yielded nothing in terms of quality to those from Mashhad.\(^ {40}\) The huge surface of an iron mine was discovered in the winter of 2000 by Chahryar Adle in Sangan, 100 km west of Herat, on the Iranian side of the border between Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. It has been extensively exploited and Adle has found traces of a very large furnace. The name of the furnace, Hindu-Sûz (Indian-Burn), seems to indicate relations with India. It is not possible at this stage to be more precise on this subject.\(^ {41}\)

**AFGHANISTAN**

Very little is known about Afghan arms: they were made in Kabul by the Waziri tribes (of the Sulayman range), rifles were made in Badakhshan, and daggers and knives were forged in Kafiristan (Nuristan).\(^ {42}\)


\(^{37}\) See Ivanov, 1979, pp. 64–77.


\(^{39}\) See Ogordnikov, 1878, pp. 180.

\(^{40}\) See Mendelson, 1983, pp. 74–5.

\(^{41}\) C. Adle’s private communication to the author.

\(^{42}\) See Mendelson, 1983, pp. 30, 46, 74–5, 83.
Fig. 5. Iran and India. Dagger with sheath (steel, gold, emeralds, rubies, pearls). The blade bears the signature of Muhammad Lārī dated 1031/1621–2. Lārī, a Persian artist, may have been active in India where the handle and the sheath of this dagger were added later at the end of the seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

TRANSOXANIA

The picture is much the same in this region as in Khurasan. There are references in the historical sources to the production of various kinds of arms in Samarkand and Bukhara in the sixteenth century. However, no identifiable sixteenth–eighteenth-century weapons have so far been found.

The Hermitage collection contains a mysterious sabre with the name of a certain Küchüm Khan on the blade. Naturally, this immediately calls to mind Küchüm Khan (d. 1601) (see Chapter 6, Part Three), the ruler of the Siberian khanate, who was defeated by Yermak in the 1580s. Can it be proved that the sabre actually belonged to this khan?

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44 See Abdullaev and Khakimov, 1986b, nos. 85–99. The section on arms has no preface. Why the detailing on the shirt of mail no. 86 is dated to the eighteenth century is not clear; lance no. 87 is not ‘Bukhara, eighteenth century’ but ‘Iran, nineteenth century’; Helmet no. 88 is not ‘Bukhara, eighteenth century’ but ‘Iran, seventeenth century’. The remaining items belong in fact to the nineteenth century.

45 See Lenz, 1908a, p. 106; Lenz, 1908b, Table VIII.
Fig. 6. Khiva. Sabre with decorated sheth (steel, gold, silver and semiprecious stones). First half of the nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

The blade of the Hermitage sabre is similar in shape to seventeenth-century Persian blades. This raises a multitude of questions. There are no pre-nineteenth-century arms in museum collections in Transoxania. Even in the Khivan treasury deposited in the Hermitage, all the arms date from the nineteenth century. Most of them were made and decorated in Khiva (Fig. 6), which, like Bukhara, was a major centre of arms production in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Hermitage also has many examples of harnesses, sent as gifts to the Russian emperors from the emir of Bukhara in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century.46

XINJIANG

The history of arms in this region has attracted little attention, at least outside China, and even nineteenth-century weapons are virtually unknown. One sabre by the craftsman Hājī Saʿdu’dīn Kāshghārī with the date 1265/1848–9 has been published, but it was made in Bukhara, as the inscription itself indicates.47 In the Hermitage there is a sabre belonging to Yaʿqūb Beg, who led an uprising against the Chinese in 1864–7. Its blade is different in shape from Transoxanian and Persian sabres, which may indicate local manufacture.

46 See also the following: Botyakov and Yanborisov, 1989, pp. 49–60; Kurylev, 1978, pp. 4–22; Pulatov and Mirkhalikov, 1963, pp. 100–7; Gorelik, 1996, p. 262.
47 See Oriental Splendour: Islamic Art from German Private Collections, 1993, no. 130.
INDIA

The Indian subcontinent boasts a wide variety of types of weapons and ways of decorating them. India is considered the home of damask steel, and we are well acquainted with its many different forms, which are on display in almost all the major museums of the world. This wide variety of types can probably be explained by the multinational character of the subcontinent. Weapons from India are to be found not only in all the major museums of the West but also in important collections in India itself.

