# A Timurid *Dah-namah* Anthology and Its Echo at Shaybanid Bukhara

**Karin Rührdanz**
Senior Curator, Royal Ontario Museum (now retired)

After a period of comparative political stability during the reign of Shah Rukh b. Timur (1410–47), the battle for control of Iran and Transoxiana started again after the middle of the fifteenth century. While Timur's many grandsons and great-grandsons fought among themselves for his inheritance, or at least a share of it, Turkmen tribal confederations fought to steal control of central Iran. In 1458, the Qara Qoyunlu even conquered Herat, the heart of Timurid territory.[1] The patronage of poets, scholars, and artists now played a bigger role than ever before as a means of legitimizing claims to power, yet such patronage was hardly possible for any prince who retained power for only a few months. Therefore, it is not surprising that only a few high-quality

[1]On the battles for succession after the death of Shah Rukh, see Maria E. Subtelny, *Timurids in Transition* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 49–56; and Stephen F. Dale, "The Later Timurids," in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*, ed. Nicola di Cosmo, Allen J. Frank, and Peter B. Golden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 197–203.

**Karin Rührdanz** retired in 2015 as senior curator of Islamic art at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, and associate professor of Islamic art at the University of Toronto. She specializes in the Persian and Persianate art of the book and the text–image relationship in Islamic art. Her most recent publication is "Zakariyyā' al-Qazvīnī on the Inhabitants of the Supralunar World: From the First Persian Version (659/1260-61) to the Second Arabic Redaction (678/1279-80)," in *The Intermediate World of Angels: Islamic Representations of Celestial Beings in Transcultural Contexts* (Orient-Institut Beirut, 2019).

illustrated manuscripts are known from the time between the late 1440s and the early 1470s. Herat in particular, the center of court-sponsored book art in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, changed hands frequently, and artists were instead forced to look for princely patrons in southwest Iran.[2] Thus, each extant manuscript produced during this "dark" period is especially important for what it can tell us about the intellectual and artistic climate of the time. One such manuscript is the anthology Per 149, now part of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, the codex that will be analyzed here.[3]

In its current state, the manuscript contains three romantic *masnavi* poems by three different authors:

1. fols. 1v–44v: *ʿIshq-namah*, a *Sī-namah* (Thirty Letters), by Amir Husayn al-Haravi (d. ca. 719/1319);[4]
2. fols. 45v–65r: *Manṭiq al-ʿushshaq*, a *Dah-namah* (Ten Letters), by Awhadi Maraghi (d. 738/1338);[5] and
3. fols. 65v–110v: the *Firaq-namah* (Book of Separation) by Salman Savaji (d. 778/1376).[6]

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[2]For an overview, see Marie Lukens-Swietochowski, "The School of Herat from 1450 to 1506," in *The Arts of the Book in Central Asia*, ed. Basil Gray (London: Serindia, 1979), 179–214, reference on pp. 179–80.

[3]*The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, vol. I, ed. J. V. S. Wilkinson (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1959), 84–86; Eleanor Sims, "The *Nahj al-Faradis* of Sultan Abu Saʿid ibn Sultan Muhammad ibn Miranshah: An Illustrated Timurid Ascension Text of the 'Interim' Period," *Journal of the David Collection* 4 (2014): 88–147, reference on pp. 106–9; and Elaine Wright and Susan Stronge, *Muraqqaʿ, Imperial Mughal Albums from the Chester Beatty Library* (Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2008), 46 and 208–11. The manuscript was also mentioned in my "Illustrated Messages of Love in the Diez Albums," in *The Diez Albums*: *Contexts and Contents*, ed. Julia Gonnella, Friederike Weis, and Christoph Rauch (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 513–28, reference on pp. 525–26.

[4]For the author and his work, see Syed Hasan, "Sí-Námeh in Persian," *Indo-Iranica*, no. 2–3 (1973): 62–71, reference on pp. 62–67.

[5]For the author, see Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Awḥadī Marāġaʾī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011, iranicaonline.org/articles/awhadi-maragai-shaikh-awhad-al-din-or-rokn-al-din-b. For the work, see Awhadi, *Kulliyāt-i Awḥadī Iṣfahānī maʿrūf bi-Marāghī*, ed. Saʿid Nafisi (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1340/1961–62), 455–79; and Syed Hasan, "Dah Namehs in Persian," *Indo-Iranica*, no. 4 (1963): 1–20, reference on pp. 2–10.

[6]For the author and his work, see Edward G. Browne, *A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion A.D. 1265-1502* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920), 260–71; and Salman Savaji, *Kulliyāt-i Salmān Sāvajī*, ed. ʿAbbas ʿA. Vafaʾi (Tehran: Sukhan, 1389/2010–11), 551–608.

The first two undisputedly belong to the *Dah-namah* genre, of which *Si-namah*s constitute a subgroup.[7] These are *masnavi* poems largely lacking action, which are in sharp contrast to the well-known romantic epics. In the latter, the hero typically must cross alien regions, fight horrible creatures, and defeat rivals to reach his beloved; but the *Dah-namah* genre of poetry shows less variation in the narrative because the hero merely sends letters to his beloved. The regular insertion of lyrical poetry—a ghazal—into each letter also sets the *Dah-namah* apart from other types of romantic poems. In the case of the *ʿIshq-namah* by Amir Husayn, the poet/lover is the author of all thirty letters. The writing of letters in Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshaq* is less one sided. Lover and beloved are each responsible for five letters and can eventually celebrate a happy end. Syed Hasan calls the *Manṭiq al-ʿushshaq* "a song of love" and continues, "its lines reflect the different moods of the lover and the beloved. They overflow with strong emotions, deep pathos and pure sentiments. The lover's letters express his burning passion, his sorrows and sufferings, the intensity of his feelings and sincerity of heart; while the letters written by the beloved mark the tone born of the pride of beauty and haughtiness of temper."[8]

Compared with the first two poems, the *Firaq-namah* offers more narrative content, and the exchange of letters appears as a rather subordinate part of the story. The inclusion in the anthology makes it likely that Salman Savaji's poem was nevertheless regarded as a variant of a *Dah-namah*, and in fact, the author himself refers to it as such.[9] At least, the focus on the poetical description of passionate love connects the three poems contained in the anthology.

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[7]This genre has not received much attention so far. For surveys, see Hasan, "Dah Namehs"; Hasan, "Sí-Námeh"; T. Gandjeï, "The Genesis and Definition of a Literary Composition: The Dah-nāma (ʿTen love-letters)," *Der Islam* 47 (1971): 59–66; Rashid ʿAyvazi, "Dah-nāmah-gūy dar adab-i pārsī," *Nashrīya-i dānishkādah-i adabīyāt va ʿulūm-i insānī-i Tabrīz* 27 (1354/1975–76): 525–60 (Nasrin Askari kindly provided this article to me); and Mihri Baqiri, *Dah-nāmah-i Rūḥ al-ʿāshiqīn: chashm-andāzī bar vaqāyiʿ-i ʿaṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Tehran: Nashr-i Qatra, 1388/2009–10), 53–68.

[8]Hasan, "Dah Namehs," 7.

[9]Gandjeï, "Genesis and Definition," 66.

The manuscript is a small codex now measuring 16 x 10.5 cm with a written surface of 10 x 4.9 cm.[10] It contains six illustrations. On fol. 1r is an illuminated medallion, a *shamsah*, in the center of which is a large circle surrounded by six smaller ones (Figure 1). The uppermost of the smaller circles identifies the *shamsah* as being a *fihrist*, a table of contents, while, reading counterclockwise, one sees that the next three contain the titles of the poems with the names of the authors in the order they appear in the manuscript.[11] The two remaining circles are defaced.[12] The central circle contains a barely legible dedication to Sultan Abu Saʿid,[13] Timur's great-grandson Abu Saʿid b. Muhammad b. Miranshah, who seized control of Samarqand in 855/1451 and of Herat in 863/1459, thereby establishing himself as ruler of all Timurid territory in Khurasan and Transoxiana.[14] The dedication places the manuscript within the period from 855/1451 to 873/1469, the year of Abu Saʿid's death.

[10]*Chester Beatty Library*, 85. I thank the Chester Beatty Library for providing me with the requested images and allowing their publication.

[11]Such a decorative arrangement of a contents list was used from time to time for anthologies or collections of the works by one author (*kulliyat*). For an early example (ca. 1350), see Oleg F. Akimushkin and Anatol A. Ivanov, "The Art of Illumination," in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 43, fig. 20. Among examples nearer in time is a copy of Saʿdi's *Kulliyat*, Per 275 (fols. 1b–2a) of the Chester Beatty Library, dated 852/1448; for a reproduction, see Elaine Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in Shiraz 1303 – 1452* (Washington, DC: University of Washington Press, 2012), 60, fig. 37.

[12]Very likely, those two were intentionally effaced. Obviously, the two circles referred to poems once contained in this anthology. In one case, the name of an author, Ibn ʿImad (d. 800/1397–98), can still be read. Since he is also the author of a *Dah-namah*, he would have well fitted the anthology.