Indian production was not apparently affected much by events in the eighteenth century, and it steadily continued to produce arms. An English report of the year 1785 of the Nawāb Wazīr’s stores at Lucknow (Oudh), says:

But beyond everything curious and excellent in the Nawab’s possession are his arms and armour. The former consist of matchlocks, fusees [fusees], rifles, fowling-pieces, sabres, pistols, scimitars, spears, syefs [long straight swords], daggers, poniards, battle-axes, and clubs, most of them fabricated in Indostan, of the purest steel, damasked or highly polished and ornamented in relief or intaglio with a variety of figures or foliage of the most delicate pattern... The armour is of two kinds, either of helmets and plates of steel to secure the head, back, breast and arms, or of steel network, put on like a shirt, to which is attached a netted hood of the same metal to protect the head, neck and face.\footnote{Quoted in Irvine, 1903, p. 62. Irvine’s work still contains the major study of Indian arms and armour of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (pp. 62–151).}


Gold- and silverware

IRAN

Gold- and silverware of the Safavid period has only begun to be studied in recent decades. Although there are reports by various European travellers on the vast amounts of gold- and silverware in the treasury of the Safavid shahs (Fig. 7), almost nothing of it has come down to us;\footnote{There are some items in the Armoury in Moscow. See Treasures of Sixteenth–Eighteenth Century Persian and Turkish Applied Art, 1979, nos. 25, 55, 57; Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, nos. 202, 217, 219, 232. In the Hermitage there is only one seventeenth-century cup, see Lukonin and Ivanov, 1996, no. 218. It is possible that among the objects in the Khivan treasury kept in the Hermitage, Iranian artefacts in gold and silver will turn up, but the study of the treasury has not gone far enough to provide such precisely dated material.} everything seems to have disappeared during the disturbances of the eighteenth century.
century. The Royal Treasure now in the Central Bank in Tehran has no artefacts from the earlier periods, and of the immense booty that Nādir Shāh carried off to Persia after the sack of Delhi in 1739, almost nothing remains in the treasury.

At the same time we know of the existence of a court *zargar-khana* (goldsmiths’ workshop) in Isfahan and of the office of a *zargar-bāshī* (king’s or chief goldsmith) who was in charge of that workshop. The names of quite a number of goldsmiths from the Safavid period are also known, but only a few of them were linked with Khurasan: these include a certain Āqā Shahāb, a jeweller who lived in Astarabad in the first half of the sixteenth century, and Nauruz Āli Beg Shāmlū, who at some point during the seventeenth century was the chief goldsmith of the rulers of Herat. Goldsmiths were working in Herat as early as the fifteenth century (and before), as names such as the *madrasa* of Khwāja Malik the Goldsmith or the Garden of Āqā the Goldsmith clearly show. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a goldsmiths’ quarter existed in Herat together with the *madrasa* of Malik the Goldsmith. In the late nineteenth century there were 30 goldsmiths’ shops in Herat.

What these goldsmiths produced and whether they were active in other towns of Khurasan remains unknown. The existence of precious items deposited in the shrine of Imām Rizā does not prove that they were made in Mashhad or in Khurasan. These include golden tablets made by Āli, 1012/1603–4, golden plaques by Muhammad Tāhir, son of the craftsman Masīh Shīrāzī, 1146/1733–4 and an incense-burner made by Āli Asghar b. Āli Rizā.

With the coming to power of the Qajar dynasty in 1795, the production of goldware flourished at least in the capital Tehran, but whether this revival affected Khurasan as well
is not known. As mentioned above, there were 30 goldsmiths’ shops in Herat in the late nineteenth century, but the precise nature of their work remains unclear.\footnote{In the museum at the shrine of Imām Rizā there is a gold candlestick dated 1222/1807–8, which is the work of Muhammad Ibrāhīm (see Samadī, n.d., p. 75, no. 125), but, again, we do not know if this artist worked in Khurasan.}

**AFGHANISTAN**

Goldware coming from Afghanistan has not been identified. One can, however, assume that goldsmiths did work in various cities of the region before the nineteenth century. Information about goldsmiths in the nineteenth century remains very sketchy,\footnote{In Kandahar in the late nineteenth century the goldsmith’s art was in the hands of Hindus; see Mendelson, 1983, p. 21.} but it is known that jewellery for women and toilet articles were made.\footnote{See Bauer and Janata, 1974, pp. 1–43. These items were probably made not earlier than the end of the nineteenth century; see also Janata, 1981.}