[13]*Chester Beatty Library*, 85.

[14]Jean Aubin, "Abū Saʿīd," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 147–48; and Abbas Zaryab, "Abū Saʿīd Gūrakān," in *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 2, ed. Wilferd Madelung and Farhad Daftary (London: Brill, 2009), 511–24.

Figure 1. CBL Per 149 f.1r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

However, as indicated in the catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library, the manuscript includes two obviously fabricated colophons (fols. 44v and 110v) alleging the manuscript to be in the hand of the famous calligrapher Sultan-ʿAli Mashhadi;[15] each is dated 880/1475–76. They are less carefully written than the text itself, but this alone would not be

[15]Mahdi Bayani, *Ahvāl-u āṡār-i khushnavīsān: Nastaʿīq-navīsān*, vols. 1–2 (Tehran: Intisharat-i ʿilmi, 1363/1984–85), 241–66; Qazi Ahmad, *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāẓī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī*, trans. Vladimir Minorsky (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1959), 101–25; and Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila Blair, ed., *The Grove Encyclopaedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 256–57.

sufficient grounds for questioning their authenticity. On fol. 110v, however, the inscription has been written on top of the gold vegetal scrolls that fill the spaces below and at either side of the final verse of the poem. This is contrary to the usual practice, which would be to write the colophon first, then add any such decoration in the spaces around the letters. As the colophon on fol. 44v has been executed in a similar manner, neither one can be considered relevant for the dating of the manuscript.

According to an inscription, prominently written in black ink on a gold ground and divided between two panels, one placed above and one below the *shamsah* on fol. 1r, approximately a century after the manuscript was first produced, it was further adorned (*muzayyan*) in another courtly atelier. This was the *kitabkhanah* of the Shaybanid ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. ʿUbaydallah (d. 957/1550) in Bukhara.[16] As the catalogue of the Chester Beatty Library states, this should be understood as referring to the re-margination of the folios with gold-sprinkled and gold-painted colored paper, a reworking of the manuscript clearly intended to enhance the beauty of it, but which may also have served to repair it.

The origin of the written surfaces from the time of Abu Saʿid is confirmed by their illumination. Not only the *shamsah* on fol. 1r and the three headpieces[17] but also the restrained decoration inside the frames of the written surfaces fit the period. Gold lines outlined in black delimit the two columns and the many subtitles. These are written in blue, reddish brown, and gold (without outlines) and not further decorated. All three headpieces consist of a rectangular main panel in which an interlaced band forms a central cartouche with an inscription in Kufic script, above which sits a narrow palmette-arabesque border. Among the colors, dark blue and gold are prominent, but also green and light blue catch the eye. Palmette-arabesque scrolls are more frequent than floral elements. Where the latter appear, they are very tiny to fit into the small spaces, as at the detailed headpiece on fol. 45v.

[16]Yuri Bregel, "ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Solṭān," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011, iranicaonline.org/articles/abd-al-aziz-soltan.

[17]For images, see Sims, "*Nahj al-Faradis*," figs. 7, 9–10.

Obviously, the illumination connects the anthology to the production of luxury manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century in northeast Iran. From the reign of Abu Saʿid illuminated manuscripts are known which show strong similarities with the anthology in the structure of the headpiece panels. Striking similarities can be recognized, for instance, between the illumination on fol. 45v and the frontispiece decoration of a manuscript copied in Herat in 868/1464.[18]

The illustration of *Dah-namah* poems constituted a special challenge for painters because an established pictorial tradition for this kind of genre did not exist. The lack of action must have created further problems because the story was driven by the exchange of letters only. The earliest known miniatures of a *Dah-namah*, which were most probably painted near the end of the fourteenth century, depict the receipt or dispatching of messages.[19] This is also the subject of a miniature that once must have belonged to a copy of Awhadi's *Manṭiq al-ʿushshaq*. It depicts the arrival of a discouraging response from the beloved and most probably belongs to the late fourteenth century too.[20] A copy of this same text is also part of an anthology dated 813/1410–11 and made for the Timurid Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh (d. 1415). The subject of the only illustration is in this case the happy ending: the lover prostrate at the feet of his beautiful beloved.[21] Thus, the artist cleverly

[18]Chester Beatty Library, Per 138, containing Katibi's *Kulliyāt* together with a poem of Amir Husayn al-Haravi, an author also represented in the anthology with the *Si-namah*; see *Chester Beatty Library*, 69–71. The calligrapher signed his name Sultan-ʿAli only and could not be further identified.