\footnote{In the museum at the shrine of Imām Rizā there is a gold candlestick dated 1222/1807–8, which is the work of Muhammad Ibrāhīm (see Samadī, n.d., p. 75, no. 125), but, again, we do not know if this artist worked in Khurasan.}
TRANSOXANIA

Historical sources refer to the use of gold and silver in the upper strata of society. 65 Names of goldsmiths in Bukhara and Samarkand are known. 66 In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a ‘goldsmiths’ bazaar’ in Samarkand; 67 in Bukhara, at the same time, a ‘goldsmiths’ mosque’; 68 and in the late seventeenth–early eighteenth century in Bukhara, a ‘goldsmiths’ madrasa’ with a library. 69 Works from this period have not survived.

In the nineteenth century, the picture changes. We know of the production of gold- and silverware in all the large cities of the region: Khiva, 70 Bukhara (Fig. 8), Samarkand, 71 Shahr-i Sabz, Karshi, Kokand, Ura-tepe 72 and Tashkent. Turkmen silver jewellery, with red precious stones, coral and glass, attracted attention. Merv was the main centre for its trade. 73 Many nineteenth century gold and silver artefacts, varied in form and function, have survived (Fig. 9). They have been studied by ethnographers as well as art historians and a wide-ranging literature has been devoted to them. In general, the jewellery of the peoples of the settled areas has been studied better and its nomenclature and functions have been established for almost all the major regions of Transoxania and Kazakhstan. 74

XINJIANG

No information on gold- and silverware in Xinjiang from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century has so far come to light. We may suppose that artefacts and craft workers found their way there from Transoxania and India. A local production may also have existed.

The same uncertainty persists for the nineteenth century. The present author knows of only two silver objects (a teapot and a sugar-basin), which were made by a certain

66 Four names are known in connection with Bukhara (see Ivanov, 1954, pp. 95, 115, 120, 123, 199, 209–11) and two with Samarkand (see Kaziyskie Dokumenty, XVI v., 1937, pp. 15, 30).
68 Ivanov, 1954, pp. 130, 142.
70 In the early 1860s, there were 12 zargars (goldsmiths) in Khiva (see Dzhabbarov, 1971, pp. 87–9; Stasov, 1886, pp. 405–17).
71 In the first half of the nineteenth century there were 20 goldsmiths’ shops in Samarkand (see Faiziev, 1979, p. 43).
72 Three goldsmiths worked there at the end of the nineteenth century (see Mukhtarov, 1998, p. 148).
Fig. 8. Bukhara. Silver pendant for make-up. Nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

Fig. 9. Turkmenistan. Amulet in silver decorated with glass (Teke Turkmen). Nineteenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

craftsman named ‘Abdu’l Rahmān b. Khudābirdi- Khwāja, ‘a Kashghari silversmith’, in 1310/1892–3. 75 Nothing on the life of this craftsman is known. He may even have worked in a city other than Kashghar.

75 These objects are in the Arts Museum of the Republic of Georgia in Tbilisi.
INDIA

Collectors and researchers have long been attracted to Indian gold- and silverware because of the high quality of the work involved. In the period that concerns us, most of the Indian subcontinent was part of the empire of the Great Mughals. The ancient traditions of gold- and silversmiths of the different Indian peoples were carried over into the late period running from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. On this subject we have information from historical sources (both Asian and European), various objects and, occasionally, the names of the craft workers.

The treasury of the Great Mughals contained vast riches in the form of gold- and silverware of many kinds and precious stones (Fig. 10). Craftsmen from as far afield as Europe worked at the court of the Mughals and had a strong influence on the spread of the technique of enamelwork in that country. Large numbers of precious stones, which were abundant in India, were used to decorate gold objects.

However, most of the riches accumulated at the court at Delhi literally disappeared in the middle of the eighteenth century, after (as mentioned previously) Nādir Shāh sacked the Mughal capital in 1739 and took much of the treasury of the Great Mughals to Persia as booty. After the murder of Nādir Shāh it was all plundered. Relics of this treasure can be found in the collections of the Hermitage in St Petersburg and the Topkapi palace in Istanbul: in 1739, while he was still in India, Nādir Shāh sent an embassy with gifts to Russia and Turkey. Among the objects preserved at the Hermitage a ring deserves attention (Fig. 11) – it bears the title of Shāh Jahān (1628–58): the ‘second sāhib-qirān’ (Second Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction) – and a small table made by a craftsman named Sitaram.

These artefacts give us a real starting-point from which to identify other seventeenth-century objects scattered among different collections in museums across the world, on the basis both of the techniques used to make them and the style of their decoration. This

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77 The twentieth-century treasury of the shahs contained only one Indian jiqa (aigrette), an orb decorated with precious stones, and a number of emeralds and diamonds. See Meen and Tashingham, 1968, pp. 62–5, 68, 81, 95, 123.
79 It is not very clear how many items were sent. See Zebrowski, 1997, pp. 59, 71–5.
80 See Ivanov et al., 1984, no. 96.
81 Ibid., no. 95. We know nothing of his career.
Fig. 10. India. Bottle decorated with gold, silver, rubies, emeralds and pearls. Seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

Fig. 11. India. Gold ring (zehgir) bearing the name of Shâh Jahân and decorated with diamonds, rubies and emeralds. First half of seventeenth century. Photo: © Terebenin (Hermitage, St. Petersburg.)

has been largely achieved by Zebrowski in his book,\footnote{There is an extensive bibliography at the end of Zebrowski’s book, 1997. Mention should also be made of Untracht, 1997.} which includes objects from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.
Ceramics

The production of ceramics was widespread in all regions of Central Asia. Obviously, cooking-pots were needed by every family and large quantities of unglazed and undecorated ware were commonly made. But it is precisely these objects that have completely escaped attention, though objects from the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century have been studied.

Glazed ware with different kinds of decoration, much sought after by both collectors and museums, was, of course, the ‘art ceramics’ of its time and its manufacture largely depended on patronage by the ruling dynasties.\(^{83}\) We must assume that it was produced in much smaller quantities than unglazed ware and fetched a high price. Only glazed ware will be discussed here as the common pottery is not represented in museums and private collections.

IRAN

Studies of Timurid pottery have shown that there were two centres in northeastern Iran at the beginning of the sixteenth century, namely Mashhad and Nishapur.\(^{84}\) They produced beautiful objects with a cobalt glaze. In the later historical sources of the Safavid period, however, Nishapur is not mentioned as a centre of pottery production. There are no objects with inscriptions referring to this town, and no names of craftsmen with the nisha ‘Neshāpūrī’.

The evidence is stronger for Mashhad which, according to Jean Chardin, remained a centre of pottery production during the second half of the seventeenth century.\(^{85}\) However, no objects on which Mashhad is mentioned as the place of manufacture have yet been found. Written sources also mention Mashhad as a centre of production in the seventeenth century.\(^{86}\) Petrographic analysis used to identify Timurid pottery should also be applied to Mashhad ware for the same purpose (Fig. 12).\(^{87}\)

Alongside pottery, there existed a highly developed tile-producing industry. Many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century buildings were lavishly decorated with tiles.

\(^{83}\) This is well demonstrated in the work of Golombek et al., 1996.
\(^{84}\) See Golombek et al., 1996.
\(^{85}\) See Lane, 1957, p. 120.
\(^{86}\) On these sources, see Soustiel, 1985, p. 273, Pls. 304, 307, 325; Lane, 1957, pp. 97–9.
\(^{87}\) On the identification of Mashhad and Kirman pottery, see Golombek, 2001, pp. 207–36.
It is believed that Persian pottery entered a period of decline after 1700 because the domestic market was flooded with Chinese and European products. This may well have been the case, but it needs to be proved.

How this crucial period affected the pottery of Khurasan is still not clear. Mashhad was unknown as a centre of pottery production in the first half of the nineteenth century, although in 1986 a cup with a polychrome lid, made by a certain Ibrāhīm Mashhādī, appeared at an auction. Potters worked in the 1870s (and they still do, according to Adle) at Gonabad, south of Mashhad, and at Shahrud on the western limits of Khurasan; the kind of wares they produced is not known.