[19]These miniatures are contained in the Diez Albums of the Berlin State Library. See Mazhar Ş. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben: Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1964), 61, nos. 86–89; for images, see Rührdanz, "Illustrated Messages of Love," figs. 19.4–19.8.

[20]Keir Collection, Dallas. See Basil W. Robinson, ed., *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book* (London: Faber & Faber, 1976), 143–44, no. III.28, pl. 17; color reproduction in Rührdanz, "Illustrated Messages of Love," fig. 19.2.

[21]Anthology completed for Timurid Iskandar b. ʿUmar Shaykh, 813/1410–11, LA 161, fol. 65b, Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (Ilse Sturkenboom kindly pointed out the existence of such a miniature to me). For a reproduction, see Rührdanz, "Illustrated Messages of Love," fig. 19.1; on the contents of the anthology, see Priscilla Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan: Structure and Content," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 116–31.

concluded a story otherwise devoid of action by depicting a specific and memorable moment.

For the copy of Awhadi's *Dah-namah*, included as the second poem in the anthology for Abu Saʿid, another means was chosen for rendering the depiction of the exchange of messages visually more interesting. The single illustration of this text, on fol. 58r (Figure 2) depicts the arrival of a response from the beloved,[22] but the composition is enriched by the presence of several curious observers. The protagonists of the scene, the lover and the old woman who delivers the message, appear near the bottom left of the miniature and occupy only a small part of the picture area. Equal attention is bestowed on the detailed depiction of the ambience. Five women observe the meeting from the palace. A gardener and a young man approach the scene from behind the garden fence, and in the lower right, a female servant, seated by a pool in which ducks are swimming, appears to argue with another, dark-skinned servant. This last scene, in particular, seems to anticipate the scenes of daily life so typical of Herat painting in the late fifteenth century. The gaze of the women, who eagerly watch the reception of the message from a palace balcony, and that of the young man, who watches with equal interest from behind the half-opened door in the red fence, direct the viewer's gaze to the protagonists. As a proven stylistic device, their placement also helps to create the illusion of three-dimensional space. At the same time, their engagement embroiders a crucial moment in the story, while the inclusion of two dark-skinned individuals—a servant and a gardener—adds to the variety of people. While the inclusion of the expectant onlookers admittedly distracts from the intimacy of the meeting between the lover and the messenger, their presence adds much to the story. In a poem full of suspense, they carry the hope of a lucky outcome, despite the miniature visualizing a moment of deep disappointment.

[22] Awhadi, *Kulliyāt*, 469–70, vv. 9979–80.

Figure 2. CBL Per 149.58r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

The liveliness of this scene is in contrast with the three illustrations of the first poem of the anthology. The *ʿIshq-namah* by Amir Husayn al-Haravi resists visualization even more than Awhadi's work. After the author, in response to the suggestion of a love-sick young man, begins composing love letters, the messages follow one after the other. Nothing is said about the way of transmission or the response of the beloved. The lonely figure on the first illustration (fol. 4r, Figure 3) touchingly reflects the mood of the poet in a moment of meditation just before he begins composing the first of his thirty letters, as described by the surrounding text. The following two miniatures refer to the request of the author that the *saqi* (young cupbearer) should bring more wine.[23] Thus in one, the poet is represented being offered wine by a cupbearer (fol. 24r, Figure 4) and in the other in the company of a young friend

[23]Such a verse completes each love letter. See Hasan, "Sí-Námeh," 66.

(fol. 39v). As depictions of authors in private life were rare in Persian manuscripts up to that time, such a subject should not be considered a random choice.[24] Although partly forced upon the painter by the lack of narrative material, the selection of such moments for depiction was likely also influenced by specifics of the *ʿIshq-namah*. As a kind of monologue, the letters direct all attention to the author and his feelings, and thus would make the author an appropriate subject of illustrations. Moreover, according to an explicit statement of its author, the *ʿIshq-namah* does not speak of earthly but of spiritual love.[25] Although generally present in *Dah-namah* poems, the metaphorical level may have been understood as dominant in this case and resulted in representations of a hopeful lover.

Figure 3. CBL Per 149.4r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

[24]An earlier Timurid miniature with the author as protagonist depicts Saʿdi with a young friend in a garden. It is found in the *Gulistan* copy for Baysunghur (d. 1433), dated 830/1427; see Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), 124.
[25]Hasan, "Sí-Námeh," 67.

Figure 4. CBL Per 149.24r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

Within the narrative elements of the third poem, the *Firaq-namah*, are dramatic episodes that could have been illustrated. The beloved of King Malik is, for instance, involved in fighting the ruler of Gilan, yet a battle is not selected for either of the poem's two illustrations. The first of the two miniatures, on fol. 78r (Figure 5), illustrates a section of the poem in praise of nocturnal gatherings with music, recitation, and wine.[26] In a reduced version, its composition—in particular, the design of the throne platform with the space in front of it and the conspicuous red frame of the canopy and the tree behind—seems to follow a miniature (fol. 30v) in Muhammad Juki's *Shahnamah*, which was produced about 1444 in

[26]Savaji, *Kulliyāt*, 569.

Herat.[27] In a playful way, the ducks swimming in the small pool in the *Shahnamah* miniature are replaced by burning candles. With its small size and comparatively few figures, the scene evokes an atmosphere of privacy or even intimacy; that the prince does not wear a crown but a simple cap contributes to this.

Figure 5. CBL Per 149.78r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

In pictures of courtly life, such a cap is sometimes worn by the heroes in domestic settings, as is the case in the second illustration of the *Firaq-namah* (fol. 96r, Figure 6). It depicts the nightly conversation of

[27] "The Portrait of the Infant Rustam Is Shown to Sām." See Barbara Brend, *Muhammad Juki's Shahnamah of Firdausi* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 2010), 56–57. For an online version of the manuscript, see royalasiaticcollections.org/ras-persian-239-shahnama-of-firdausi-of-muhammad-juki/.

Malik with a bird on the troubles of love.[28] The two miniatures could be regarded as representing contrasting experiences of a lover. While the first illustration depicts a joyful coming together of King Malik with his beloved at the nocturnal feast, the second reflects the anxiety and sorrow of the deserted lover and may anticipate the death of the beloved, which occurs shortly later.

Figure 6. CBL Per 149.96r. © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

The visual absence of Malik's interlocutor could have been a deliberate decision of the painter with the aim to put all the emphasis on the confession of the love-sick youth. The line of sight of the lover leads up

[28]Savaji, *Kulliyāt*, 590.

to a verse encased in an illuminated square. The verse appears at exactly the correct place that it should appear in the poem, but its decoration is rather unusual. Oblique lines of verses with illuminated corner triangles were developed early in the fifteenth century as a solution for the arrangement of the text in the marginal column of anthologies.[29] As part of a one-sided marginal column, they could also appear in other manuscripts, as in a Herat copy of Nizami's *Khamsah* dated 835/1431.[30] In late Timurid miniatures, sometimes one or a few verses included in the illustration are written diagonally, and illuminated squares very similar to the one on the *Firaq-namah* illustration are found included in the painting by Bihzad depicting the seduction of Yusuf (fol. 52v) in the famous copy of Saʿdi's *Bustan* of 893/1488.[31] The inclusion of the illuminated square with a diagonally written verse in the *Firaq-namah* miniature speaks for the intermediary role of the little anthology on the way to late Timurid book art.

Another uncommon element of the composition is the wall painting that covers the upper part of the rear wall, although on the left it is largely hidden behind the verse panel. On the right, it depicts a prince being offered wine in the company of two attendants, who lift bottles and seem to share in the merriment. Contrasting with the situation and mood of Malik, it is more or less a reflection of the *Firaq-namah*'s first illustration, and perhaps is intended as a recollection of bygone joyful times.

Considering the relative novelty of the task, the illustration of the three *Dah-namah* poems was managed with some skill. In the search for leads as to who may have been responsible for the miniatures, an inscription on the side of a chest in the lower left of fol. 78r begs consideration. It

[29]David J. Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation: Persian Anthologies of the 15th Century," in *Islamic Art and Literature*, ed. Oleg Grabar and Cynthia Robinson (Princeton, NJ: Wiener, 2001), 119–42, reference on pp. 124–25.

[30]Nizami, *Khamsah*, 835/1431, VP 1000, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. See Adel' T. Adamova, *Persidskaya zhivopis' i risunok XV-XIX vekov* (Saint Petersburg: AO Slaviya, 1996), 96–163. On the "one-sided marginal column format," see Wright, *Look of the Book*, 131–33.