AFGHANISTAN

The history of pottery production in this region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries remains to be studied. Excavations at Kandahar in 1974 and 1975 yielded specimens of Safavid pottery which we may presume were imported, as was the Chinese ware. In the

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89 In the only article we know of on Iranian ceramics of the Qajar period, Mashhad is mentioned once (in a reference to Rochechouart), but it is not clear what was made there. See Scarce, 1991, p. 934.
90 Nothing is known about him. There is no reproduction in the catalogue. The date is given as nineteenth century. See Islamic and Indian Miniatures, 21 November 1986, Christie’s, Manson and Woods, N. 222.
91 See Ogorodnikov, 1878, p. 176.
92 McNicoll and Ball, 1996, during the first two seasons at Shahr-i Kohna (Old Kandahar) conducted by the British Institute for Afghan Studies.
nineteenth century, Kandahar was considered a centre of pottery production, as well as Kafiristan (Nuristan).

TRANSOXANIA

The pottery of this region from the sixteenth to the first half of the eighteenth century is also awaiting study. This is quite understandable because a period of decline set in from the sixteenth century. Vessels were then made of clay that produced red or brown earthenware when fired. Various slips were widely used, with decoration both over and under the glaze. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also saw the manufacture of tiles, which were used to decorate buildings in Bukhara and Samarkand. Bukhara, Ghujduvan (near Bukhara) and Samarkand were major centres of the potter’s craft. Names of two master potters of the seventeenth century are known: Muhammad Jabbār Samarqandi, who decorated the madrasa of Shir-Dor (Fig. 13), and Avaz Bābā, who embellished the madrasa of Ābū’l Āzīz Khān (1645–80) in 1652.

In the nineteenth century, a well-developed pottery industry existed in Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Ura-tepe and other cities. However, much of the information about the craft workers (their names, biographies and so on) relates more to the second half and end of the century (Fig. 14). The basic text on the history and description of the potter’s trade in the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth is by Peshcherova.

94 Ibid., p. 45.
95 Specialists have focused on the period from the ninth to the fifteenth century; see Tashkhodzhaev, 1974, pp. 93–109.
98 Ivanov, 1954, pp. 117, 128, 134, 136, 147, 252. The late archaeologist S. N. Yurenev, who lived in Bukhara for many years, formed a huge collection of sixteenth–seventeenth-century potsherds. He used to formulate very interesting ideas about these sherds, but unfortunately he never wrote anything. After his death, his collection was split up among different museums.
100 See Mukminova, 1976, p. 135.
102 The late M. E. Masson read this name as ‘Mimhakan ibn Muhammad-Amin’ (see Rempel, 1961, p. 357). The signature is on two cartouches, of which the first is heavily damaged and in the second I see: ‘... banda-i dargah (?)’ ‘Avaz-Bābā’.
104 Ten kilns were active there in the middle of the nineteenth century. See Mukhtorov, 1998, pp. 140–2.
105 Peshcherova, 1959.
INDIA

It is very strange that glazed ware in India – a country with an ancient culture – did not play as important a role in the subcontinent’s art as it did in Western Asia, in China or in other Central Asian lands. Clearly, the needs of the ordinary people were satisfied by unglazed ware. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, glazed pottery was produced in various parts of India, although the evidence for it is scanty. In all probability it was
manufactured in Sind and the central areas. What we now consider to be Indian ware is pottery decorated in a range of dark to light blue on a white background. Tilemaking was also carried on in India.

**Sculpture**

Sculpture as an art form was never widespread in the Islamic countries. It would seem that the Muslim clergy, who regarded sculpture as a potential object of worship (i.e. idols), were influential in this. As a result, there are no sculptures dating from the late period in the Muslim regions of Transoxania (other than simple forms), but there are rock carvings in Shiraz, Isfahan, Taq-i Bustan and Ray in Persia. In India, sculpture is common in the Hindu and Jain temples, however. The emperor Akbar (1556–1605), who was a law unto himself, had life-size elephants sculpted out of stone at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, his two capitals. Some of the fine stonework at the Fatehpur Sikri palace complex, such as the so-called ‘Vishnu pillar’ (Fig. 15), comes close to sculpture. The Mughal court also indirectly patronized the iconographic sculpture at the Krishna temples of Vrindaban, near Mathura (late sixteenth century): the quality is not high.

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109 Goswami, 1996.
Fig. 15. Fatehpur Sikri. Pillar of the Diwān-i Khās. (Photo: © UNESCO/P. Pittet, 1955.)