[31]Saʿdi, *Bustan*, 893/1488, Adab Farsi 908, Egyptian National Library, Cairo. For a reproduction, see Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 294.

can be read "The Sulṭān, son of the Sulṭān, ʿAlī al-Sulṭānī."[32] If instead of "al-sulṭān bin," one read the first part of the inscription "li-sultan min," it would make more sense, although it would still be an unusual formula. The poor quality of the script would also speak for the dismissal of this statement. However, there may be reason to think twice about the contribution of a painter named "Sulṭān-ʿAlī al-Sulṭānī" to the anthology since his name is also found on miniatures of a *Nahj al-faradis* manuscript dedicated to Abu Saʿid. In her autopsy of the nine miniatures of this manuscript, Eleanor Sims looks at the *Dah-namah* anthology and concludes that the best two of its illustrations may well be the work of the same artist, whose name is inscribed on several of the miniatures of the *Nahj al-faradis as* "Sulṭān-ʿAlī al-Sulṭānī."[33] However, the unique content of the ascension story and the resulting strong difference between the subject matter of the illustrations of the *Dah-namah* poems on the one hand and of the *Nahj al-faradis* miniatures on the other extremely limit the chances for comparison. A copy of Nizami's *Khamsah*, H. 786 in the Topkapi Saray Museum,[34] is better suited for the purpose, if only slightly. An illuminated inscription at the end of this manuscript contains the names of the owner,[35] the calligrapher ʿAli b. Iskandar al-Quhistani,[36] and the painter Sultan-ʿAli al-Bavardi, as well as the date 850/1446–47. Since the manuscript is dedicated to Ulugh Bayg b. Shah Rukh (d. 853/1449) on the first page, it was likely executed in his realm, most probably at Samarqand, by artists trained in Herat, but a commission at Herat cannot be completely excluded.[37]

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[32]This reading is used in the catalogue. See *Chester Beatty Library*, 86, where the inscription is regarded as an "ignorant later addition."

[33]Sims, "*Nahj al-Faradis*," 106–10.

[34]Ivan Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la 'Khamseh' de Niẓāmī au Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris: Geuthner, 1977), 50–54; Ivan Stchoukine, "Sultân ʿÂlī al-Bâvardî un peintre inconnu du XVe siècle," *Syria* XLIV (1967): 401–8; and Ernst Grube and Eleanor Sims, "The School of Herat from 1400 to 1450," in Gray, *Arts of the Book*, 147–78, reference on pp. 162, 169 (pls. LV–LVI).

[35]The owner, Khvajah Yusuf Shah, son of Amir-i Miran al-Tabrizi, has not been identified.

[36]From the hand of this calligrapher two more manuscripts, both copies of Rumi's *Masnavi*, are known. See Bayani, *Ahvāl-u āṡār-i khushnavīsān*, 434, for the copy dated 848/1445, and *Chester Beatty Library*, 60, for the manuscript Per 131, completed 855/1451 at Andijan (today Uzbekistan).

[37]Two tall and slender wooden columns on both sides of the ivan in the miniature showing Khusraw and Shirin feasting (fol. 49v) seem to introduce local flavor through characteristic elements of

Features common to the illustrations of both the anthology manuscript and the *Khamsah* are, for instance, the frequent use of gold for the color of the sky, architectural elements (in particular, wooden parts), textiles like blankets and cushions, and all kinds of metal tableware. Faces in profile, as on fol. 78r of the anthology, resemble many such faces in the *Khamsah*, in particular those on fol. 239v[38] with their knobby nose tips, although they are not completely absent from other manuscripts. These features likewise found in the illustrations of other somewhat earlier or later manuscripts confirm the place of both manuscripts in the course of the development of Timurid painting.

However, there are also elements found in both the anthology and the *Khamsah* that are not seen in other manuscripts. One such element is the large curtain that decorates the ivan in many miniatures of the *Khamsah* and appears also on the first illustration of the anthology (fol. 4r, Figure 3), but is not part of comparable interior backgrounds in other Timurid manuscripts from the second to fourth quarters of the fifteenth century. Remarkably, such curtains appear on a *Nahj al-faradis* miniature where they were added as a new decorative element and not copied from the model picture that was otherwise followed very closely.[39] The similarity of the dome in the anthology illustration with those in the previously mentioned *Nahj al-faradis* miniature has been pointed out by Sims.[40]

On the other hand, the stylistic differences between the miniatures of the *Khamsah* and the *Dah-namah* anthology are also obvious. A noticeable trait of the *Khamsah* miniatures is their central compositions, often with symmetrical arrangements of secondary figures. The scenes of palace interiors make this most obvious, but even those situated in landscapes are often arranged that way. That this feature cannot be observed in the anthology illustrations may largely result from the differences in subject and size, but the communication of two people on

Central Asian architecture. See Stchoukine, "Sultân ʿÂlī al-Bâvardî," pl. XXIV/1.

[38]The miniature represents Iskandar at the Kaʿbah. See Stchoukine, *Les peintures des manuscrits de la 'Khamseh' de Niẓāmī*, pl. XXIXb.

[39]Sims, "*Nahj al-Faradis*," 132–33, figs. 27, 28.

[40]Sims, "*Nahj al-Faradis*," 110.

fols. 24r and 39v of the anthology also differs from the stereotype and symmetrical pairing of servants talking to each other and dancers in the *Khamsah* miniatures.

Currently, one can conclude only that it is worth bearing in mind the possibility that there was a painter named Sultan-ʿAli, who, during troubled times in Herat, worked as Sultan-ʿAli al-Bavardi for a patron who was a member of the Central Asian nobility, and that when conditions in Herat improved, he returned to work for the Timurid court. However, for the time being, there is insufficient evidence to link the painter to all three manuscripts.

That a *Dah-namah* anthology is among the very few manuscripts which can be attributed to the patronage of Abu Saʿid is less astonishing than it might initially appear. Composed mainly during the fourteenth century, *Dah-namah*s remained popular throughout the fifteenth century, at least. "The content of the *Dah-nāmah*s is predominantly erotic, but the erotic element is combined with encomiastic and mystic elements," summarizes Gandjeï.[41] For Abu Saʿid, who presented himself as an adherent of Sufi shaykhs,[42] the commission of such a manuscript would therefore not be completely unexpected. At his court, these small romantic poems obviously were part of the literary canon of the time, as an anthology compiled for one of his sons suggests. It was completed in 892/1487 for Ulugh Bayg b. Abu Saʿid, who ruled Kabul and Ghazna from 873/1469 to 907/1501–2. Among many other texts, the second volume of this large anthology contains the three *Dah-namah*s still included in the older manuscript and a fourth one which may once have been part of it.[43]

The new centers of power dominating the sixteenth century highly appreciated Timurid artists and their works. The Shaybanids,

[41]Gandjeï, "Genesis and Definition," 65.

[42]Zaryab, "Abū Saʿīd Gūrakān," 523.

[43]Anthology, 892/1487, Suppl. pers. 781 and 781.A, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. See Francis Richard, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans : Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits*, vol. 2 (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2013), 1007–17. The fourth is Ibn ʿImad's *Rawżat al-muḥibbīn*; see n12.

in particular, undertook strong efforts to emulate Timurid court culture because it also bolstered their claim to regain Khurasan from the Safavids.[44] Herat was regarded as part of the appanage of the rulers of Bukhara, who, under the leadership of ʿUbaydallah Khan (d. 946/1540), several times attempted to add it to their dominion.[45] Their occupations of Herat never lasted long, but they nevertheless succeeded in removing from the city numerous manuscripts as well as book artists who followed them to Central Asia either forcibly or voluntarily. After being proclaimed Great Khan in 1533, ʿUbaydallah Khan left the Bukhara appanage to his son ʿAbd al-ʿAziz. During the years before 1540, at which time ʿAbd al-ʿAziz became khan in his own right, the anthology manuscript was repaired and embellished. This can be deduced from the inscription on fol. 1r where he is referred to as "sultan" but not as "khan,"[46] implying that his father was still alive.[47]

The most obvious intervention of the Bukhara atelier led to a complete re-margination of the written surfaces. For this purpose, thicker paper of various colors was used, with each page decorated with either gold flecks or stenciled design in gold. Various stencils with vegetal motifs were applied. While gold-flecking was not unknown in Timurid margin decoration, the application of stenciled decoration in gold developed in post-Timurid book art. That in this case it was Bukhara work is confirmed by the occasional addition of three palmette-like shapes, which were either arranged in one row in the long outer margin (for instance, in fols. 3v and 4r, Figure 3) or with one placed on the mid-point of each of the three outer borders (for instance, in fol. 10v). Such shapes or cartouches became a characteristic of margin decoration executed in the Bukhara atelier beginning in the 1540s. They could include

[44]Maria E. Subtelny, "Art and Politics in Early Sixteenth Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983): 121–48.

[45]For the appanage politics, see Robert D. McChesney, "The Chinggisid Restoration in Central Asia: 1500 – 1785," in di Cosmo, Frank, and Golden, *Cambridge History of Inner Asia*, 277–302, reference on pp. 280–82, 293.

[46]A similar inscription can be found on the frontispiece miniatures of a copy of ʿAbdallah Hatifi's *Haft Manẓar* dated 944/1537–38, F 1956.141 in the Freer Gallery, Washington, DC; for fols. 1b–2a, see Ebadollah Bahari, *Bihzād, Master of Persian Painting* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 240–41.

[47]McChesney, "Chinggisid Restoration," 279–80.

inscriptions (verses, dedications) or be made more prominent by placing, for example, a light-colored cartouche against a dark ground.[48] The less conspicuous versions on some margins of the anthology may be early experiments with this kind of margin decoration.

The insertion of the miniatures into new margins was not completed without losses. It appears as though the miniatures were originally a bit larger than they appear now. The dimensions of the illustration on fol. 78r were reduced to those of the written surface area, thus cutting awkwardly through the figure on the lower left and the canopy on top. Since the current dimensions, both height and width, of all other miniatures are still slightly greater than those of the written surface, the cuts could not have been intended to exactly fit its measurements. Most likely, damage along the borders led to slight trimming of the miniatures, and the interior bands of the multicolored frame also claimed space.[49] A little overpainting can also be seen on each miniature where the painting repairs small areas of detached color or the effects of a corrosive green pigment. In general, however, the Timurid miniatures have been faithfully preserved.

The effort spent on the preservation and embellishment of the anthology by the Shaybanid atelier was foremost due to its courtly Timurid origin. Besides, the content must have been quite acceptable for ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan. Through his spiritual teacher, Shaykh Jalal, he was affiliated with the Herat branch of the Naqshbandi and its leading figure, the poet Jami (d. 898/1492).[50] That ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan indeed appreciated *Dah-namah* poems is proven by an anthology the Bukhara atelier

[48]Among several manuscripts provided with this kind of margin decoration during the reign of ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan is a copy of Jami's *Bahāristān*, dated 954/1548, now LA 169 at the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon. See Basil Gray and Ernst Kühnel, *L'art de l'Orient Islamique : Collection de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian* (*Oriental Islamic Art: Collection of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*) (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1963), no. 122.

[49]The Shaybanid frame that covers the transition from the written surface to the new margins consists of gold, blue, and light-green bands.

[50]Florian Schwarz, "*Unser Weg schließt tausend Wege ein*": *Derwische und Gesellschaft im islamischen Mittelasien im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000), 86, 216.

completed for him in 957/1550, according to the dedication.[51] The manuscript comprises the *ʿIshq-namah*, the *Firaq-namah*, and the *Dah-namah* of Ibn ʿImad titled *Rawzat al-muhibbin*.[52] The copy was finished by the calligrapher Mir-ʿAli Haravi[53] in 956/1549 under the supervision of the *kitabdar* (head librarian) Sultan-Mirak and provided with ten double-page miniatures executed by three well-known artists of the Bukhara atelier: Mahmud Muzahhib, ʿAbdallah, and Shaykhum b. Mulla Yusuf Haravi.[54] As part of the sumptuous decoration of the manuscript, the double-page miniatures often present splendid court scenes. For instance, the two *Firaq-namah* miniatures by Mahmud Muzahhib illustrate the same episodes as in the Timurid manuscript. The protagonist, Malik, enjoys wine and music in the presence of the beloved (fol. 72r) and bewails the pangs of love at night amidst blossoming trees and plants (fol. 89r), while in each case on the opposite page (fols. 71v, 88v), courtly life plays out in front of a palace. The much larger compositions[55] thus combine the visualization of a romantic and mystic mood with the unfolding of courtly splendor as one might expect from a manuscript which presents a dedication to ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Khan at the margin of every page.

[51]Collection of three *masnavi*s, 957/1550, A.Nm.1610, Salar Jung Museum and Library, Hyderabad. See Muhammad Ashraf, *A Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Salar Jung Museum and Library*, vol. VI (Hyderabad, India: Salar Jung Museum and Library, 1975), 7–23, no. 2281.

[52]This is another hint that this *Dah-namah* may once have been part of the Timurid anthology.

[53]Bayani, *Ahvāl-u āṡār-i khushnavīsān*, 493–516; and Priscilla P. Soucek, "'Alī Heravī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011, iranicaonline.org/articles/ali-heravi.

[54]Mara M. Ashrafi, *Bekhzad i razvitie bukharskoi shkoly miniatiury XVI v.* (Dushanbe: Donish, 1987), 150–57; and Priscilla P. Soucek, "'Abdallāh Boḵārī," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2011, iranicaonline.org/articles/abdallah-bokari.

[55]Each side of the double-page miniature on fols. 71v–72r, for instance, measures 19.6 x 11.2 cm.